

ARMENIANS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

AN ANTHOLOGY OF TRANSFORMATION

13TH-19TH CENTURIES

Editor

Vatche Ghazarian

Mayreni Publishing
Waltham, Massachusetts

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Edited, with an introduction and notes, by

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To all those who maintained their national identity
under oppressive foreign rules, and who favored death over submission.

Also, to all those who disapproved, in word and deed,
of the wrong-doings of their governments to subjugated people.

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Preface

This book is an anthology of eyewitness accounts written by non-Armenian authors who traveled and observed the Armenian people living under Turkish and Ottoman rule from A.D. 1245 to 1900. The authors are men and woman of diverse professions and intentions. Most are Europeans. Together the authors represent a wide range of background experiences, including adventurers, merchants, geographers, historians, archaeologists, diplomats, physicians, missionaries, scholars, and writers. Two of the authors included in the collection are Moslem travelers. All of the authors shared the need and the perseverance to record and publish accounts of their travels. Excerpts of these accounts, relating primarily to the Armenian people, their lives, and the Armenian character, are compiled in this volume.

Together, the chorus of voices tells a story previously untold. It is a story of transformation and subjugation—the transformation of a once courageous people into servitude; the subjugation of a nation. The accounts ring of paradox—the paradoxes of government power and the abuse of that power, and the human paradoxes that emerged as a result of centuries of life under that rule.

A dramatic change in the Armenian character unfolds as the story unfolds. Many character aspects that emerge during the later stages of Ottoman rule are often observed in the behavior of individuals, families, organizations, communities, and even Armenian leaders.

Over 600 accounts were considered for inclusion in this collection. However, due to space restrictions, only 200 accounts were chosen from among works published in English—whether written in English or translated into it—and originally produced in book form.¹ Combined, the accounts present an objective viewpoint with minimal redundancy. Some authors favored Armenians over Turks; others took the opposite view. All focus on the Ottoman rule in general and its effect on the Armenians. The accounts address the history and geography of Armenia, as well as the religion, manners, customs, and aspirations of the Armenian people.

The term “Ottoman Empire” refers to an area which stretched over Asia, Europe, and Africa. However, the accounts included in this anthology relate only to occupied Armenia (Turkish Armenia) and Asia Minor (including Constantinople and Smyrna).

Among these, the texts pertaining to historical Armenia—referred to as Greater and Lesser Armenia, Turcomania, Turkish Armenia, or Anatolia—were few in number compared with those covering Constantinople and Smyrna. This disparity most likely is the result of a combination of the following factors: the travelers’ purpose for visiting the region did not include excursions beyond the Ottoman capital and Asia Minor; and the harsh terrain and climate of Armenia—combined with government restrictions or dangers posed by Kurdish brigands—discouraged interested parties.²

Consequently, some communities in the heart of Armenia proper were not visited by European travelers until the mid-nineteenth century when the Ottoman government allowed expeditions and religious missionaries to explore the remote parts of the Empire in the hopes of counterbalancing pro-Russian sentiments among the Armenian subjects living there.³

The accounts were not evaluated for their accuracy, reliability, or freedom from bias.⁴ Researchers have documented instances of inaccuracies in travel accounts.⁵ Pleasant and

unpleasant personal experiences, political and religious motivations, as well as other factors need to be examined and considered when reading any primary source document.⁶ Moreover, the travel literature of the period is known for its limitations in scope and depth.⁷ In some cases, travelers have been influenced by the accounts of earlier travelers. For example, the description of an Armenian stable by Randall Roberts (505) is a repetition of Robert Curzon's account (373). Nevertheless, travel literature contains valuable information for those interested in pursuing the truth.

The anthology has been designed to help the reader understand the political and administrative structure and conditions of the Ottoman Empire and its Armenian subjects over the period of study. Therefore, in some cases a text may not relate to the Armenians in particular, but it was chosen to complete an image. The discussion of the Christians' conditions in the Empire by Busbecq, Henry Marsh, and Paul Rycaut are examples of such inclusions.

The excerpts do not necessarily include everything that was written by a given author about Armenia and the Armenians. Large sections of texts relating to the doctrine of the Armenian Church, or the origin and history of the Armenian people, were omitted. Repetitive information was kept only when deemed necessary.

The anthology is structured in the following manner:

The texts are presented in chronological order. All texts written and published originally in Old English are converted into modern English, using American spelling conventions. No other major editorial interference is made; therefore, the use of capital letters and proper names is inconsistent throughout the book. To reduce the elements of confusion, the Geographical Index and the Glossary list the many variations in proper names and foreign words found in the texts.

A Subject Index is organized according to specific themes, and a Chronological Table summarizes key events and helps place the texts into historical context.

Maps are included to help the reader follow the changes in territorial boundaries and geographical terms.

Each author and his given work are identified at the beginning of each section.

Numbers found in the margins indicate the original page number of the excerpt in the original work.

Vertical lines, which appear on either the same or the previous line as the margin number, indicate where a new page begins in the original source.

Footnotes belong either to the authors or to the editors and translators of a given work, as does the information given in parentheses or brackets. Angular brackets and numerical endnotes have been added by the editor of this anthology.

Because sources are mentioned at the beginning of the texts, a separate bibliography has not been compiled.

Given the obscurity of many of the sources presented here and the scarcity of anthologies and studies in the field,⁸ the editor hopes that this source book will enhance the study of effects of the Ottoman rule on the Armenian people.

Introduction: A Story of Transformation

"It is to the government alone, founded on an oppressive religion, that we must impute the knavery of some, the tyranny of others, the vices of all. The Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews, deprived of the rights of citizenship, excluded from civil employments and from military service, strangers to the religion on which every thing rests, obliged to redeem every year their head by a disgraceful tax, threatened incessantly with the loss of their life or their fortune, and weak and unprotected, have, from their very infancy, learnt to dissemble, to give way to the smallest shock, to withdraw themselves from force by address, from violence by submission. They have been obliged to be false from habit, cringing and vile from fear, cunning and knavish from the necessity of living and existing."

Guillaume Antoine Olivier (134)

THE TRANSFORMATION OF A LAND

The Turkish presence on Armenian lands dates back to A.D. 1047, when the Seljuk Turks first arrived. By the defeat of the Byzantines in the battle of Manzikert in A.D. 1071, the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum was established and centered at Konia, west of Greater Armenia. Friar John in 1246, and William of Rubruck in 1255, place "the country of the Turks" and "Turkey" next to Armenia.⁹ Rubruck also states that in 1255 the population of "Turkey" was made up of primarily Armenians and Greeks.

By the 1330s, half a century after the establishment of the Ottoman Dynasty, Friar Jordanus describes Greater Armenia—which he places under Persian rule—as the territory extending from Sivas to the Caspian Mountains; and, referring to Turkey as Asia Minor, he identifies the area as "inhabited by the Turks, and by a few schismatic Greeks and Armenians."

The disparity between these two accounts can only mean that within a seventy-five-year period, the Greeks and the Armenians—who composed almost ninety percent of Asia Minor in 1255—were reduced to a minority population. A combination of factors seems to have contributed to the depopulation of the region's Christians: the migration in great numbers of Karakoyunlu Turks into Asia Minor; the clashes between the Mongols, Arabs, Persians, and Turks on one hand, and the Akkoyunlu Turks and the Karakoyunlu Turks on the other; the large exodus of Greeks and Armenians from Asia Minor; the conversion of the indigenous population to Islam; and massacres.

The accounts of Odoric, Ibn-Battuta, and Mandeville speak of the destruction of Erzurum as a result of clashes between antagonistic Turkish tribes. Schiltberger's and Clavijo's accounts also refer to the destruction and plunder of Armenian lands from Cilicia to Karabagh, mostly due to the wars between the Turks and the Mongols. The history of the city of Surmari presents an excellent example of the process of depopulation. Clavijo states: "Most of the population of Surmari formerly had been Armenian folk, for it is a city of Armenia, but of late years many Christians had been deported from this place by the Moslems having come in and taken possession." The desolating effects of the Turko-Persian wars on Armenian lands were witnessed through the eyes of the Italian travelers (Zeno, Barbaro, etc.).

By 1555, the Peace Treaty of Amasia set the boundaries of Ottoman rule. Leaving the smaller part under Persian control, the Ottomans took control of much of historical Armenia. Later, in the same century, the travel accounts acknowledge the increasing presence of Kurds in the area of Lake Van and farther south.¹⁰

There seems to be little doubt that the Armenian population of Asia Minor was reduced in numbers by the end of the fifteenth century. However, the accounts are also clear that until the late nineteenth century, Armenians were still the majority population in the territories known as Armenia and Armenian Vilayets or Provinces. This assertion is made despite Thomas Shirley's statement, written at the close of the sixteenth century, that in view of the desolate conditions in Asia Minor, "Armenia lies all utterly waste, without any inhabitant."

The accounts show that the decrease in population was a common phenomenon throughout the Ottoman Empire. Plague, epidemic and endemic maladies, famine, dirty habits, taxation, misgovernment, tyrannical rule, wars, and conscription have all been identified as factors that led to major fluctuations in population numbers. However, the travelers also state that the Armenians were a sedentary, reproductive race with large families, while the Turks were constantly decreasing in number and "passing away."

A logical conclusion, then, would be to attribute, at least in part, the decrease of the Armenian population in the Armenian provinces to human factors.

Many accounts characterize the Ottoman (mis)rule as one which demolished places and laid countries desolate; transplanted people and depopulated subjugated territories; converted Christians to Moslems and "Turkified" them; extirpated the nobility; and killed the indigenous populations.

As described previously, the destruction and desolation of Armenian districts, towns, villages, and churches¹¹ was prevalent.

The accounts remark repeatedly on the transplantation or deportation of Armenians, and the conversion of Armenians to Islam, whether as individuals¹² or as groups. These conversions included not only souls but architectural monuments. The texts give numerous examples of Armenian churches being converted into mosques. Such conversion seem to have been performed for the purpose of maintaining and strengthening the Ottoman rule.¹³ The accounts suggest that these conversions were more successful in Asia Minor, where Armenians were fewer in number, than in Armenia proper, where Armenians were more numerous and tended to be zealously attached to their faith.¹⁴

Forced intermarriages, through which the original Turkish stock was profoundly modified,¹⁵ also account for the reduced number of natives in occupied territories.

A major characteristic of the Ottoman Empire was the ease with which its rulers implemented massacres against both their enemies and subject races. As early as in the fifteenth century, Schiltberger witnessed the massacre of ten thousand war prisoners—an event described also by Froissart.¹⁶ In addition to information pertinent to massacres of Armenians, references to Ottoman massacres of Mameluks in Egypt, Greeks in Scio (Chios), and Maronites in Lebanon are also cited in this anthology.

William Mitchell Ramsay remarks that "Every Armenian massacre . . . was determined in accordance with a certain plan after the old Turkish fashion."¹⁷ William Miller states that "The 'disturbances at Constantinople,' . . . convinced even the most incredulous that the previous massacres in remote parts of the [Turkish] empire had not been mere inventions."¹⁸

Edward B. B. Barker in a book dedicated to his father, Consul-General Barker, who served as British consul under five sultans in Syria and Egypt, writes: “. . . almost every page of the Koran incites them [the Moslems] to exterminate unbelievers.”¹⁹ Armenians were considered unbelievers by the Turks and were referred to as *giaours*, or infidels. Barker adds: “It is more a spirit of pride in the ancient power of the Turkish nation rather than religious fanaticism which excites the populations in Turkey against the Christians . . . Religious sentiment has little to do with this feeling; political rivalry and resentment, much.”²⁰ More important, he refers to a letter written in 1827 at Alexandria, in which his father mentions a threat made by the Grand Segnior to issue a general order to massacre all his Christian subjects should the Turkish fleet be destroyed by the British.²¹

Many accounts identify the atrocious character of the Turks. These accounts speak of the hatred against non-Moslems instilled into the Turk from infancy. Many were raised to seek celebrity in murder and piety in maltreating Christians. The “more atrocious the cruelty, the more was it meritorious” (De Tott).

The majority of eyewitness accounts, however, suggest that these hostile teachings were sparked into actions only as a result of government encouragement.

One of the greatest paradoxes presented by the accounts is that the oppressive regime of the Ottomans was strengthened and sustained by rulers who were originally from non-Moslem parentage. A tragic example of this was Sultan Abdülhamid II, the son of an Armenian woman. He is credited with organizing the massacre of the Armenians in the late nineteenth century.²²

The travelers’ accounts show clearly that the massacre of Armenians in the Asiatic domains of the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Abdülhamid II were a result of implementation, on a grand scale, of the centuries-old Ottoman policy to rid the empire of the possibility of Armenian autonomy by annihilating the Armenian people. This policy culminated during World War I, when the Armenian provinces of Turkey were almost entirely depopulated of Armenian inhabitants through massacre and deportation ordered by the Turkish government.

THE PARADOX OF RESPONSIBILITY

David Hogarth, the Duke of Argyll, William Ramsay, Edwin Pears, George Hepworth, and William Miller deal elaborately with the issue of responsibility for the Armenian massacres that occurred under Sultan Abdülhamid II in the years 1894 through 1896.

At first glance it appears that many parties shared responsibility for the massacres. Russia has been fingered for encouraging the Kurds to harass the Armenians, for exciting the Armenians in their restlessness, and for encouraging a step-up of Turkish atrocities, all so that Russia could open up an opportunity to annex the Armenian provinces. The British have been accused of encouraging the Armenians to dream about autonomy and then abandoning them in their struggle. The Turkish authorities have been charged with planning massacres, and encouraging the Kurds—in particular, organizing the Kurdish Hamidieh regiments—to legalize their raids against the Armenians. Even the Armenians have been blamed for what happened to them. Their secret societies and attempts to achieve autonomy through revolts and insurrection have often been cited as catalysts for the action taken against them.

Assuming that the Russians and British were only secondary players in the game, the accounts show that while the Armenians lacked distinctly shaped political aspirations prior to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78, policies of extermination were already well developed by the Ottoman government. Frederick Millingen wrote in 1870 that “In the geography of the Turkish Empire, amongst the numerous provinces submitted to the authority of the Sultan no such country as Armenia exists. *Delenda est Carthago* seems to have been the policy of the Turkish conquerors who decided on blotting out the name of Armenia.”

John Peters learned five years before the massacres decreed by Sultan Abdülhamid II that “The Turkish government had instructed at least one of its governors, the Wali of Erzeroum, to do nothing against the Kurds for their outrages upon the Armenians. The commander of the troops in that province confided to one of his officers his hope that the Armenians would rise, for he had everything prepared to serve them as the Bulgarians were served. He had been prominent in the Bulgarian massacres.”

By the late 1800s, revolution or armed struggle seemed to be the only alternative left to the Armenians. All other means for a dignified life, whether through reforms or through the protection by Christian powers, had been exhausted. To Albert Smith the regeneration of Turkey was an empty sound. For Humphry Sandwith the Hatti-Humayoun that declared an end to the prejudices against Christians was something “never intended to be acted upon.”²³ Projects were abundantly declared in Turkey, said Frederick Millingen, “though their execution is left to the eve of the world’s end.” All promises of reform were conceived by Charles Norman as having “been swept away.” The plight of peaceful Armenians for reforms was neglected by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, while the plight of armed Bulgarians and other Ottoman subjects was taken into consideration. According to a “well-informed source” there was “no hope of reform for Turkey whatever” (Miller).

The story told in this anthology clearly demonstrates that the Armenian political aspirations and the Armenian revolutionary movement were the results of Ottoman misrule, not the cause of it. The accounts also clearly point out that the desire of the largely unarmed Armenians for autonomy did not pose a serious threat to the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The supposed threat, however, did offer a pretext for Ottoman action against them.²⁴

The Armenian revolutionary movement may be assigned responsibility for its ill preparation and for employing adventurous tactics that unnecessarily exposed the Armenian population to greater danger and more atrocious treatment. But the accounts offer a clear picture of the Ottoman government’s responsibility for its maltreatment and oppression of the Armenians in their ancestral homeland, coupled with first-hand knowledge that the annihilation seems to have been long planned.

In conclusion, the six hundred years of Turkish rule—under which civilization literally halted at the doors of Armenia proper—was intolerant and oppressive. It was a rule that caused the depopulation of the country’s Armenian inhabitants; laid the country of Armenians to waste; subjected the Armenians and their cultural and religious monuments to Turkification; and, last but not least, paved the way for the attempt to annihilate the Armenian population in the Armenian provinces.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF A PEOPLE

The accounts gathered in this anthology reveal that the study of the Armenian character over time is a most intriguing task and one ripe with paradox.

Armenians are described in the texts as the best people in the world; extremely praiseworthy in their industry, but great knaves with rudeness and want of taste to the last degree, combining in themselves the grossness of a Persian, the shamelessness of a Greek, and the tastelessness of a Turk; the most amiable and moral people of the world, who, however, lose the privilege of becoming the most estimable people because of their sordid love of wealth; a wonderful nation; the most intelligent race; one of the coarsest people in existence, and a people without whom the garden of Eden would be turned into wilderness, for every trace of civilization is due to them there; a people with whom few nations can compete in historical misery; the most national of all Asiatic races; a people with remarkably strong bond toward each other, and with the strongest family ties ever; the sharpest people in the world; and the Yankees and Quakers of the East.

In summary, the travelers to the Ottoman Empire describe the Armenians as a people of extremes—extremes that may or may not be attributed to the harshness of the geography and historical conditions under which they lived for centuries.

The intention of this anthology was not to study the character of the Armenian people; however, those who wish to do so might find a great deal of substance for their research in this book.

When considering the Armenian character, it is important to make a distinction between the different groups of Armenians based on location, levels of education, occupation, and the degree of subjugation under which a group lived.

Most travelers came into contact with more well-to-do Armenians, and those who lived in the major cities of the Ottoman Empire—Constantinople, Smyrna, Brusa, Trebizond, Erzurum. Therefore, in most cases the characteristics attributed to the Armenians do not necessarily apply to the Armenians living in the remote regions of Armenia proper.

Certain travelers were better informed or alert enough to make some of these distinctions. Charles Mac Farlane, the author of a three-volume novel about Armenians, and of many volumes on the conditions in Turkey, seemed to have disliked the Armenians in Constantinople and Brusa, but mentions that the Armenians of the province of Erzurum “differ from the meek, submissive, cowardly Armenians . . . at Constantinople and at Smyrna. They are characterized as prudent and persevering; by no means devoid of fire and courage.”

David Porter states: “The men of Armenia, in their native climate, are hardy, bold, and industrious. In Turkey they become sordid and base . . . The Armenian on his native soil, still retains the love of arms . . . The Armenian of Turkey meddles not with cold steel . . .”

William Ainsworth finds points of distinction even between Armenians of the mountains and of the plains: “. . . The Armenians here did not resemble their heartless, prostrate countrymen of the plains, but were accustomed to fight for their rights . . .”

Creagh differentiates the peasant from the trader: “There is a great distinction between the honest and laborious Armenian who cultivates his field, and the trader of the same nation notoriously the greatest cheat and liar on the face of the earth.”

William Ramsay talks about the praiseworthy characteristics of free Armenians, the Zeitunlis, who fought for centuries to maintain a semi-independent status in the empire.

Even when they consider differences between the aforementioned groups, the accounts record a change over time within the Armenians as a human being.

A chronological reading of the travelers' narratives begins with a hospitable, generous, industrious, soberly living, pious, honest, patriarchal, populous, and courageous people, whose women were "skillful and active in shooting, and managing any sort of weapon," and ends with a people often described as inhospitable and cowardly.

The Armenians of great cities, "from the confines of Tartary to Egypt," "came as near to Turkish habits as they dare," "more than any other people." Many abandoned their native language, replacing it with Turkish.

John Kinneir remarks: "The inhabitants of Karagool, like most Armenians whom we have seen, appeared to be a rude and inhospitable race." Later, James Alexander speaks of an incident he had with an inhospitable old Armenian lady.

By the nineteenth century, Armenians are shown in some accounts to be indifferent toward other Armenians being abused or tortured by Turks, or Kurds, while in earlier accounts they did not hesitate to courageously assist even non-Armenian slaves, despite the risk of severe punishments imposed on people who assisted captives in flight.

William Ramsay offers an explanation. Armenians "are charged, by the voice of almost every traveler, with timidity and even cowardice; but for centuries they had the choice offered them between submission and death. So long as they were perfectly submissive, they were allowed to live in comparative quiet; so long as they had money, they could purchase some immunity from, or redress for, insult. Naturally and necessarily the bravest were killed off, they that could most readily cringe and submit survived, and all efforts were directed to acquiring money, as the only means of providing safety for family and self."

In this statement Ramsay gives one pause to contemplate not only the link between government rule and character development, but the paradox of bravery. He also offers an insightful explanation of the possible root cause of the money-loving character of Armenians. Was the desire to accumulate wealth an innate characteristic of this people, or did it develop in response to a system in which money bought the "privilege of life"?

George Forster's account, written in 1783, may contain an answer: "To palliate the evils inherent to their situation, and create a substitute for powers, honors, and national importance, they [the Armenians] pursue the different roads of traffic with unremitting ardor, and invariably measure their pleasures by the mere extent of their wealth."²⁵

In conclusion, the Ottoman rule changed the character of Armenians, so that by the nineteenth century travelers found justification to label them a "degenerate race."

PRIVILEGE AND TOLERANCE: MYTH, OR REALITY?

Two issues remain to be discussed: namely, the so-called privileged status of the Armenians and the religious tolerance of the Ottoman rule toward its subjects.²⁶

Numerous accounts leave the impression that the Armenians were privileged subjects in the Ottoman Empire, whether those privileges are directly alluded to or inferred.

The first mention of the Armenians' privileged status comes from Schiltberger in the early fifteenth century: "Machmet . . . ordered that the Christians and all those who are against his

faith, should be persecuted day and night, except the Armenians who are to be free amongst them . . .”

George Sandys adds to this that Armenians “are not subject to the Turk, if taken in wars, are freed from bondage . . .”

Then Aaron Hill expands on the same: “. . . they [Armenians] have better fortune than their fellow-slaves, the Greeks . . . they are free from that unnatural duty of delivering their children, to be sent upon triennial seizures to Constantinople, and enjoy a hundred privileges more . . .”²⁷

Alexander Rhodes and Philip Avril, two Jesuit missionaries, traveled in Turkey disguised as Armenians in order to avoid insults and enjoy greater security. Travelers stated that Armenians occupied important positions and possessed great influence in the Empire and over its rulers, although they did not exert their influence politically.

Against these privileges, the restrictions were numerous—Armenians, along with other Christian subjects, were forbidden to dress like Turks, or bear arms, or display cheerfulness, or pass a Moslem on horseback without dismounting and bowing their head to that Moslem, or paint their houses, or possess local travel passports. Moreover, Robert Macdonald says that Armenians, being Christians, did not have the same civil privileges as Turks. The Sultan’s Christian subjects were disqualified by their creed from holding civil or military appointments.

To be influential, or to enjoy a degree of importance, seemed to be a risk in itself: “Eminent posts are imminent dangers in Turkey,” says Mac Farlane, and De Tott states that “Under a despotic government, the existence of any person is necessarily precarious: No one can be ambitious without despising his own life.”

Then there was the tax called *kharaj*, which Armenians, like other non-Moslem Ottoman subjects, paid for the *privilege of living*. Adding this to the maltreatment and misrule, one can only conclude that the privilege granted to Armenians—who were “partly subject to the Turks, and partly to the Koordish begs, but equally oppressed by both” (Kinneir)—was a myth, formed on the basis of certain privileges offered to only those Armenians whose wealth enriched the coffers of the Ottoman sultans and governors.²⁸

Finally, many accounts speak of the religious tolerance present in the Ottoman Empire and, in particular, the freedom of Christians to worship openly. La Mottraye states: “The exercise of all religion is nowhere more free, or less disturbed, than in Turkey.”

Missionary Eli Smith has an interesting and thought-provoking passage in his account about Erzurum: “Though the Armenians were so numerous, and their city the largest in Armenia, it is a curious fact that they had but two churches. One of them was very small, and the other so irregular, dark and mean, as to resemble a stable almost as much as an edifice for divine worship.”

If religious tolerance meant that Armenians were allowed to maintain their Christian faith, their religious institutions, and their Patriarch, then Ottoman Turkey was indeed tolerant.

In contrast, travelers also observed that Armenians “. . . dare not, no more than all other nations that live amongst the Turks . . . make use of any clocks . . .” (Rauwolff); and that “though the Turks in many things give greater toleration to the Armenians than their other subjects, yet they use the same inhuman art to ruin their religion, never giving them permission to re-build a church, when once decayed; unless they are bribed to it at so high a

rate, that it is a very rare attempt to ask a license for that purpose from the Turkish officers” (Hill);²⁹ and that Europeans “. . . may talk of the Hatti Shereef, that vain chapter of privileges, in London or Paris, and praise the toleration and justice which it awards to all classes of the Sultan’s subjects; but beyond the immediate eye of the ambassadors, this far-famed Magna Charta is no better than a mockery” (Badger).

There are numerous accounts of Armenian Christians converting to Islam as a result of direct and indirect pressure by the Ottoman rulers and the conditions prevalent in the Empire.

In fact, the whole history of the Ottoman Empire is one of conversion—an empire and a rule which derived much of their strength through the abduction of Christian children from their parents and the subsequent Turkification of these children.³⁰

CONCLUSION

“This nation seems to have been doomed to suffer at the hands of its conquerors; and such has been its terrible experience that the wonder is that anything which merits the name of an Armenian nation still exists.”

Clara Clement (624)

This anthology unquestionably demonstrates that after six centuries of Turkish rule, Armenia and the Armenian people were transformed.

Both the people and their land were subjected to government policies aimed at destruction. The Armenian homeland was transformed into a Turkish land, and the character of the Armenian people suffered.

Survivors of the Ottoman tyranny, and their descendants, face the difficult task of exploring their character and of dealing with the many paradoxes left behind by centuries of oppressive foreign rule: timidity among strangers; love of money; viewing governments, including their own, as evils to be dealt with through deceit and mockery; indifference towards matters concerning the Armenian community and its organizations; submission to the caprices of community leaders, without question or accountability; etc.

The legacy of Ottoman tyranny on the Armenians of today is real, and healing the damage done to personal and national integrity is imperative. This anthology has been compiled in the hope that individuals or collectives will find the courage to look at themselves and to seek to repair and regenerate a character worthy of their free ancestors. But will the Armenians ever be able to recover their homeland?

V. Ghazarian

Notes to Preface and Introduction

- ¹ After the Russo-Turkish War of 1827–28 and the Protestant missionary movement which began in Asia Minor and Armenia in the 1830s, the number of travel accounts on Armenia and the Armenians increased considerably. Following is a partial list of worthy works which are not included in this anthology: Henry Van Lennep, *Travels in Little Known Parts of Asia Minor* (London, 1870); Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks* (New York, 1878); H. F. Tozer, *Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor* (London, 1881); Lucy M. J. Garnett, *The Women of Turkey and Their Folk-Lore* (London, 1890); E. A. Brayley Hodgetts, *Round About Armenia: The Record of a Journey across the Balkans through Turkey, the Caucasus, and Persia in 1895* (London, 1896); Frederick Davis Greene, *The Armenian Crisis in Turkey: The Massacre of 1894, Its Antecedents and Significance, with a Consideration of Some of the Factors which Enter into the Solution of this phase of the Eastern Question* (New York, 1895); J. Castell Hopkins, *The Sword of Islam or Suffering Armenia, Annals of Turkish Power and the Eastern Question* (Toronto, 1896); Rev. Edwin M. Bliss, *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities* (Boston, 1896); James Bryce, *Transcaucasia and Ararat, Being Notes of a Vacation Tour in the Autumn of 1876*, Fourth edition, revised, with a supplementary chapter on the recent history of the Armenian Question (London, 1896); H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia*, in two volumes (London, 1901); etc.
- ² “The difficult and often hostile terrain combined with the severity of the climate . . . may explain why the first men to venture into Armenia and write of their impressions were driven there by necessity rather than pleasure or curiosity.” Ara Baliozian, *Armenia Observed* (New York, 1979), xiv–xv. Austen Layard in his account illustrates this well: “The large and flourishing Armenian communities inhabiting the valley between lake Wan and the district of Jezireh, appear to be unknown to modern geographers, and are unnoticed in our best maps. The difficulties and dangers of the road have hitherto deterred travelers from entering their mountains” (369).
- ³ As late as in 1818, Kinneir refers to Armenians in the plain of Erzurum—that city most frequented by European travelers—as people who “had never seen an European before” (164); or, as Sandwith states in 1856, in most of the about 1,500 villages of the province of Erzurum “a European has never trod” (387).
- ⁴ The following examples are quite illustrative:
 “I feel such an intense prejudice against Armenians that I am certain that anything I might say would only be biased and therefore not worth reading; and I think anyone who has had dealings of any kind with this abominable race would probably be in the same position. The Armenian inspires one with feelings of contempt and hatred which the most unprejudiced would find it hard to crush. His cowardice, his senseless untruthfulness, the depth of his intrigue, even in the most trivial matters, his habit of hoarding, his lack of one manly virtue, his helplessness in danger, his natural and instinctive treachery, together form so vile a character that pity is stifled and judgment unbalanced. I cannot believe, as some urge, that his despicable personality has been produced merely by Turkish tyranny. There are other nations who have been tyrannized; the Bulgarians, the Druses, and the Maronites. But not one of them shows a tithe of the abominable qualities which mark off Armenians from the rest of mankind. Even Jews have their good points but Armenians have none . . .” Mark Sykes, *Through Five Turkish Provinces* (London, 1900), 80.
 “I have confessed already to a prejudice against the Armenians, but it is not possible to deny that they are the most capable, energetic, enterprising, and pushing race in Western Asia, physically superior, and intellectually acute, and above all they are a race which can be raised in all respects to our own level, neither religion, color, customs, nor inferiority in intellect or force constituting any barrier between us. Their shrewdness and aptitude for business are remarkable, and whatever exists of commercial enterprise in Eastern Asia Minor is almost altogether in their hands. They have singular elasticity, as their survival as a church and nation shows, and I cannot but think it likely that they may have some share in determining the course of events in the East, both politically and religiously.” Mrs. Bishop (Isabella L. Bird), *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan Including a Summer in the Upper Karun Region and a Visit to the Nestorian Rayahs* (London, 1891), 336.
- ⁵ The work of Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars: 1660–1800* (Barkeley, 1962), reveals many lies and liars. James Creagh states: “Nothing is more common than the errors of a traveler who takes an individual’s opinion for the views on the same subject of the general public, or who accepts an isolated fact as an established custom . . . Nowhere in the world do such blunders occur more frequently than in Turkey . . .” (575).
- ⁶ Jack L. Vartoogian, in an introductory note, justly states: “In one sense, of course, every traveler has his own

reason for travel, but a breakdown by apparent purpose can be very illuminating. This sort of analysis must be accepted cautiously, however, since in some instances purpose is vague, while in others there are plainly more than one. Many of the missionaries, for example, clearly had proselytizing and conversion as their main goals, but were nonetheless often instructed to act as diplomats or, in some cases, spies. These considerations should be kept in mind when reading these accounts.” Ara Baliozian, ed., *Armenia Observed* (New York, 1979), xxxii. He further mentions the importance of bearing in mind the “continually rising standard of living in the West *vis-à-vis* the East.” Ibid., xxxiv–xxxv.

- ⁷ See Kevork Bardakjian’s *Armenia and the Armenians through the Eyes of English Travelers of the Nineteenth Century*, in R. G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Image in History and Literature* (Malibu, 1981), 139–153.
- ⁸ Some important works are: Jack Lewis Vartoogian, *The Image of Armenia in European Travel Accounts of the Seventeenth Century* (a most valuable doctoral thesis presented at Columbia University in 1974 and available only in facsimile form); Gorun Shrikian, *Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission’s Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance* (a doctoral thesis presented to the Faculty of Concordia Seminary in Exile, in 1977, and available only in facsimile form); Ara Baliozian, ed., *Armenia Observed*, with an introduction by Jack L. Vartoogian (New York, 1979); Leo Hamalian, *As Others See Us: The Armenian Image in Literature* (New York, 1980); Richard G. Hovannisian, *The Armenian Image in History and Literature* (Malibu, 1981); Christopher J. Walker, *Visions of Ararat: Writings on Armenia* (New York, 1997).
- ⁹ “The country of Turks” is mentioned in earlier accounts also. Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, for example, who began his journey from Spain toward the frontiers of China in A.D. 1160, writes: “We next come . . . to Corycus, the frontier of Aram, which is called Armenia. Here are the confines of the empire of Toros, king of the mountains, sovereign of Armenia, whose rule extends to the city of Dhuchia and the country of the Thogarmim, or Turks.” Manuel Komroff, *Contemporaries of Marco Polo* (New York, 1928), 268.
- ¹⁰ It needs to be emphasized that Diyarbekir and Bitlis, “the capital city of Kurdistan” (Avril), with adjacent towns and villages, although designated to the province of Kurdistan by the Ottoman government, at least in the mid-seventeenth century, were still considered “part of Armenia,” and the majority of their inhabitants were Armenians (Celebi).
- ¹¹ One of the reasons for desolation perhaps is the fact that Christians tended to withdraw to less fertile but safer, more inaccessible places (Busbecq, 46).
- ¹² Alexander Pallis, *In the Days of the Janissaries* (London, 1951), 27.
- ¹³ E. C. Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks: From the beginning of their empire to the present time*, Vol. I (London, 1854), 20–24.
- ¹⁴ It must be noted that some sources find points of connection between the Armenians and the Kizilbashes of Anatolia, who “celebrate certain Armenian feasts and are thickest in the ‘Armenian’ vilayets.” F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans* (New York, 1973), 154–156. Connections are pointed out also between Armenians and certain Kurdish tribes. Mark Sykes, *The Caliph’s Last Heritage: A Short History of the Turkish Empire* (London, 1915). See also David Hogarth’s account (651). It would be interesting to find out what Evliya Celebi had in mind while stating that the inhabitants of Erzurum “are all Turkomans and Armenian Kurds” (81).
- ¹⁵ E. C. Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks: From the beginning of their empire to the present time*, Vol. I (London, 1854), 32.
- ¹⁶ Stanley Lane-Poole, *Turkey* (New York, 1888), 56–59.
- ¹⁷ William Mitchell Ramsay, *The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor, Some of its Causes and Effects* (London, 1917), 48.
- ¹⁸ William Miller, *The Ottoman Empire, 1801–1913* (Cambridge, 1913), 430–431.
- ¹⁹ Edward B. B. Baker, *Syria and Egypt Under the Last Five Sultans of Turkey*, Vol. I (London, 1876), 44.
- ²⁰ Ibid., 50.
- ²¹ Ibid., Vol. II, 59.
- ²² Georges Dorys in *The Private Life of the Sultan of Turkey* (New York, 1901), 1, mentions that Abdülhamid was the son of Abdülmejid and a slave of Armenian origin, and that according to some stories the sultan’s father also was an Armenian, the cook of the palace of Abdülmejid (Ibid., 2).
- ²³ The inclusion of a clause in the 1895 proposed reforms to the extent that “The Sublime Porte shall see that religious conversions are surrounded by all the guarantees arising out of the principles established by the Hatti-

- Humayoun of 1856 . . . and too often evaded in practice” (632) strongly supports Humphry Sandwith’s statement.
- ²⁴ Ubicini mentions that the Armenians were “losing more and more all memory of their former country . . . they might have appeared almost unconscious of their own national existence, had they not been from time to time roused from their lethargy and recalled to a sense of vitality by convulsions arising from the rivalry of parties or the violence of persecutions” (407). While William Denton remarks: “The question . . . is not whether the Christians of Turkey are ever inflamed against the Government of the Sultan by ‘foreign intrigues,’ but whether, without any such ‘intrigues,’ there exist grounds for such discontent; whether every province of Turkey, from the banks of the Danube to the Red Sea, is not suffering from the gross injustice of the Government towards the people; whether the Christians of Turkey are not oppressed by such rapacious rulers, that men would cease to be men if they were not discontented” (436). In both cases the bottom line is oppression and persecution.
- ²⁵ George Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England*, Vol. II. [From John Pinkerton’s *A General Collection of the best and most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World, many of which are now first translated into English*, (London, 1811), 284.]
- ²⁶ While discussing the issue of tolerance, it should be confined to religious tolerance only, for “. . . the Mohammedan has been, on the whole, the most tolerant of all religions, as regards religious liberty, though the most intolerant as regards civil freedom” (Webster, 175).
- ²⁷ It seems that the collection of Armenian children officially ceased in certain districts as early as A.D. 1545 and eventually included other Armenian provinces until the banishment of such practice. Maghakia Archbishop Ormanian, *Azkabadum; Hay ughghapar yegeghetswo anskere sgizpen minchew mer orere: haragits azkayin barakanerov badmuadz*, Vol. II, Part II (Beirut, 1960), 2238.
- ²⁸ It is worthy to note what is said about the nature of the so-called Armenian privileges by those travelers who first alluded to them: “. . . the true reason is, for that they are very laborious in transporting merchandise from one city to another, by which means through the customs which are paid in every city, the coffers of the Grand Signior are wonderfully enriched” (Cartwright, 59). This kind of privilege, however, was seemingly introduced by the Mongols: “Taharten agreed that it was true he especially favored the Christians throughout his country for they brought him, he said, wealth by their trade” (Clavijo, 25).
- ²⁹ William George Browne, during a journey performed through Asia Minor in 1802, discovered that “The Armenian church narrowly escaped the conflagration [of 1801] . . . It was saved by demolishing all the private houses near it. They [Armenians] assert, that it would have been impossible to rebuild it, on account of the Mahometan women of Broussa being particularly furious against Christians. On some late occasion, when it had become necessary to repair the church, a party of these amazons, together, it is said, with some men dressed in female apparel and instigated by a fanatical saint, tumultuously assembled. The saint declared, “that every nail which was driven, operated as a new wound in the body of the prophet”; and the mob destroyed all the repairs that had been made . . .” Robert Walpole, *Travels in Various Countries of the East; Being a Continuation of Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, etc.* (London, 1820), 112.
- ³⁰ E. C. Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks: From the beginning of their empire to the present time*, Vol. I (London, 1854), 20–24.

Texts

A.D. 1575

“[The Armenians] are pious and honest people, innocent, but very zealous in their religion, and receive strangers readily that come to them, and give them lodging, as I have often found it in my travels. They are also very much inclined to help and assist the poor slaves, that are under Turkish confinement, and ready to help them out. Their merchants, whereof there are many amongst them, are dispersed not only over all Turkey, but also Persia, the Indies, and many other countries; whereof they have in all chief towns of trading . . . their peculiar warehouses and churches . . .”

LEONHART RAUWOLFF

John Ray, *A Collection of Travels* . . . (London, 1693), 348.

A.D. 1600

“[The Armenians are] a people very industrious in all kind of labor: their women very skillful and active in shooting, and managing any sort of weapon, like the fierce Amazons in ancient time . . . Their families are very great; for, both sons, nephews and nieces do dwell under one roof, having all their substance in common . . . living in all peace and tranquillity, grounded on true love and honest simplicity.

“To discourse how populous this nation is at this day, is needless, since they inhabit both in Armenia the Greater, and Armenia the Lesser; as also in Cilicia, Bithinia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. Besides the principal cities of the Turkish empire be much populated with them . . .”

JOHN CARTWRIGHT

The Preachers Travels . . . (London, 1611), 23.

A.D. 1897

“So far as the ability to protect himself is concerned, the Armenian belongs to a degenerate race.”

GEORGE HUGHES HEPWORTH

Through Armenia on Horseback (New York, 1898), 135.

“. . . The Turks have only one way of dealing with all revolts against their own misgovernment, and that is by raising irregular troops, the greatest ruffians in their dominions, and by allowing and encouraging them to butcher men, women, and children as the sign and pledge of victory . . .”

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL

Dowager Duchess of Argyll (ed.), *Autobiography and Memoirs*
Vol. II (London, 1906), 237.

John of Pian de Carpine—1182?–?1252

*The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253–55, as Narrated by Himself,
With Two Accounts of the Earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine.*

Translated from the Latin, and edited, with an introductory notice by William Woodville Rockhill

Printed for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1900

A.D. 1246?

*The Journey of Friar John of Pian de Carpine to the Court of Kuruk Khan, 1245–1247, as
Narrated by Himself.*

<Comania> To the south . . . has the Alans, the Circasses, the Gazars, Greece and Constantinople; also the land of the Ibers, the Cachs, the Brutaches, who are said to be Jews and who shave their heads, the country of the Zicci, of the Georgians and of the Armenians, and the country of the Turks. ¹²

William of Rubruck [Guillaume Rubruquis]—1220?–?1293

Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes. Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others.

Samuel Purchas

In tewnty volumes. Vol. XI, Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1906

A.D. 1255

The Journall of Friar William de Rubruquis, a French man, of the Order of the Minorite Friars, unto the east parts of the world.

144 . . . We entered the country of the Soldan of Turkey, upon the first Sunday in Lent. And the first castle we found, is called Marseugen <Marsengen/Erzincan>.¹ All in the castle were Christians, Armenians, Curgines, and Greeks: The Saracens <Turks> only have the dominion. There, the captain of the castle said, he had received commandment, that no victuals should be given to any Frank, or to the Ambassadors of the King of Armenia, or of Vastacius. So that from the place where we were the first Sunday in Lent, unto Cyprus, (whether I came eight days before the Feast of Saint John Baptist) we must buy our provision. He, who was my guide procured me horses, and took money for the victuals, and put it in his purse. When he came into the fields, seeing a flock any where, he violently took one sheep, and gave it to his family to eat, and marveled I would not eat of his robbery. In the Purification I was in a certain city called Aini, which was Sahensas, whose situation is most strong: and there are there a thousand Armenian churches, and two synagogues of the Saracens . . .

145 The second Sunday in Lent, we came to the head of Araxis, and passing beyond the top of the mountain, we came to Euphrates; by the which we descended the castle eight days, always going to the west, unto a certain castle, called Camath. There Euphrates bends to the pass into South towards Halapia. But we passing the river went through very high hilly countries, and through the deep snow to the west. There was so great an earthquake thence to there that year, that in one city called Arsengan, ten thousand persons noted by name, perished, beside poor men of whom there was no notice taken. Riding three mightily days together, we saw the gaping of the earth, as it was shaken cleft by the earthquake, and the heaps of earth which came from the mountains, and filled the valleys . . .

146 We were in Sebaste of the Lesser Armenia in Easter week. There we visited the tombs of forty Martyrs. There the Church of Saint Blase stands: but I could not go thither, because it was above in the castle. On Low-Sunday we came to Cesaria of Cappadocia; where there is a Church of Saint Basill the great. About fifteen days after we came to Iconium, making small journeys, and resting in many places: because we could not so readily procure horses. And my guide did this of purpose: taking upon him to solicit his own business three days, in every town: whereupon, I was much grieved, but dears not speak, because he might have sold, or slain me and our servants, and there was none to gain-say it. I found many Franks at Iconium, and a certain Januensian <Genoese> merchant, called Nicholas de Sancto Syrio. Who with a certain companion of his a Venetian, called Boniface de Molendino, carried all the alum out

of Turkey, so that the Soldan could not sell any, but to those two: and they made it so dear, that what was wont to be sold for fifteen Bizantians, is now sold for fifty. My guide presented me to the Soldan; The Soldan said, he would willingly cause me to be conveyed to the sea to Armenia, or Cilicia. Then the aforesaid merchant knowing that the Saracens made little account of me, and that I was much burdened with the company of my guide (who troubled me every day to give him gifts) caused me to be conveyed to Curcum <Corycas>, a haven of the King of Armenia.

Concerning Turkey, your Majesty shall understand, that the tenth man there, is not a 147 Saracen: nay, they are all Armenians, and Greeks.



Partial reproduction of a map of Asia in the first half of the fourteenth century compiled by H. Yule and revised by H. Cordier. [From the Hakluyt Society's publications, Series II, Vol. 33.]

Marco Polo—1254?–?1324

The book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East.

Translated and edited, with notes, by Colonel Sir Henry Yule

Third edition, Vol. I, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903

A.D. 1272

41 HERE THE BOOK BEGINS; AND FIRST IT SPEAKS OF THE LESSER HERMENIA

There are two Hermenias <Armenias>, the Greater and the Less. The Lesser Hermenia is governed by a certain King, who maintains a just rule in his dominions, but is himself subject to the Tartar.* The country contains numerous towns and villages, and has everything in plenty; moreover, it is a great country for sport in the chase of all manner of beasts and birds. It is, however, by no means a healthy region, but grievously the reverse. In days of old the nobles there were valiant men, and did doughty deeds of arms; but nowadays they are poor creatures, and good at nought, unless it be at boozing; they are great at that. Howbeit, they have a city upon the sea, which is called Layas <Ayas>, at which there is a great trade. For you must know that all the spicery, and the cloths of silk and gold, and the other valuable wares that come from the interior, are brought to that city. And the merchants of Venice and Genoa, and other countries, come thither to sell their goods! and to buy what they lack. And whatsoever persons would travel to the interior (of the East), merchants or others, they take their way by this city of Layas.

42 Having now told you about the Lesser Hermenia, we shall next tell you about Turcomania.

* The Petite Hermenie of the Middle Ages was quite distinct from the Armenia Minor of the ancient geographers, which name the latter applied to the western portion of Armenia, west of the Euphrates, and immediately north of Cappadocia.

But when the old Armenian monarchy was broken up (1079–80), Rupen, a kinsman of the Bagratid Kings, with many of his countrymen, took refuge in the Taurus. His first descendants ruled as barons a title adopted apparently from the Crusaders, but still preserved in Armenia. Leon, the great-great-grandson of Rupen, was consecrated king under the supremacy of the Pope and the Western Empire in 1198. The kingdom was at its zenith under Hetum or Haytonon I, husband of Leon's daughter Isabel (1224–1269); he was, however, prudent enough to make an early submission to the Mongols, and remained ever staunch to them, which brought his territory constantly under the flail of Egypt. It included at one time all Cilicia, with many cities of Syria and the ancient Armenia Minor, of Issauria and Cappadocia. The male line of Rupen becoming extinct in 1342, the kingdom passed to John de Lusignan, of the royal house of Cyprus, and in 1375 it was put an end to by the Sultan of Egypt. Leon VI, the ex-king, into whose mouth Froissart puts some extraordinary geography, had a pension of 1,000*l.* a year granted him by our Richard II, and died at Paris in 1398.

The chief remaining vestige of this little monarchy is the continued existencce of a Catholicos of part of the Armenian Church at Sis, which was the royal residence. Some Armenian communities still remain both in hills and plains; and the former, the more independent and industrious, still speak a corrupt Armenian.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF TURCOMANIA

43

In Turcomania there are three classes of people. First, there are the Turcomans; these are worshippers of Mahomet, a rude people with an uncouth language of their own. They dwell among mountains and towns where they find good pasture, for their occupation is cattle-keeping. Excellent horses, known as *Turquans*, are reared in their country, and also very valuable mules. The other two classes are the Armenians and the Greeks, who live mixed with the former in the towns and villages, occupying themselves with trade and handicrafts. They weave the finest and handsomest carpets in the world, and also a great quantity of fine and rich silks of cramoisy and other colors, and plenty of other stuffs. Their chief cities are Conia, Savast <Sivas> [where the glorious Messer Saint Blaise suffered martyrdom], and Casaria <Kayseri>, besides many other towns and bishops' sees, of which we shall not speak at present, for it would be too long a matter. These people are subject to the Tartar of the Levant as their suzerain. We will now leave this province, and speak of the Greater Armenia. 44

DESCRIPTION OF THE GREATER HERMENIA

45

This is a great country. It begins at a city called Arzinga <Erzincan>, at which they weave the best buckrams in the world. It possesses also the best baths from natural springs that are anywhere to be found. The people of the country are Armenians, and are subject to the Tartar. There are many towns and villages in the country, but the noblest of their cities is Arzinga, which is the Sea of an Archbishop, and then Arziron and Arzizi <Arjesh>.

The country is indeed a passing great one, and in the summer it is frequented by the whole host of the Tartars of the Levant, because it then furnishes them with such excellent pasture for their cattle. But in winter the cold is past all bounds, so in that season they quit this country and go to a warmer region, where they find other good pastures. [At a castle called Paipurth, that you pass in going from Trebizond to Tauris, there is a very good silver mine.] 46

And you must know that it is in this country of Armenia that the Ark of Noah exists on the top of a certain great mountain [on the summit of which snow is so constant that no one can ascend; for the snow never melts, and is constantly added to by new falls. Below, however, the snow does melt, and runs down, producing such rich and abundant herbage that in summer cattle are sent to pasture from a long way round about, and it never fails them. The melting snow also causes a great amount of mud on the mountain].

The country is bounded on the south by a kingdom called Mosul, the people of which are Jacobite and Nestorian Christians, of whom I shall have more to tell you presently. On the north it is bounded by the Land of the Georgians, of whom also I shall speak. On the confines towards Georgiana there is a fountain from which oil springs in great abundance, insomuch that a hundred shiploads might be taken from it at one time. This oil is not good to use with food, but it is good to burn, and is also used to anoint camels that have the mange. People come from vast distances to fetch it, for in all the countries round about they have no other oil.

Odoric of Pordenone—1286–1331

Cathay and the Way Thither, being a collection of medieval notices of China.

Translated and edited by Colonel Sir Henry Yule, with a preliminary essay on the intercourse between China and the Western Nations previous to the discovery of the Cape route, new edition, revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries by Henri Cordier
Vol. II, London, printed for The Hakluyt Society, 1913

A.D. 1318?

The Eastern Parts of the World Described by Friar Odoric the Bohemian, of Friuli, in the Province of Saint Anthony.

100 Departing thence <from Trebizond>, I came into Armenia the Greater, to a certain city
101 which is called Arziron, which I in time long past was a fine and most wealthy city, and it would have been so unto this day but for the Tartars and the Saracens, who have done it much damage. It abounded greatly in bread and flesh, and many other kinds of victual, but not in wine or fruits. For the city is mighty cold, and folk say that it is the highest city that is at this day inhabited on the whole face of the earth. But it had most excellent water, the reason whereof seems to be that the springs of this water are derived from the River Euphrates, which flowed at about one day's journey from the city. And this city is just midway to Tauris.



*Greater and Lesser Armenia in medieval times.
(Some travelers, such as Marco Polo, have referred to Cilicia as Lesser Armenia.)*

Jordanus Catalani—1302–1330

Mirabilia Descripta. Wonders of the East—Friar Jordanus, of the Order of Preachers and Bishop of Columbium in India the greater, (circa 1330).

Translated from the Latin original, as published at Paris in 1839, in the *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, of the Society of Geography, by Colonel Henry Yule
London, Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1863

A.D. 1330

HERE FOLLOWS CONCERNING ARMENIA

1. In Armenia the Greater I saw one great marvel. This is it: a mountain of excessive height and immense extent, on which Noah's ark is said to have rested. This mountain is never without snow, and seldom or never without clouds, which rarely rise higher than three parts up. The mountain is inaccessible, and there never has been anybody who could get farther than the edge of the snow. And (marvelous indeed!) even the beasts chased by the huntsmen, when they come to the snow, will willingly turn, will willingly yield them into the huntsmen's hands, than go farther up that mountain. | This mountain has a compass of more than three 4 days' journey for a man on horseback going without halt. There be serpents of a great size, which swallow hares alive and whole, as I heard from a certain trustworthy gentleman who saw the fact, and shot an arrow at a serpent with a hare in his mouth, but scathed it not. In a certain part of the mountain is a dwelling which Noah is said to have built on leaving the Ark; and there, too, is said to be that original vine which Noah planted, and whereby he got drunk; and it gives such huge branches of grapes as you would scarce believe. This I heard from a certain Catholic archbishop of ours, a great man and a powerful, and trustworthy to boot, the lord of that land; and, indeed, I believe I have been at the place myself, but it was in the winter season.

2. This country of Armenia the Greater is very extensive, and there three of the apostles suffered martyrdom: Bartholomew, Simon, and Judas. I saw a prison in which the two latter apostles were kept; and likewise springs of water which they produced from the living rock, smiting it with | a rod eight times, or ten times, or seventeen times (anyhow there be just as 5 many springs as there were blows struck); and hard by there was a church built, beauteous and of wonderful bigness.

3. In this same Armenia the Greater a certain glorious virgin suffered martyrdom, the daughter of a king, and Scala <Sandukht> by name. And there, too, was cast into a well, with a lion and a dragon, St. Gregory, who converted Armenia to the Catholic faith, as well as its king Tertal <Derthat>, in the time of St. Sylvester and the Emperor Constantine. In this Armenia, too, was slain the blessed martyr Jacobus.

4. This province is inhabited chiefly by schismatic Armenians, but the Preaching and Minor friars have converted a good four thousand of them, and more. For one archbishop, a great man, called the Lord Zachary,² was converted with his whole people; and we trust in the Lord that in a short | time the whole residue shall be converted also, if only the good friars go 6 on so.

5. There are many good and great Armenian princes, Christians; but the Persian emperor has the paramount sovereignty.

6. In this Armenia there is a Dead Sea <Lake Van>, very bitter to the taste, where they say there be no fish at all, and which can not be sailed upon by reason of the stench; and it has an island where are buried many ancient emperors and kings of the Persians, with an infinity of treasure; but nobody is allowed to go there, or, if allowed, they dare not search for the treasure.

7. This Armenia extends in length from Sebast to the Plain of Mogan and the Caspian Mountains; and in breadth from the Barcarian Mountains to Tabriz, which is a good twenty-three days' journey, the length being more than forty days.

8. There is a certain lake, at the foot of the aforesaid great mountain, where ten thousand martyrs were martyred, and in their martyrdom happened all the same tokens as in the Passion of Christ, for that they all were crucified for Christ. And that part of the mountain is called Ararat; and there was a city there called Semur <Surmari>, exceeding great, which was destroyed by the Tartars. I have been over all that country,—almost.

9. But I saw not anything else, in this Armenia the greater, worth telling as a marvel.

11 Persia, Armenia Major, Chaldea, as well as Cappadocia and Asia Minor and Greece, abound in good fruits, meats, and other things, like our own country; but their lands are not so populous,—no, not a tithe,—except Greece.

53 The empire of Persia begins at Trebizond, which is a city of the Greeks, situated in the furthest bight of the Moorish Sea. And that empire extends far; for it includes Lesser Asia, Cilicia, Media, Cappadocia, Lycia, Greater Armenia, Caldea, Georgiana, part of the Caspian Hills and Mogan,—whence came those three kings to worship Christ,—even to the Iron Gates, and all Persia, with some part of Lesser India; so that the empire extends across from the Black Sea to the Indian Sea, and so great is the distance as to equal ninety days of ordinary journey with cattle, or more.

58 This Turkey, which is called Asia Minor, is inhabited by the Turks, and by a few schismatic Greeks and Armenians.

Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Battuta—1304–1377

The Travels of Ibn Battuta A.D. 1325–1354.

Translated with revisions and notes from the Arabic text edited by C. Defremery and

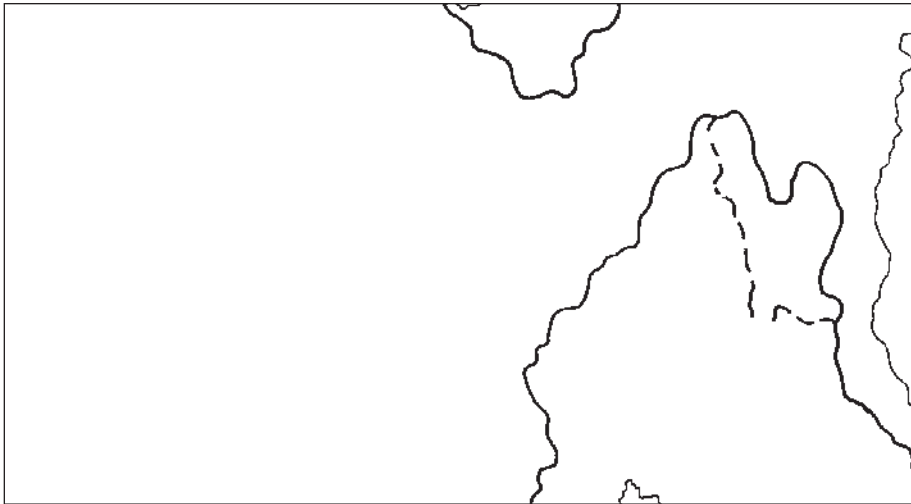
B. R. Sanguinetti. By Hamilton A. R. Gibb

In three volumes. Vol. II, Cambridge, published for the Hakluyt Society, 1962

A.D. 1330?

After our departure from these parts we came to Arzanjan <Erzincan>, in the territories of the ruler of al-'Iraq,³ a large and populous city, most of whose inhabitants are Armenians. The Muslims there speak Turkish. It has well-organized bazaars, and there are manufactured in it fine fabrics which are called by its name. In it are mines of copper, from which they make utensils and the [lampstands called] baisus . . .

We left there for the city of Arz al-Rum <Erzurum>, in the territories of the king of al-'Iraq,* a place of vast extent, but mostly in ruins in consequence of a factional feud which broke out between two groups of Turkmens there. It is traversed by three rivers, and most of its houses have gardens in which there are fruit trees and vines.



*Partial reproduction of the Catalan Map of 1375.
[From the Hakluyt Society's publications, Series II, Vol. 33.]*

* Erzurum (Erzerum), 150 km east of Erzincan: Murray's Handbook, 204–6; E.I., s.v. Formerly called Qaliqala, the name Erzerum (Arzan al Rum, "Byzantine Arzan") was given to it by the Armenians of Arzan who moved to it after the destruction of Arzan by the Seljuks in 1049; the local name is Karin. No other source mentions flowing streams in the city, but only fountains fed from springs, and there are no vines at Erzerum itself (Cuinet, I, 146; cf. *Selections from Ibn Battuta*, trans. [in Armenian] A. Ajarian [Yerevan, 1940], 44).

John Mandeville—d.1372

Mandeville's Travels.

Texts and translations by Malcolm Letts

In two volumes. Vol. I, London, the Hakluyt Society, 1953

A.D. 1332?

87 And men go by the mounts of Libanus, which last-from Armenia the more towards the north unto Dan, the which is the end of the Land of Repromission toward the north . . .

104 From the city of Trebizond men go to Little Armenia.

106 The right way from Trebizond till Armenia the more is to a city that men call Artiron <Erzurum>, the which was wont to be a good city and a rich and a fair, but the Turks have destroyed it. About it grows but little wine or little other fruit, for the land is high and cold; but there are many rivers and good wells that come under the earth from Euphrates, the which is from that city a day journey. And this river of Euphrates comes under the earth toward India and afterward it comes up in the land of Allazar. Through this Armenia the more, men pass and come to the sea of Persia. From the aforesaid city of Erzerum men go to a hill that is called Sabissebella or Sabissacolle <Hasankale>. And there near is another hill that men call Ararat, but the Jews call it Thano, where Noah's ship rested after the Flood.

179 The other <Persian> kingdom lasts from the river of Phison toward the west unto the land of Media and Armenia the more . . .

And then is the land of Armenia, the which was sometime divided in four kingdoms. This is a great land and a plentiful and good. And it begins at Persia and lasts towards the west on length unto the land of Turkey; and on breadth it lasts from the city of Alexandria <Alexandretta>, that now is called *Porte de Fer*,* unto the land of Media. In this land of Armenia are many fair cities, but Taurisius is most of name.

Then is the land of Media, the which is right long, but not full broad. And it begins eastward at the land of Persia and India the less, and lasts westward to the kingdom of Chaldea, and northward to Little Armenia. In this land of Media are many great hills and little plain. And there dwell Saracens and another manner of folk, that men call Cordynes <Kurds> . . .

And then next is the kingdom of Georgia, the which begins eastward at a great hill that is called Abior. In this land dwell many divers nations; and this land is called Halamo. And it lasts unto Turkey and to the great sea; and southward it marches upon Armenia the more.

181 And you shall understand that in these aforesaid realms of Georgia and Abcaz and of Armenia the less are dwelling good Christian men and devout . . .

* "Gates of Hell" in Cotton [manuscript].

Johannes Schiltberger—b.1380/81

The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger, a Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396–1427.

Translated from the Heidelberg Manuscript edited in 1859 by Professor Karl Friedrich Neumann,
by Commander J. Buchan Telfer, with notes by Professor P. Brunn
London, printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1879

A.D. 1400–1403

. . . Prisoners <by the orders of Weyasit or Bayazid> were sent as an offering to the king of 6
Babilony and the king of Persia, also into White Tartary, into Greater Armenia, and also into
other countries. I was taken to the palace of the Turkish king; there for six years I was obliged
to run on my feet with the others, wherever he went, it being the custom that the lords have
people to run before them.

When Weyasit had expelled Otman from Tamast <Tamask>, as has already been stated, he 20
went to his lord named Tamerlin, to whom he was subject, and complained of Weyasit, how
he had driven him away from the kingdom of Tamask, which he had conquered, and at the
same time asked him to help him to reconquer his kingdom. Tamerlin said that he would send
to Weyasit, to restore the country. This he did, but Weyasit sent word that he would not give
it up, for as he had won it by the sword, it might as well be his as another's. So soon as
Tamerlin heard this, he assembled ten hundred thousand men, and conducted them into the
kingdom of Sebast, and lay siege to the capital, before which he remained twenty-one days,
and he undermined the walls of the city in several places, and took the city by force, although
there were in it five thousand horsemen sent by Weyasit. They were all buried alive in this
way. When Tamerlin took the city, the governor begged that he would not shed their blood.
To this he consented, and so they were buried alive. Then he leveled the city, and carried away
the inhabitants into captivity in his own country. There were also nine thousand virgins taken
into captivity by Tamerlin to his own country. Before he took the city, he had at least three
thousand men killed. Then he returned to his own country.

Scarcely had Tamerlin returned to his own country, than Weyasit assembled three hundred
thousand men, and went into Lesser Ermenia <Armenia> and took it from Tamerlin, and 1
took the capital called Ersingen, together with its lord who was named Tarathan, and then 21
went back to his own country. So soon as Tamerlin heard that Weyasit had conquered the said
country, he went to meet him with sixteen hundred thousand men; and when Weyasit heard
this, he went to meet him with fourteen hundred thousand men. They met near a city called
Augury <Ankara>, where they fought desperately. Weyasit had quite thirty thousand men of
White Tartary, whom he placed in the van at the battle. They went over to Tamerlin; then
they had two encounters, but neither could overcome the other. Now Tamerlin had thirty-
two trained elephants at the battle, and ordered, after mid-day, that they should be brought
into the battle. This was done, and they attacked each other; but Weyasit took to flight, and
went with at least one thousand horsemen to a mountain. Tamerlin surrounded the mountain

so that he could not move, and took him.* Then he remained eight months in the country, conquered more territory and occupied it, and then went to Weyasit's capital and took him with him, and took his treasure, and silver and gold, as much as one thousand camels could carry; and he would have taken him into his own country, but he died† on the way. And so I became Tamerlin's prisoner, and was taken by him to his country. After this I rode after him. What I have described took place during the time that I was with Weyasit.

22 After Tamerlin had overcome Weyasit and returned to his own country, he went to war with the king-sultan, who is the chief king among Infidels. He took with him twelve hundred thousand men, went into his territory, and lay siege to a city called Hallapp, which contains four hundred thousand houses. Then the lord and governor of the city took with him eighty thousand men, and went out and fought with Tamerlin, but he could not overcome him, and fled again into the city, and many people were killed in his flight. He continued to defend himself, but Tamerlin took a suburb on the fourth day, and the people he found in it he threw into the moat of the city, put timber and mire upon them, and filled the moat in four places. The moat was twelve fathom deep, and [cut] in the solid rock. Then he stormed the city, and took it by assault and captured the governor, and fully occupied the city, and then went to another city called Hrumkula, which surrendered. Then he went to another city called Anthap. There he lay siege for nine days, and took it on the tenth day by assault, and pillaged it, and went to another city called Wehessum <Kesun>. There he lay siege for fifteen days. After that they gave themselves up and he occupied it. The cities I have named are chief cities in Syria.⁴ Then he went to another city called Damaschk; it is the principal capital in the country.

26 When Tamerlin returned from Lesser India, he sent one of his vassals named Chebakh, with ten thousand men, to the city of Soltania, to bring to him the five-yearly tribute of Perssia and Ermenia which was kept in that city.

31 Mirenschach asked his brother, Scharoch, to come with the rest of his people. He came. Then he fought with Joseph and drove him away, and Mirenschach returned to his kingdom. There were also two countries that were subdued by Joseph; the one was called Churten,[‡] the other was Lesser Armenia <Armenia>. Scharoch went into these countries and conquered them, and bestowed them on his brother . . .

After Mirenschach had remained in peace for one year, Joseph entered his country with a large number of people, which, when he perceived, he went to meet him with fully four hundred thousand men. They met each other at a plain called Scharabach,[§] and fought together for two days. Mirenschach was overcome and made a prisoner.

* July, 1402.

† March 8, 1403, at Aksheher.

‡ Kourdistan.

§ Karabagh, to the West of the Caspian Sea. Karabagh, "Black Garden," is the name given by the Persians and Turks to the entire district extending from Shirwan, on the west, to that point where the Kur and Araxes unite. In ancient times the Armenians called this region Arzach . . .

The capital of Turkey is called Wursa <Bursa>. The city contains two hundred thousand 40
houses, and eight hospitals where poor people are received, whether they be Christians,
Infidels, or Jews. Three hundred castles are dependent on this city, without excepting the chief
towns . . . There is also a city called Anguri; it has a fertile country also called Siguri.* In this
city are many Christians who hold to the Ermenian faith; and they have a cross in their
church that shines day and night; even Infidels go to the church, and they call the cross the
bright stone. The Infidels also wanted to carry it off and put it in their temple, but whoever
touches it, his hands become distorted. There is also a city called Wegureisari,† and the
country is called by the same name. There is also a country called Karaman, the chief city
being called Laranda. There is also in this country a city called Konia, in which lies the saint,
Schenisis, who was first an Infidel priest, and was secretly baptized; and when his end 41
approached, received from an Armenian | priest, the body of God in an apple. He has worked
great miracles. There is also a city called Gassaria, and the country is of the same name. In
this country Saint Basil was Bishop. I have also been in Sebast, which was once a kingdom.
There is a city on the Black Sea called Samson; it is in a fertile country called Zegnich. The
above-named countries and cities all belong to Turkey, and I have been in them all . . .

I have also been in Lesser Armenia; the capital is Ersinggan <Erzincan>. There is also a city 43
called Kayburt,‡ and it has a fertile country. Also a city called Kamach, situated on a high
mountain, and below the mountain flows a river called the Euphrates; it is one of the rivers that
flows out of Paradise. This river also flows through Lesser Armenia, and then courses through
a desert ten days' journey across; then it is lost in a marsh, so that nobody knows where it
goes. It courses also through Persia.

The countries in which I have been, that belong to Tartary. 49

. . . A city called Kaffa, which lies by the Black Sea, and is surrounded by two walls. Within
one wall are six thousand houses, in which are Italians, Greeks, and Armenians; it is a chief
city on the Black Sea, and has within the outer walls, I thousand houses, in which are many
Christians; Romans, Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians. There are also three bishops; a Roman,
a Greek, and an Armenian. There are also many Infidels who have their particular temple.

In the middle of Paradise there is a spring, from which flow four rivers that course through 61
different countries. The first is called Rison and flows through India; in this river are found
many precious stones and gold. The other is called Nilus: it flows through the country of the
Moors and through Egypt. The third is called Tigris, and flows through Asia and Great
Armenia. The fourth is called the Euphrates, which flows through Persia and Lesser Armenia.
Of these four rivers I have seen three. One is called Nilus, the other Tigris, the third, Euphrates.
I have been many years in the countries through which these rivers flow, and have there
experienced many things that are good and bad, of which a great deal more might be said.

* Printed editions give Sigemi, which is nearer to the true reading.

† Ancient Gangra, Kiankary.

‡ Baiburt. Byburt, in edition of 1814.

73 Machmet forbade wine to all, under a heavy penalty, whether ecclesiastic or lay, emperor, king, dukes, barons, counts, knight and varlet, servants, and all those who were of his faith, and that they should no longer drink wine, whether they be well or ill . . . He has also ordered that the Christians and all those who are against his faith, should be persecuted day and night, except the Armeny who are to be free amongst them; and where there are Armeny amongst them, then they should not take from them a monthly tax greater than two pfennings, because Machmet had promised the Armenian priest, as has been stated. He has also ordered, that when they overcome Christians, they should not kill them; but they should pervert them, and should thus spread and strengthen their own faith.

85 How Jassen <Yasses> have their marriages,

. . . Then come their priests and the chief <persons> that are there, and invite the
86 bridegroom's father and mother; and then they go | to their son the bridegroom, and ask him whether or no he will have her? If he says, "Yes," she is given to him by the priests, and the other persons who have interceded for her. But if he says, "No," then they are in all things separated; and whatever he has brought to her, she gives the whole back to him; and whatever clothes he has given her, she must give back to him; after which, he can take another wife, and she another husband. There are many people in Ermenia who have this custom. The Infidels call the Gorgiten, Kurtzi; and the Jassen they call Affs.

. . . I have also been a great deal in Armenia. After Tamerlin died, I came to his son, who has two kingdoms in Armenia. He was named Scharoch; he liked to be in Armenia, because there is a very beautiful plain. He remained there in the winter with his people, because there was good pasturage. A great river runs through the plain; it is called the Chur, and it is also called the Tygris; and near this river, in this same country, is the best silk. The Infidels call the plain, in the Infidel tongue, Karawag. The Infidels possess it all, and yet it stands in Ermenia. There are also Armenians in the villages, but they must pay tribute to the Infidels. I always lived with the Armenians, because they are very friendly to the Germans, and because I was a German they treated me very kindly; and they also taught me their Pater Noster and their language, and they call the Germans, Nymitsch. In Armenia are three kingdoms; one is called Tiffliss, the other is called Syos <Sis>, the third is called Ersingen; the Armenians call it Isingkan <Yerzinka/Erzincan>, and that is Lesser Armenia. They also possessed Babylon for a long time; but they now have it no longer. The son of Tamerlin had Tyfflis and Ersing at the
87 time that I | was there. Siss belonged to the king-sultan, and was won, counting from Christ's birth, twelve hundred and seventy-seven years; then did the sultan of Alkenier conquer it.

The Armenians believe in the Holy Trinity. I have also often heard their priests preach in their churches, when I had gone to Mass, and been in their churches, that Saint Bartlome and Saint Thaten of the twelve holy apostles, converted them to the Christian faith, but that they have often been perverted again. There was a holy man named Gregory, and the king of Armenia was his cousin, and he lived in the time when Saint Silvester was Pope at Rome. The king of Armenia died, and he was a good Christian, and his son was king, and he was named Derthatt <Derthat>; he was very strong, because he had the strength of forty oxen; what they could drag and lift, that he could lift alone. It was this same king who built the large church at Bethleen . . . And when he became king after his father, he turned Infidel, and persecuted the Christians, and took hold of his cousin Gregory, and told him he must worship his idol.

This the blessed man would not do, so he put him into a pit where there were adders and serpents and many other hurtful reptiles, that they might eat him. But they did nothing to him. He lay there twelve years. About the same time, several saintly maidens came to Ermenia from Italy and preached the Christian religion instead of the Ermenen religion. The king heard this, and ordered that they should be brought to him. There was one amongst them who was named Susanna, who was very beautiful; she was taken to his room, when he wished to urge her to unchastity, but strong as he was, he could do nothing with the young woman, nor win her with all his power, for God was with her. This was told to him in the prison, and he said: "Oh, the wicked pig!" At the same time, the king fell from his throne, became a pig, and ran away to the woods. Then there was great disorder in the land, but the vassals of the country consulted, and took Gregory out of the pit, and asked him if he could help the king. He answered them and said, that he would not help him, unless they and he became Christians. The vassals promised him this, also for the king. Then said Gregory: "Ride into the wood, look for him, and bring him." They rode into the wood, and brought him to Gregory; and as soon as he saw Gregory, he ran to him, and kissed his feet. Gregory knelt on his knees, and prayed to Almighty God that He would have mercy on the man, and make him whole. The king again became a man, and was, with all his people, again a Christian, and went against Babiloni and the Infidels, and conquered Babilonia and the whole country, three kingdoms, and converted them to Christianity, and appointed Gregory over the clergy and all ecclesiastical orders. In this way, their religion was established by the King Derthat and the man Gregory. They also took much territory that belonged to the Infidels, and forced them to Christianity by means of the sword; but now they have lost all their kingdoms, although they are a fighting people. It is not long since they lost a kingdom, and a good capital called Siss; it was taken by the king-sultan. It is also their patriarch's seat, but he must pay great tribute to the sultan. The king of Zypern has many nobles of Armenia at his court, because it is near. Then was Gregory told of the great miracle which Pope Silvester had performed on Constantine, during the time that he was emperor at Rome, because he had made him clean of an eruption, and that he had saved from death the children that had been brought together to be killed, because the doctors informed the emperor that he should wash in the blood of children, so that he might get well of his eruptions. 88 89

Gregory thought over it, and said to the king: "The power that thou has conferred upon me, has no influence, unless I have it from the holy father Silvester"; and he told the king of the great miracle performed by the holy father on the emperor Constantine. The king said that he would willingly see him, and would go with him, and prepared and made arrangements for [the government of] his kingdom. He took with him forty thousand men, good horsemen and foot-soldiers; he also took with him many valuables and many precious stones, with which to do honor to the holy father, Saint Silvester. Gregory took with him the most learned men that he had under him, and went from Babiloni through Persia, through Greater Armenia, and through many other countries, and went through the Iron Gates which lie between two seas, and reach into Great Tartary towards Ruwschea; through Walchi, Pulgeri, through Ungerer, Frigaul, through Lamparten, through Duschkan, and so they came dry-footed to Rome, as they had not passed over the sea. And when they were near Rome, Silvester sent to them all the blind, lame, and sick, that Gregory might heal them, as he wished to test his sanctity. When the king, Derthat, saw the people, he was angry, and thought

the Pope was making fun of him. Gregory, without being angry, said: "I know well what he means"; and ordered that water should be brought to him; and he knelt on his knees, and prayed to Almighty God that those who will be sprinkled with the water, will become sound.

- 90 He then took a sponge on a stick, and sprinkled the people with it; and he who was touched by it, was healed. The blind received sight. The Pope, Silvester, heard of this, and went with all his clergy, and with the whole city of Rome, to meet him, and showed him deference and honor. They were a whole year going by land, from Babilony to Rome. Gregory asked the Pope Silvester to give him power to free his clergy and his people from the jurisdiction of Rome, because he was so far that he could not always go to the Chair; then he gave him the power of a patriarch, and whoever wished to have this power, could not obtain it elsewhere than at home, and would have to send an embassy to Rome every three years. This he vowed to him, and arranged that all those who were of his faith, ecclesiastical or lay, should be subject to the Chair at Rome, and whoever would not be so, should be under the ban of the Pope, be he bishop, lord, or menial, rich or poor, in his land, and this oath the king and all his knights also took. This lasted three hundred years after the time of Gregory, that they were subject to the Chair, after which they no longer went to the Chair, and themselves chose a patriarch. Their patriarch they call Kathagnes, and a king they call Takchauer.⁵

- 91 There was also at that same time on a mountain near Rome, a dragon and a unicorn, that did much harm to the people in the streets, so that none could pass. Then the holy father, Saint Silvester, asked the king of Armenia, as he was a powerful man, whether he would not try, with God's will, to kill the dragon and also the unicorn; the king went alone, and saw where they were, and when he got there, he saw them biting each other, and he looked at them until the dragon escaped, and the unicorn chased him to a hole in the rock; the dragon turned himself in the hole, and defended himself against the unicorn. The unicorn struck at the dragon with his tongue, and tried to draw him outside. The dragon seized the unicorn, and they struggled together, until the unicorn pulled the dragon out as far as his neck, and the one would not let the other go. At that moment, the king ran up and cut the dragon's neck, and with the tugging that the unicorn gave it, the head rolled down the rock; the king then sprang up and killed the unicorn also. He then returned to Rome, and ordered that the heads should be brought; now the wagon had enough to do to carry the head of the dragon; and so the King Derthat delivered the Romans of the reptiles, for which the city, and especially the holy father, showed him great honor. Then Gregory went to the Pope, and asked him for the articles which belonged to the faith, which he gave him, and then they returned to their own country, and Gregory taught the Christian faith as he received it from the Pope, which they do not hold any more, as is above stated. Now, they themselves elect their patriarch, and when they wish to make one, twelve bishops and four archbishops must be present, and he is elected. Many of the articles that Gregory brought from Rome, have been changed, and they are now separated from the church of Rome. Their priests make the sacrament with unleavened bread, and nobody else prepares the bread, but the priest who is to celebrate the Mass, and he prepares one only. Whilst he is making it, other priests must read the Psalter right through, and if there are no priests, then he must say it himself, right through. They say that it is a great sin that a man or woman should make the bread for the Holy Sacrament; they also say that it is not right to sell this bread like other bread. They communicate the Holy Sacrament with wine, and not with water. When they want to have

the Mass, they all stand together, and none | communicate until he who is at the high altar 92
has communicated, so that they all communicate together. They also read the gospel [looking]
towards the rising of the sun, and whichever priest celebrates the Mass, does not dare to sleep
that day after midnight; and for three nights previously, and one night after, he must separate
himself from his wife. They do not allow any deacon or any of a lower grade to be at the altar,
only the priest; and no man or woman can attend the Mass unless they have confessed; and
no woman can go into the church whilst she is unwell. Whoever has hatred or enmity towards
another, must stand before the church, and is not allowed to go in until he has become
reconciled. Woman and man sing the Pater Noster and the Belief, with the priest, when he
celebrates the Mass. They give the Sacrament also to young children. The priests do not shave
their hair nor their beard. Instead of consecrated oil, they have balm, and the patriarch gives
the sultan a large price for the balm, which he sends to his bishopric. When one wants to be
a priest, he must be forty days and nights in the church; and when the forty days are passed,
he sings his first Mass, and he is led out with singing, dressed for the Mass. Then come his
wife and child, and they kneel before him, and he gives them his blessing; then come the
priest's friends and those of his wife, and they bring their offerings; also those who are invited;
and there is great rejoicing in his honor, more even than when he was married, but he cannot
be with his wife until he has said the Mass for forty days in succession. When they baptize a
child, a man receives it, not a woman, because they say that our Lord had only a man to
baptize him, and not a woman. It is also a great sin to take a woman to a baptism. They hold
baptism in great honor, and whoever comes into the presence of his godfather, must kneel on 93
the ground before him. They hold, that in sponsorship, marriage is forbidden to the | fourth
generation. They place much confidence in our religion; they also willingly go to Mass in our
churches, which the Greeks do not. They say, that between their religion and ours, there is
only a hair's breadth, but that there is a great division between the Greek and their religion.
During the week, they fast on Wednesday and on Friday. They do not fast in Advent, and may
eat oil, but on those days they eat as often as they like after midday. They fast one week for
Saint Gregory. They have a saint named Aurencius, who was a doctor, for whom they also fast
one week. They fast also on the day of the Holy Cross, which is in September; they fast also
one week for Saint James the Great; and they fast fifteen days in August, for our dear Lady.
They fast one week for the three holy kings. They have a saint who was a knight; his name is
Zerlichis <Sarkis>; they call upon him loudly when they are at war or in other necessity; they
fast one week for him. There are many knights and nobles who fast for him for three days in
January, so that they do not eat or drink, because he is a great helper in need. Their saints'
days they keep on Saturday. On Easter eve, they celebrate the Mass after vespers, because that
is about the time when the light shines on the holy sepulcher at Jherusalem. They also
celebrate Easter, Trinity, and Ascension day with us; the other holy days they keep separately.
Christmas and the Epiyhany they keep at one and the same time, and on that evening, after
vespers, they have the Mass. They say, that God was born on that day, and was baptized thirty
years after, on that same day, and therefore they keep Christ's birth and his baptism on the
same day, and that is the sixth of January. They fast one week for the twelve holy apostles, and
keep their feast-day one day only, and that is Saturday. They pray with the Ave Maria once a
year only, and this they do upon our Lady's day in Lent, which they do not hold as we do.
When two married persons quarrel with each | other, and the one will not have the other, they 94

are separated at bed and board; but, if neither wishes to have the other, they are separated so that each can take another spouse. If they have any children, they are given to the father. Their churches are all free, as no one can inherit or sell them. When a priest wants to build a church with his own money, he must give it to the parish, so that after his death no one may dispose of it, or he is not allowed to build it; and the same if a lord or layman builds one, so that nobody shall interfere, because it has been the custom amongst them. When a priest or layman founded a church, his heirs inherited it as they did his other property, and let it out on usury, or sold it like other property. This they have changed, and will not allow it any more, and say that every house of God should be free. Their priests go to matins every night, which the Greek priests do not. They allow the prayers for the dead to be said for their rich people during their lifetime, and say that it is better to light a candle with one's own hand, than to let another person light it, by which they mean that he who does not care for his soul in his lifetime, will scarcely be cared for by his friends afterwards, because the friends get the money and do not care for the soul. They say, that when a man himself does good to his own soul, it is agreeable to God. When a poor man dies without confessing or without [having received] the body of God, a place in the churchyard is obtained for him by his advocate, and they lay him in the churchyard, and place a large stone on the grave, and write on it the name of God and the name of the dead man who lies there, and this they do for a sign that he is dead. And when a bishop or priest dies, they dress him as he stands before the altar, and the priests make his grave, then carry him out of the church, and put him on a seat in the grave. The first day they bury him up to his girdle, and go every day to the grave, and sing and read the Psalter over him, and each | priest throws a spadeful of earth over him, and this they do every day until the eighth day, and then they bury him altogether. When a young man or a virgin dies, [they put on] silk and velvet clothes, and gold rings on the ears and fingers, and so they bury young people who have not been married. And when one marries a young woman who should be a virgin, and [he] finds that she is not a virgin, he sends her back to her father, and will not take her unless more fortune is given to her, than was arranged at the contract. They have only one cross in their churches, and not more, and say, it is a sin to crucify our Lord more than once in a church. They have no paintings on their altars, and their patriarchs and bishops grant no indulgence in their churches, and say, that pardon and remission belong to the living God, and if a man goes into the church with repentance and devotion, God, in his compassion, will grant him pardon and remission of his sins. When the priest finishes the Mass, he does not give the blessing; he descends from the altar, and men and women go up to him, and he touches one after the other on the head, and says: "Asswatz thogu thu miechk";⁶ which means: God forgive thee thy sins. They read low Mass aloud, that everybody may hear, and they pray for those who are entrusted to them, and for everything for which they ought to pray; for the ecclesiastical and lay authorities over all Christendom, and they pray for the Roman emperor, and all kings, dukes, barons, counts, and knights, who are subject to him; and while he thus prays, all the people kneel, and raise their hands to God, and say: "Ogornicka";⁷ which means: Lord have mercy upon us. And whilst the priest prays, these words are continually repeated by the women and men. They behave with much devotion in their churches; they do not look here and there, and do not speak, especially while they are at Mass. They decorate their churches beautifully, and have fine vestments of velvet and of silk of all sorts of | colors. None of their laity dare to read the gospel as our own learned

laity do, who, when they come across a book, read what they find in it; no one dares to do so, for, should he read the gospel, he would be under the ban of the patriarch, because they say that no one is to read the gospel but a priest. They incense their houses every Saturday, and on the eve of every feast-day, and no one has any other incense than the white incense which grows in Arabia and in India. Priests and laymen eat like the Infidels, sitting on the ground. They have not many preachers amongst their priests, because everyone is not allowed to preach. Their preacher must be well read in the Holy Scriptures, and must have power from the patriarch to preach, and when he has the power, he may punish a bishop. Such a preacher they call Varthabiet, which is the same as being a legate; and there are more than one, and they move from one city to the other and preach. When a priest or bishop does wrong, they punish him for it, and say, that if a priest teaches the Word of God, but does not understand and attend to it, he commits a sin.

The Greeks and Armeni are always enemies, and I will tell you why it is so, because I have heard it from the Armenians. The Tartars came into Greece with forty thousand men, and did much harm to the country, and then lay siege to Constantinoppel. Then the emperor of Constantinoppel sent to the king of Armenia for forty knights, the best he had in the land, and asked him to help him. The king asked how many there were [of the enemy]; the ambassador replied to him, that there were forty thousand. Then the king of Armenia selected forty knights, the best he had in his land: "I will send forty knights to the emperor, who will, with I God's help, exterminate the Infidels, and drive them by force out of the country".⁹⁷ When the knights came near Constantinoppel to the emperor, then the ambassador told him what he was ordered to say. The emperor thought that the king of Armenia wanted to make fun of him; and on the third day, the knights went before the emperor, and asked to be allowed to go at the enemy. The emperor asked them if they meant to overcome forty thousand men. They asked to be allowed to go out, and that the gate should be shut after them, for they should have Almighty God on their side, and would fight with Him for the Christian faith, to do which they had come, or else they would die. He gave them leave, and they went out amongst the enemy, and killed eleven hundred of them, besides the prisoners they brought to the gate; but the emperor would not let them come in, unless they also killed the prisoners, so they killed them all in front of the gate. The emperor was frightened at this, and took great care of them, and treated them very well and they fought with the enemy every day, and every day did them much harm in the fight, and in a short time expelled the enemy from the city, and drove them out of the country. And when the devoted knights had driven away the Tartars, they went to the emperor, and wanted leave to return to their king; but the emperor took council how he was to put them to death, and invited them to stay with him three days longer; he would show them great honor and consideration, and called out aloud: "Whoever wishes to eat and drink and live well at the emperor's court for three days, let him come." He sent a pure virgin to each knight at his separate lodging, and this he did that the virgins might be got with child by the knights, and that they should leave their seed there; because the emperor told his lords that he wanted to take the fruit from the trees and fell the trees, thinking, that after he had killed the knights, the king of I Ermenia would become⁹⁸ subject to him. On the third night, he ordered that all the knights should be killed in their lodgings, which was done, with the exception of one who had been warned by the young woman he had with him. He returned and complained to the king that all his companions

had been killed by [order of] the emperor. The king was terrified, and grieved much for his devoted knights, and wrote to the emperor that he had sent to him forty men who were worth forty thousand; and he must know that I will come to him, and for each of my forty knights will kill forty thousand men. Then the king of Ermenia sent to the Kaliphat of Babilony to ask his aid to march against the Greek emperor. The Kalipha himself came to help him with a great many people, and then they advanced together against the emperor with four hundred thousand men. This the emperor of Constantinoppel heard of, and went out to meet them with a great many people, and fought with them, but it was not long before he fled into the city of Constantinoppel. They followed him as far as the sea opposite to Constantinopoli, and encamped there. Then the king asked the Kalypha to give him all the men he had made prisoners, and he would give him all the booty he had taken from the Greek. This was done. The king took the prisoners opposite to the city, and killed forty times forty thousand men; and he made the arm of the sea red with blood, because he had sworn that he would give to the sea the color of blood; and after all this was done, he still had so many prisoners, that thirty Greeks were given for an onion; this was done to insult the emperor, that it might be said that thirty Greeks were given for an onion. The Armenians are a brave people, those that live amongst the Christians, <as well as> those that live amongst the Infidels. They are also clever at work, because all the clever work the Infidels can do, in gold, purple, silver, and velvet, the Armenians can also do, and they also make good scarlet.



*Partial reproduction from a map illustrating the travels of Schiltberger by Commander J. Buchan Telfer.
[From the 1879 print of the Hakluyt Society.]*

Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo—d.1412

Embassy To Tamerlane 1403–1406.

Translated from the Spanish by Guy Le Strange with an Introduction.

Edited by Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power

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A.D. 1403

The city of Trebizond lies beside the sea, and its encircling wall climbs over the hill slopes at the back of the town. Here there is built a strong castle on a height that is surrounded by its own wall. On the one side of the city flows a small river whose waters pass down through a deep gorge, and this makes Trebizond to be very strongly protected in that quarter. On the other quarter there is a level plain, but the city wall here is strong. All round outside lie the suburbs, with many fine orchards. Here a fine street runs | along beside the sea beach, 112
traversing one of the suburbs and this is a sight to see, for in its shops all the goods brought to the city are on sale. Close to the sea stand two castles, girt by strong walls with towers, one belongs to the Venetians the other to the Genoese, by each of whom respectively their castle was built with the consent of the Emperor. Outside the city there are to be seen many churches and monasteries. 113

The Armenians have a bishop and a church of their own tongue in Trebizond, though they are a people who are not greatly liked in these parts. Their service resembles in many details that of the Catholics, and in the Mass they consecrate the Elements with the ceremonies these last make use of; but the priest in putting on the stole does not cross it over his breast. Further in reading the Gospel he turns his back on the abbot and faces the congregation. When they come to the consecration of the wine, no water is poured into the chalice. They have confession, and they fast during all the forty days of Lent. On Saturdays generally throughout the year they eat meat, though on Saturday which is Easter eve and every Saturday in Lent they keep the fast. For the most part, fasting, they eat no fish that has red blood in it, nor do they use or cook with any oil or fat. The common folk fast after a like fashion also, eating fish but drinking no wine, and taking their meals daily as often as is wont to them. From Easter to Pentecost every day they eat meat, even on the Fridays. They hold that on the very day on which our Lord Jesus Christ was born, His baptism took place: and in other matters of faith they lack strictly orthodox belief, but these Armenians are a very pious folk and they hear Mass with very great devotion.

It was only on the Friday morning following that we set forth again, and with us went ten 120
horsemen for our guard. At the hour of mass in the forenoon we came to a castle that was built on a high rock, and this stronghold likewise belonged to Cabasica. The garrison of the castle sallying forth now demanded further customs for the baggage we were carrying with us: and after much demur we had to pay. In the early afternoon of that day we came to a valley, where they told us that near by had been built a castle now strongly garrisoned by certain Turks, who were of the tribe of the Chapanlı, and these being at war with Cabasica his men

were stationed holding this valley to keep watch and ward on them. Our escort therefore ordered us to stay quiet for a space, while they reconnoitered in the country round. Finally we passed the place in safety and by the hour of vespers had reached a village called Alanza that was already in the district of Arzinjan. As soon as the ten horsemen of our escort had |
 121 come to this village they unloaded our baggage from their beasts and took leave of us returning to their master Cabasica. This our last day's journey had been by a very rough road passing over the ridges of high mountains. In the village of Alanza we found a Turkish noble who was headman acting in the name of the Governor of Arzinjan; he received us very courteously, allocating lodgings to us, with provisions and all that was necessary to our comfort. It was in this village and from this same Turk we first learned that Timur had already departed from Qarabagh, where he had wintered, and had set forth on his march into the plains of Sultaniyah in Persia. The following day Saturday which was the 3rd of May we left Alanza coming on to a village where they gave us good reception supplying us with food, also horses were now provided for us which we should ride, and sumpter-beasts for our baggage. That night we slept at a village further on where we had provisions amply supplied with fresh horses promised for the morrow.

Thus it was and all that we needed on every occasion they freely supplied to us, for it is the custom of this country [where we were now come governed by Timur] so to do. Wherever we halted whether passing through by day, or to stay the night, they would bring out carpets from the houses and seat us honorably upon them. Next they would produce a leather mat for a table-cloth, as might be with us a round of [Cordovan] leather such as we call Guadamacir, and this with them is known as a Sofra, and on this they would place bread. Their bread in these villages was indeed of very bad quality, being made after a strange fashion. They take a little flour, knead it and make pan-cakes of the same. Then they take a frying-pan, set it on the fire and when it has got hot throw the thin cake of dough into it,
 122 which as soon as it is heated and baked through they remove. This was the only bread | that they supplied to us in these villages. On the leather mat aforesaid they would place meat in plenty, also bowls of milk and clotted cream with eggs and honey. Thus indeed the best of victuals they supplied to us: in all houses it was the same, and if we had to remain the night they gave us more food than we could possibly eat. In any village where we came, immediately there would appear and stand before us the head man, and thereupon Timur's Envoy who, as said, was with us, would order him to bring food for our needs, further the headman had to supply us with horses to ride and attendants to serve us. And if he did not carry out these commands quickly enough to please that Tartar the Envoy, then he would administer blows with stick and whip that were to us an amazement to witness. Thus the people of all these villages we passed were admonished: and indeed no sooner did they see that Chagatay lord appear than all the folk would seek to hide themselves from him. This name of Chagatay is given to all those who are of the clan or family to which Timur belongs, being thus of the royal lineage and tribe.

To continue: that same day therefore we left the village just mentioned traveling forward: and we noticed that in many of the hamlets passed through there were Armenians who are Christians, the inhabitants there. Next day Sunday the 4th of May we arrived in the city of Arzinjan at the hour of vespers. The road we had traveled was bad crossing steep hill ranges and through forests; and near the city much snow had fallen. A goodly company now came

forth from the town to see us enter and to give us welcome, but we passed straight to our lodgings which had already been prepared, and that evening the Governor of the city sent in for our rations many dishes of cooked food, with fruit in plenty and wine and bread.

The city of Arzinjan stands in a plain beside a river which is the [Western] Euphrates: and 129
the Euphrates [as is well known] is one of the rivers that had its rise in Paradise. The plain in which the city lies is at the back enclosed by a range of high mountains: and the summits of these now were covered with snow: but below in the valleys there was none. All round and about could be seen villages with their vineyards and plantations, the whole plain being under cultivation for corn lands and vines. On every hand there were very beautiful gardens and orchards. The city itself however is not very large, it is encircled by a wall with towers. Arzinjan was built by the Armenians and in the city wall was to be seen in many places carved in stone the sign of the Cross. All the houses of the town have flat terrace roofs, whereby the people can pass from one house to another by the roof as though along a street. The city is very populous, and there are to be seen here many fine thoroughfares and squares. Many official personages live here, of whom most are rich folk, and there are many opulent merchants. Fine mosques are to be seen here, and there are beautiful fountains for the supply of water. The inhabitants are for the most part Greeks and Armenians who are all Christians.

[Now as we shall more fully explain later] at the time when Timur [had first invaded Asia Minor] he had besieged and captured the Turkish city of Sivas, a stronghold belonging to Sultan [Bayazid] and he laid it in ruins. In reprisal Sultan [Bayazid] then marched 130
out and took this city of Arzinjan [from the Armenian prince Taharten] capturing it by storm. When Timur had afterwards overcome Sultan [Bayazid at Angora] he recaptured Arzinjan and putting a garrison in it made it his own. It is related that after all this had come to pass the Moslem inhabitants of the city sought a quarrel with their Christian fellow citizens, and they made complaint that prince Taharten was ever more favorable to these last than he was to them, seeing that he specially cherished the Christians. Further they asserted that the Christian churches were superior in size to their mosques. On this Timur, it is said, sent for Taharten, reporting to him the complaint of the Moslems, and in reply Taharten agreed that it was true he especially favored the Christians throughout his country for they brought him, he said, wealth by their trade. For all answer Timur then gave an order, commanding that a certain priest of the Greek church, who was regarded as a chief among the Christians, should be brought before him. Then by reason of the hatred in which he, Timur, held the Greeks of Constantinople, as also the Genoese of Pera, he forthwith ordered that this priest of the Christians should immediately change his faith and become a Moslem, but to do this that man would by no means consent. Timur on the spot gave orders that all the Christian population of Arzinjan should be put to the sword, but prince Taharten now besought him to have mercy, offering if Timur would spare their lives to bring him a gift of 9,000 aspers, and the asper is of the value of half a silver real with us. This sum Taharten having paid on behalf of the citizens Timur relented, but none the less ordered that all the Christian churches should be demolished, and now took possession of the castle [on the southern bank of the river] opposite the city [on the north bank] that bears the name of Camag <Kamakh>, delivering it over for safe-keeping to one of his Chagatay 131
lords. This he did seeing that castle was a very strong place being set where it commanded the whole city and guarded all that

neighborhood; for through the lands of Arzinjan many caravans carrying much merchandise journey on their way, coming hither from Syria and bound for Turkey.

Now the causes that led to the Sultan of the Turks having knowledge of the Mongol Tartars and what indeed brought Timur first into Asia Minor, where he afterwards fought and conquered Sultan Bayazid, the causes thereof, I say, were these. The lord of the city of Arzinjan was at that date as already explained the prince Taharten: and his territories neighbored those of the Turk. The Sultan had lately become most avaricious to possess all that region, and more especially to be master of that strong castle of Camag which Taharten jealously guarded as his own. Sultan Bayazid thereupon was prompted to send to Taharten a message demanding of him that he should pay tribute, and also that he should deliver into his care that castle of Camag. To this Taharten replied that willingly would he pay tribute, acknowledging the Sultan as his overlord, but that the Castle of Camag he would not deliver over to the Turks. To Taharten the answer shortly came back that it would be for his peace to deliver it up, otherwise he would certainly lose both it and his whole territory. Now prince Taharten had by this time already heard of Timur and his mighty deeds, and how he was engaged waging war in Persia, where all the Persian princes had been subjugated. Taharten therefore sent envoys to Timur, with gifts and letters, beseeching him that he would come to his aid against the Turk, and he offered to place both himself and his territories completely at the disposal and service of Timur. Timur on this dispatched an envoy to Sultan Bayazid with
 132 letters in which he informed the Sultan that prince Taharten was to become his subject and vassal. Hence for his own honor he, Timur, could not allow aught of dishonor to be done to Taharten or the matter should be requited at the Sultan's hands.

Now Bayazid had heard naught of Timur until that hour, and he believed that in the whole world none could be his equal, he being the Sultan of the Turks. His wrath at the coming of the Tartar envoy with this letter, therefore, was extreme: and he forthwith replied saying how he marveled greatly that so foolish a man as Timur could exist: how could he dare send him, the Sultan, any such message? for he the Sultan should do as he would with Taharten, as indeed he would do with every other man in the whole world. Further in order that Timur might no longer be subject to these presumptuous fancies, he, the Sultan, would set out and seek him wheresoever he might happen to be, when he would conquer and make him captive: and would proceed to dishonor Timur's chief wife by taking her to be one of his bond-slaves. On receiving this message Timur determined to give the Sultan a proof of his power in war. He immediately took his departure from the Qarabagh lands where he had been resting in winter quarters, namely in those famous plains which lie [on the north western frontiers] of Persia, and marched at the head of his army down to the city of Arzinjan. Thence he crossed into the territories of the Turk, and halted before the city already mentioned which is called Sivas, to which he laid siege. The garrison of Sivas therefore sent for succor to their lord the Sultan, who when he knew that Timur had entered his lands and was laying siege to his city aforesaid was exceeding wrath. He ordered all his troops to muster and the first squadrons that came in he forthwith dispatched to Sivas under the command of his eldest son, whose name
 133 was Sulayman Chelebi. This first army to give succor was of 200,000 cavalry and the Sultan himself was to follow with further support. The Turks however were too late to throw their relief into Sivas which Timur had entered before they came up: as you shall see.

Now Timur had accomplished this after a most cruel fashion. He had pressed the siege

vigorously and the garrison came to a parley. Terms were agreed, and Timur stipulated that a number of their chief men should come out to him from the city, he promising not to shed their blood; who should bring and deliver over to him a sum in gold and silver. As soon as Timur had got into his possession this money he made it known that he desired speech with those men of the city on a matter that would prove much to their advantage. Many of the chief personages and leaders therefore came out to him from Sivas to attend him, relying on the promises of safe conduct already given, and aware that he had received and accepted the tribute they had sent at his demand. But Timur had now caused a number of deep pits to be dug, and no sooner had he lured them beyond the city gates, than he turned on them saying: he agreed it was most true he had given his word never to shed their blood, but none the less he now was about to cause them to be smothered alive in those pits, and meanwhile his army after storming the gates should enter the city, adding that he and his men being poor folk must needs then sack the town. That of which he had spoken Timur immediately proceeded to do: first the chief men of Sivas were buried alive, next the city was stormed and given over to sack, and this being done the walls were breached, and most of the houses of the town leveled to the ground. Timur then moved off, and that same day the Tartars having gone, Sulayman Chelebi the Sultan's son appeared before the gates with his army of two hundred thousand horse. Finding that Sivas was but a heap of ruins and failing to catch up with 134 Timur, the prince must needs await the coming of his father.

Timur meanwhile was marching down on his way to invade [Syria and] the lands of the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt. On the road thither he met certain tribes of the White Tartars [known as the Aq Quyunlu, of the White Sheep Clan]: these being a migratory folk without settled abode. Timur immediately attacked and overcame them, making the whole tribe prisoners of war together with their chief. The clan indeed numbered some fifty thousand in all, men and women, but Timur none the less forced them immediately to march on and accompany him down into Syria. On arrival in those parts he laid siege to the city of Damascus with the people of which he was exceeding wrath, they having not only refused the tribute money demanded of them, but held prisoners the envoys Timur had sent to them to receive the same. Without delay Damascus was taken by storm and the city was sacked; after which no small number of the master craftsmen of Damascus were assembled and dispatched under guard to Samarqand [to be settled and work their trades living there]. In their company Timur now sent the men of the White Sheep Tartars, also a number of the inhabitants of Sivas whom he had carried off into captivity, and among these last were found many Armenian Christians natives of the Sivas countryside. From Syria Timur now marched back into Persia, intending to spend the summer-time on the plains of Alataq in Upper Armenia, and it was at this date that Sultan Bayazid made his attack on the city of Arzinjan [as has been spoken of above] being prompted thereto by his fury and the wrath that he nurtured against that prince Taharten who had brought on him the dishonor [of what Timur had wrought in Sivas]. The Sultan immediately invaded Arzinjan taking it by assault, where the wife of Taharten became 135 his prisoner, but he ordered her to be set free, also commanding that no harm should be done the city. The Sultan thereafter betook himself back whence he had come: but his people murmured saying that he had shown but little prudence, seeing that he ought on his part to have destroyed Arzinjan even as Timur had destroyed Sivas.

At this season Bayazid and Timur, each severally having retired to his own lands,

proceeded to send envoys the one to the other, but without coming to any accord of peace. It was at this period that [Manuel] the Emperor of Constantinople and the Genoese lords who were settled in Pera sent messages to Timur saying that if he were about to do battle with the Turk they would give him aid with men and galleys. They promised for sure forthwith, or in brief delay, to arm their ships of war and station them [in the Dardanelles] so that the Turkish troops who already were over in Greece [and European Turkey] should not be able to pass back into Asia Minor: and thereby he, Timur, would the better be able to deal with the Sultan. Further the Greeks sent and promised Timur a subsidy in money. The Turk therefore now found himself at enmity both with the Emperor of Constantinople and with Timur, and no accommodation having been effected between the two Moslem princes [the Turk and the Tartar] each began to assemble his forces for battle. In these happenings indeed Timur was of the two much the more astute and the better prepared for war. He marched out from Persia invading the Sultan's country, taking the same road along which he had passed on the previous campaign, namely through the Arzinjan lands to the city of Sivas. Sultan Bayazid having news that Timur was thus in occupation of his provinces, immediately set aside the business he had
 136 in hand and betook himself first to Angora where was a strong castle and where already he had stored his munitions of war and supplies. Then at the head of all his host Bayazid set out in haste to come up with Timur on the march, but the latter no sooner knew what the Turkish Sultan intended than he forthwith left the line of road he was following and turned off to the left hand south among the mountains. Bayazid coming up where he thought to find Timur, now became aware that the latter had changed his route, and rashly imagined that this was done to escape him, in short that Timur had now taken to flight. He therefore followed on after him with all possible speed, but for eight days Timur held on his passage through that mountainous region, keeping ahead and skillfully avoiding engagement with the Turks. Then Timur turned back into the plains, marching direct on Angora where Bayazid had left his baggage and munitions, and the Sultan realized that his enemy had escaped him by his guile. In vain by forced marches he sought to catch up with him before he should arrive at the castle of Angora. The Sultan indeed with his weary troops at the last moment came up with Timur who had led him thus by devious ways with intent to exhaust him. Then that battle was fought, and Bayazid overcome was taken prisoner as has been already related.

Meanwhile the Emperor of Constantinople and the Genoese of Pera in place of holding to the pact that they had made with Timur, had allowed the Turkish troops that were in Europe to pass over [across the Dardanelles] into Asia Minor, and after the battle had aided these same Turks in their flight from Angora to return back for safety to European Turkey, the Greeks carrying them across in their ships. It was indeed for this treachery, as he deemed it, that Timur was at enmity with the Greeks, and ever afterwards treated the Christian folk
 137 throughout his dominions with much severity. The Turkish Sultan whom Timur thus overcame was, as said, Bayazid surnamed Ilderim, and this latter title means "the Thunderbolt," for Ilderim in Turkish has this signification, but Bayazid was his proper name. His father was called Murad, that most famous Sultan; who was slain by the Christian king Lazarus [of Servia] at the battle [of Kossovo]. The Sultan had been struck down by a sword thrust in his bosom, which piercing through came out by the shoulder; and Sultan Bayazid afterwards avenged the death of his father by slaying in battle with his own hand this king Lazarus. The son of king Lazarus came to terms with Sultan Bayazid at a later date, and is

indeed still alive, and he now is a guest in the house of prince Sulayman Chelebi, already spoken of, who is the son of Sultan Bayazid. All these details I give to make it clear who exactly was this Sultan Murad aforesaid, for with the Sultans of Turkey all go by the name of Murad [or Amurath], though in point of fact each Sultan has besides his own personal name. Then further and likewise Tamerlane is not in truth the proper name for this lord, who indeed is always here called Timur, as we have been wont to speak of him. In the Tartar tongue Timur Beg has the signification “Lord of Iron,” for Beg with them means Lord, and iron they call Timur [otherwise Demir]. To speak of him as Tamerlane is indeed matter of insult, being a name given him by those who are inimical to him, for Lane [in Persian Leng] means “lamed” as indeed Timur was, of his right leg. So likewise he has lost the two lesser fingers of his right hand, cut off by a blow received long ago when as a youth he was stealing sheep by night, as later we shall come back to and relate more fully.

[But to return to our journey]. We remained sojourning in the city of Arzinjan until Thursday the 5th of May, when we took our departure thence, and our way passed over several high mountain ranges | bare of forest and all that day it snowed being very cold 138 weather. We stayed the next night at a village called Shah Bagh [the King’s Garden] where there is a small castle, with a river running beside it. All around were to be seen wheat lands, also many villages, with scattered houses here and there. On the following Saturday we slept at the village of Pegarich, where there is a great castle on a peak: and this hamlet has two suburbs, one inhabited by Armenians the other by Turks. We were told that about a year ago Timur passing through this place gave command that all the churches belonging to the Armenians should be demolished. The Armenians having in view to save their churches from destruction had, as we learned, presented Timur with 3,000 aspers each asper being the value of half a silver real,—and he had accepted the gift but none the less incontinently had ordered those churches all to be demolished. The next day Sunday, which was the feast of Pentecost we departed thence and came to a village where there was a fine castle crowning a peak near by, and this place was counted as of the district of Arzinjan. Monday following we slept in camp in the open and our way all that day lay passing bare high mountains where there was no forest, but streams flowed down all the hill slopes and the land was here wondrously rich with grass, both in the heights and in the lower country. All this country-side is in the occupation of the Turkoman people, who, at this season, migrate down hither coming from their home beyond the border in the Turk country, and they are Moslems. On Tuesday we passed on, and our road that day was through the plains where the meadow lands are well watered by streams.

At midday we had reached the city of Erzerum, which is of the lordship of Timur. It stands in the plain and is encircled by a very broad strong stone wall with many towers; and there is a castle here, but the | city is not very populous. We saw also a fine church, for this city 139 formerly belonged to the Armenian kingdom which is Christian, and many Armenians still live here: indeed in the past Erzerum was the richest and greatest city of all those parts. The governor of the town at the present moment is a Turkoman, whose name is Yusuf ’Ali. The following day Thursday the 22nd of May leaving Erzerum we slept at a village called Partir Javan <Hasankale>, which is in the territory of the city of Avnik. This last is a very strong place having its own governor, for the Armenians hold it; but the country round and about belongs to a Chagatay lord whose name is Duladay Beg [of whom we shall speak later]. On

Friday we had come to a hamlet called Ischu; we stayed here that night and all Saturday as well: the village folk were Armenians. On Sunday we went on coming to a place called Delilarkent <Deli Baba> a name which signified "the Village of the Madmen," for those who inhabit this place are all hermits of the Moslem creed [being Dervishes] who here have the name of Kashish [or Priests]. The Moslem peasants from all the country round come in pilgrimage hither to visit these holy men, and forsooth those who are sick regain their health. These Dervishes have a chief to whom all pay much respect, for they hold him to be a saint. When Timur lately passed through this place he took up his lodging living with this chief Dervish while he stayed here. All the Moslem people of the country round give alms abundantly to these pious men and this their chief is the lord of that village, being too the master of those who embrace the religious life. The common people here consider all of them as saints. These Dervishes shave their beards and their heads and go almost naked. They pass through the street, whether in the cold or the heat, eating as they go, and all the clothing they

140 wear is bits of rag of the torn stuffs that they can pick up. | As they walk along night and day with their tambourines they chant hymns. Over the gate of their hermitage is seen a banner of black woolen tassels with a moon-shaped ornament above: below this are arranged in a row the horns of deer and goats and rams, and further it is their custom to carry about with them these horns as trophies when they walk through the streets; and all the houses of the Dervishes have these horns set over them for a sign.

On Monday the 26th of May we left Delilarkent and passed the night encamped in the open having come to the banks of that great river which is known as the Aras [Araxes]. This is a mighty stream that traverses almost the whole of Armenia. Our journey that day had passed through defiles, and among hills that were covered with snow where many streams flowed down from the heights. On Tuesday following we came to sleep at a village called Naw Juy [New Brook] and all day we had continued traveling down the bank of the river Aras, the way being by steep places and very rough. At this village a Kashish [or Priest] was living who received us with honor, he was the lord of that place, most of the people hereabout being Armenians. On Wednesday following we slept at a village where there was a great castle crowning a peak. We observed that the whole of that mountain side was a mass of salt, and indeed for quite half the day's march we had been passing along the flanks of a range of salt hills. The people from far round and about, at will, all come here to get their salt, profiting thereby, and using no other for their cooking.

We shall now describe the city of Surmari which as we learned was the first township to be built after the Flood: for to this place we came on Thursday the 29th of May at about midday. This is a very large city: and from here at a distance of about six leagues was to be

141 descried the great mountain [of Ararat] on | which the Ark of Noah had rested when the Flood abated. This city stands in a plain which on the one hand borders the river Aras, while on the other part is a very deep valley hemmed in on either side by steep hill sides, but this valley is nowhere broader across than the distance that an arquebus can carry its bolt. Thus, this valley surrounds the city at the back, coming down above and below to the river bank, whereby the city indeed is most strongly placed, and cannot be come to directly except from the river side, or by the entrance gate down in the depth of the valley. At this gate stands a castle with high strong towers, having two doorways one behind the other. Now this city of Surmari was in truth, as already said, the first township to be built on dry ground after the

Flood: and those who built it were the sons of Noah. The people here told us that some eighteen years before the present time Toktamish the Tartar Khan [of the Golden Horde] had laid siege to their city, bombarding it night and day for two whole days. Then on the third day they had come to terms with him, it being agreed that they should be left in peace and in the possession of their city, neither he nor his men entering the place, but that they should pay him a certain stipulated sum in tribute. To these terms Toktamish gave his word, but he added the demand that one half the armed men of the town should come out to join his forces and march with him against the Georgians, it being his intention forthwith to do battle with the king of that nation whose name is George. No sooner however in compliance had their warriors come out of the town, than Toktamish gave his men orders again to come up to the city which they entered by storm, and sacked, all the riches found there being carried off for booty. These Tartars then set fire to the houses, breaching the city walls in many places and putting to death an immense number of the citizens. Most of the population of I Surmari 140 formerly had been Armenian folk, for it is a city of Armenia, but of late years many Christians had been deported from this place the Moslems having come in and taken possession, as we shall explain later more fully. In Surmari are still to be seen many notable and fine buildings. Everywhere throughout this country of Armenia as we passed they supplied us and our attendants with an abundance of provisions, providing us also with horses for our journey: for indeed the whole country is now at peace under the rule and government of Timur.

Caterino Zeno—?

Travels to Tana and Persia, by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini.

Translated from the Italian by William Thomas and edited, with an introduction

by Lord Stanley of Alderley

Burt Franklin, Publisher, New York

Also

A Narrative of Travels in Persia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

Translated and edited by Charles Grey

Hakluyt first series No. 49–1873

A.D. 1472

- 8 The Persian histories say, that Mahomet the Second, the lord of the Turks, who was afraid lest the greatness of Ussun Cassano should harm him in time, undertook to favor and replace Giausa* in power. Wherefore, Ussun Cassano, expecting some great commotion on this side, sent Unghermaumet, his son, a valiant young man, as far as Tauris, which was the chief place of a great region; while he himself on the other side went on reducing the whole of Persia to his sway, and conquered as far as the Indian Sea, possessing a mighty empire; which empire was comprised in these limits—on the east, the river Indus and the Tartars; on the west, Gorgora, Trebizond, Caramania, Soria, and Lesser Armenia, on this side of the Euphrates; on the south, the Arabs and the Sea of India; on the north, the Sea of Baccu. This his country was for the most part inhabited by Armenian Christians, and by native Persian races, separated by a continuous rampart of mountains, inhabited by Kurds, an independent people, and partly ruled over by the Lord of Betelis, who, some years later, seeing the greatness of Ussun Cassano, gave in his submission.
- 19 The Persian army entered Giauas in the month of September, and carried fire and sword through the country far and near, plundering and cutting people to pieces, to the great terror of the inhabitants, so that every one fled before this tempest. And passing Arsenga and Tocat, he burnt the towns and villages everywhere with the same fury, and assaulted and took Carle, which belonged to the Caramanian.
- 22 The fifth <column of Mahomet> was under Daut, beglerbeg of Natolia, of forty thousand men. There were besides, the Acangi,† volunteer cavalry, with their chief, to the number of thirty thousand. These traversed the country thirty, forty, and fifty miles before the Turkish armies, plundered, burnt, and slaughtered whatever they found before them. They are most valiant in person, and it is their duty to bring provisions to the camp.
- 23 With this immense army the Turk started from Amasia | and having with him several large

* No such previous statement appears either in the Heidelberg Manuscript or in Penzel.

† Ikindjis.

pieces of artillery, took the road to Tocat in capital order, and leaving on the left the town of Siwas* on the river Lais,† which flows from the mountains of Trebizond, entered a low plain between that city and Mount Taurus. On their way they found Nicheset,‡ a very strong Persian castle, which they did not attack, in order not to lose time on the way. Thus marching, they had on the left the city of Coiliutar,§ situated among mountains, and surrounded with villages; descending the mountain they halted near the city Carascar,|| famous for its mines.

The inhabitants of this place had all fled to the mountains; therefore, without halting, the army proceeded to the city of Argina,** situated in a wide plain. Here they found in a church a philosopher studying with many books around him, and who, not ceasing to read, in spite of all the noise and uproar they made, was cut to pieces by the Acangian horsemen. All the other people had fled beyond the Euphrates. Having left this, the Turks passed the country called Arsenga,†† which is Lesser Armenia, and approached the Euphrates not far from Malatia . . .

On this account the Turk, harassed by a thousand conjectures, kept his army under arms 26 all the night, fearing an attack. The next day he gave an extra donation to all the troops, liberated the slaves on the condition that they should return with the camp to Constantinople, and having arrayed the army, marched up the river, leaving it near the city of Braibret,‡‡ which he left on his right hand, across the mountains which separate Greater and Lesser Armenia, which road was towards the north west in the direction of Trebizond.

Mahomet, thus remaining conqueror, decided to follow up this good fortune, and in the 29 course of war to make himself master of some place of the enemy's. Therefore, having mustered his army, he marched a second time towards the city of Baibret,§§ and the Acangi who preceded him were cut to pieces by the people of the country in great numbers. After this feat the inhabitants, warned by scouts, that the Turk was marching up in haste with the rest of his army, fled to the mountains, having, so to speak, given vent to their fury on their enemies. The Turks having arrived at the ford of the river Euphrates, where the first battle had taken place, crossed without any resistance, the Acangi still in advance.

Then marching towards Erseagan,|||| they found the country and towns everywhere abandoned . . .

[Secheaidare's] sons, seized with fear for themselves and their lives, as in sudden 46 emergencies one is afraid of everything, fled, one to Natolia, another to Aleppo, and the third to an island in the lake Attamar,*** inhabited by Armenian Christians and called by the name of the Holy Mother of God, where he remained four years concealed in the house of a priest, without anything being known of it in Persia.

* Siwas.

† River Iris, the present Kizil Irmak.

‡ Niksar.

§ Koili Hissar.

|| Shebban Kara Hissar.

** Egin probably.

†† Erzincan.

‡‡ Baiboort.

§§ Baiboort.

|||| Erzingan.

*** Aktamar or Van Lake . . .

Josafa [Giosafat] Barbaro—d.1494

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A.D. 1474

- 46 Within this circle is the castle of Seleucha <Silifke>, with the walls full of towers, between which wall and the outer wall there is so much void ground as for need would bear three hundred bushels of wheat, and leave above thirty paces space between it and the inner ward. Within this castle is a hollow quadrant digged out of the rock, five paces deep, thirty paces long, and about seven paces broad; wherein was much timber for munition, and, besides that, a great cistern that can never lack water.

This town is in the Less Arminie,* stretching towards the mountain Taurus, called in their tongue Corthestan. I abode awhile in this place, and afterwards took my journey towards Persia. And notwithstanding that there was an other way, yet went I by the sea coasts, and the first day without long journey, passing forth of Caramanos dominion, I arrived at a good city called Tarsus, the lord whereof is named Dulgadar, brother to Sessuar. This country, though it be in the Greater Arminie, is nevertheless under the sultan's subjection. The city is three miles of compass, and has a river beside it,† whereon stands a stone bridge vaulted, by the which they passed out of the town, and the river does almost environ the town. In this city also is a strong castle embattled on both sides with walls of fifteen paces high of stone, all wrought with the hammer;‡ before the which is an excellent void place, square and plain, that leads to a staire entering to the castle, and is so long and large as will easily contain a hundred§ men; and this town stands on a little hill not very high. A day's journey from thence is Adena,

- 47 a very great town with a mighty river running | by it, over the which is a stone bridge of forty paces long, on which bridge (being in company of certain suffi, as who would say pilgrims) we being also clothed after their manner, these suffi began to dance in spirit, one of them singing celestial things of the joys of Macomett, beginning merrily and softly, and afterwards,

* Ramusio has—"but formerly it was in Cilicia, and it was taken by the Turks, when they occupied the rest of Asia Minor, from whom it was taken by Rubino and Leone, brothers of Armenia, about 1230, and they brought it back to the kingdom, which they call Armenia; and this Armenia stretches to the mountain Taurus," etc.

† Ibid. has—named by the ancients Cydnus.

‡ Scarpello; i.e., chisel.

§ Ramusio has 1000.

by little and little, straining the measure faster, according to the tunes, whereof they that danced amended their paces and their leapings so that divers of them fell to the ground and lay as in a trance, which caused much people to assemble wondering at them, till the fellows of them that fell took them up and carried them to their lodgings. And thus did they at every lodging, and many times also by the way as though they were forced to do it. The town of Adena, and likewise the region, makes many fustians, and is under the sultan's dominion, standing likewise in Armenie the Less. I forbear to speak of the revenues towns and castles that are between that and Euphrates, because there is nothing notable. Thus being arrived at Euphrates, we found there a boat of the sultan's hable to transport sixteen horses, and this boat was very strange in the which we passed the river. Near unto this river are certain caves in the rocks, to the which they that pass make their refuge when tempest or ill weather happens. On the other side are certain villages of Armenie, where we lie one night, and so being passed the river we arrived at a town called Orphe,* appertaining to the King Assambei, and governed by Valibech, brother to the same king. This has sometime been a great town, but it was in manner utterly destroyed by the sultan when the King Assambei went to the siege of Bir.†

. . . We passed two rivers over two bridges of stone of one arch apiece, under the which 50
one of our great barges might pass with his mast upright: for they be both great rivers, and swift, then called Bettalis, and the other Isan; and to this place stretches the Less Armenia, where are no great hills, nor great woods, nor yet any buildings different from the accustomed. And throughout that region are many villages, the people whereof live by tillage, as they do here. They have corn, fruits, and many fustians, oxen, horses, and other beasts enough; besides this, they have goats, which they shear yearly, and of their hair make chamletts, wherefore they govern them very diligently, keeping them washed and neat.

. . . We came to Vastan, a city decayed and ill inhabited, for it has not above 300 houses. 51

. . . Going thence towards Thauris, as I have said, southwest, you shall find many villages 83
and little castles, and besides that you shall travel through hills and | woods, disinhabited, till 84
you come to Baiburth, the first notable place that way being a castle, standing in a plain valley, environned with hills, strong, and walled, and in a plentiful soil, the town under the castle containing one thousand five hundred houses, and is within the dominion of the King Assambei. Five day's journey further you come to Arsengan, which has been a great city, but for the more part decayed at this point. Going on west southwest two miles further you come to the notable river Euphrates, over the which you pass on a fair great bridge of brick, of seventeen arches. Then come you to a town called Carpath <Kharpoot>, five [day's] journeys from Arsengan <Erzincan>.

. . . The King Assambei was in the great Armenia, now called Turcomania . . . 96

* Orfa.

† Birajik, on the left bank of the Euphrates.

Arnold Ritter von Harff—1471–1505

The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, Knight from Cologne, through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine, Turkey, France and Spain, which he accomplished in the years 1496 to 1499.

Translated from the German and edited with notes and an introduction by Malcolm Letts
London, printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1946

A.D. 1499

- 235 Item in this town of Antioch, or in the province of Greater Armenia, there live many Christian Armenians called otherwise Georgians. They are subject to the Sultan and have here, in Antioch, their own Pope dwelling there who is called Catholicon, to whom, according to their faith, they are obedient, but in many articles which are not according to our beliefs.⁸ They do not keep Christmas eve at the same time as we do. They honor the newborn child on the thirteenth evening. They keep their fast forty days before Easter as we do, but during the forty days they eat meat, eggs, milk, fish in oil, but drink no wine thereto. They eat meat also on each Friday in the year, but not on Thursdays. Their priests celebrate Mass almost as we do, as they were formerly subject to the Roman Church, and that reverently, for they elevate the holy sacrament in a paten and cup after our manner, but they mix no water with it, as they are of opinion that wine in its natural state turns more readily to blood than when mixed with water.

Item their priests have great round shaven patches on their heads, but they never shave the hair in front or the beard as the laymen do. They have generally a cross shaven on the head in accordance with a vow made in times of great pestilence.

Item this Armenian speech is generally the Saracen speech. But in their holy offices they use their own language, the alphabet of which is given here.

Item here in Antioch one passes from Greater to Little Armenia, and here the Sultan's country is divided from that of the Turkish emperor.

<ayp> <pen> <kim> <ta> <yetch> <za>

Ե Ք Խ Դ Ե Ղ

e jeth tho yge ynyn jon

Կ Վ Ռ Զ Է Լ

ache zah gyen ho cad had

Խ Տ Կ Գ Զ Պ

ge men ghy nū

Ճ Տ Վ Է

scha vwa zah be coh ka

Չ Պ Զ Վ Չ Զ

zse vieff dun ale zo

Պ Զ Վ Կ Զ

hyon pyur ke ve

Բ Դ Զ Զ

Lodovico de Varthema [Vartomanus]—?

The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508.

Translated from the original Italian edition of 1510, with a preface by John Winter Jones,
and edited, with notes and an introduction, by George Percy Badger
London, printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1863

A.D. 1505?

Here <in Damascus>, again, is sold a great quantity of truffles: sometimes twenty-five or ¹⁵ thirty camels arrive laden with them, and in three or four days they are sold. They come from the mountains of Armenia and Turkey.

An Italian Merchant

Travels to Tana and Persia, by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini.

Translated from the Italian by William Thomas and edited, with an introduction

by Lord Stanley of Alderley

Burt Franklin, Publisher, New York

Also

A Narrative of Travels in Persia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

Translated and edited by Charles Grey

Hakluyt first series No. 49–1873

A.D. 1509

159 . . . Setting out from Bitlis, on the second day I arrived at Totouan <Tatvan>, a small fort on a mountain stretching out into the sea, as you shall hear. In this country there is a sea or lake, the water of which is salt; but not so much so as the Adriatic sea. It is three hundred miles long, and a hundred and fifty broad in the widest part, and has round it many inlets, with a fertile region full of villages, the greater number of the villagers being Armenians. Round this sea are seven splendid castles, inhabited by Curds and Armenians, in all of which I have traded; as on my way to Tauris I went on one side, and came back on the other, as this sea was in the middle of the route. There are four of the castles on the east, namely, Totouan, 160 already mentioned, Vastan, Van, I and Belgari <Berkri>; on the west are Argis <Arjesh>, Abalgiris <Adilcevaz>, and Calata <Ahlat>. This Calata was anciently a large city, as can be seen by the buildings, but is now reduced to a small fortress. Between Totouan and Vastan is a lofty island in the sea, two miles from the mainland, all of hard rock, on which is a small city about two miles in circumference, the city being the same size as the island. This city is named Arminig, is very populous, and inhabited only by Armenian Christians, without one Mahometan; it has many churches, all for the services of Armenian Christians; of these, that of St. John is the largest, and has a steeple made like a tower, so high that it overlooks the whole city, and among the bells is one so large, that when it is struck, it resounds over all the mainland. Opposite the city or island is a large gulf, with a delightful plain with many villages inhabited by Armenian Christians, with much cultivated land, and beautiful gardens with trees that produce every sort of fruit. This region has a delightful and healthy atmosphere, and all round it are mountains so high, that they appear to touch the sky; and, not only in the circuit of this gulf, but also round the whole sea there are bleak mountains covered with eternal snow.

161 At two days' journey from this place, one finds the castle of Vastan, which was demolished by Sciech Ismael, and only a town with a bazaar remains. It is on a large gulf of this sea, with numbers of villages, all inhabited by Curds. There is a greater abundance of provisions here than in any other place, and a good deal of white honey is made here, which from time to time is sent by caravans to Tauris to be sold, together with fine ointment and cheese.

Proceeding a day's journey further is the fortress of Van, which is built on a mountain or hill of hard rock, from which fresh water springs forth everywhere; it is more than a mile in

circumference, but narrow and long, like the rock on which it is built; also on the summit of this rock, in one part which is as steep as a wall, is a fountain the water of which is used by all in the fortress. This citadel is ruled over by a Curdish chief named Zidibec, who is a great lord, and very proud, from having in his possession this fine fortress with many other castles in these mountains. He had money coined with his own stamp of gold, silver, and copper. Below the castle is a large town, and the greater part of the inhabitants are Armenians, but within the castle they are all Curds. This place is a good mile from the sea, and is well supplied with provisions.

Giovan Maria Angiolello—1452–1524

Travels to Tana and Persia, by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini.

Translated from the Italian by William Thomas and edited, with an introduction.

by Lord Stanley of Alderley

Burt Franklin, Publisher, New York

Also

A Narrative of Travels in Persia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

Translated and edited by Charles Grey

Hakluyt first series No. 49–1873

A.D. 1509

- 85 Having raised the camp and continued our march, we arrived at a large plain, in which is the city of Argian,* on a site a little elevated above the plain, which is called the country of Arsingan. But, as the city was not fortified, the inhabitants had fled across the river Euphrates. Nevertheless, some few remained, among whom was found, on the arrival of the Aganzi, an aged Armenian, in a church, surrounded by many books; and, although those who found him called to him several times, he did not answer, but continued most attentively reading the books before him, and the anger of the soldiers being aroused, he was killed and the church burnt over him, with which the Grand Turk, on hearing it, was very indignant; as it was said that this man was a great philosopher.

<We continued> our journey through this country of Arsingan, which is a part of Lesser Armenia . . .

<A.D. 1473>

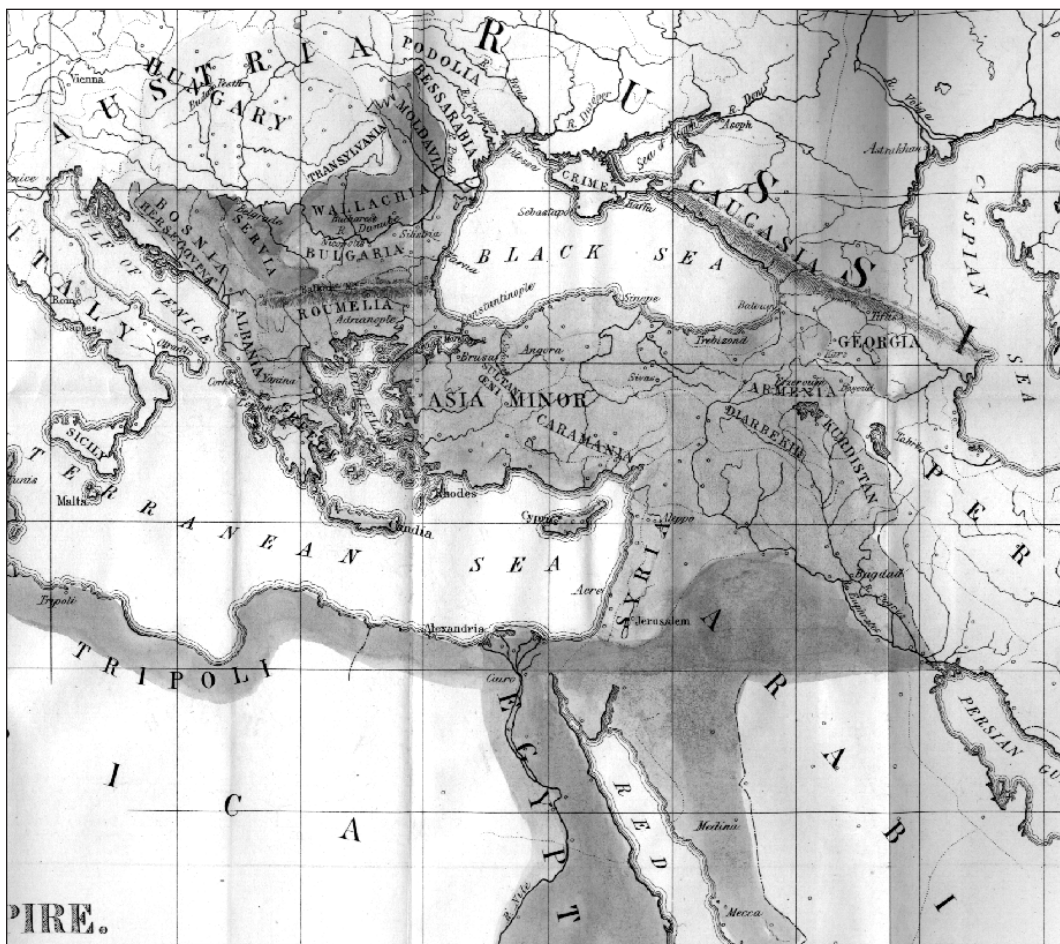
- 89 At the end of about ten days the Turkish forces, having turned away from the river, with the city of Baybret on their right, among the mountains which separate Greater and Lesser Armenia, took their way towards the north-west, entering a valley on the route to Trebizond.
- 92 When they returned to the camp we directed our route towards Erfenia <Erzurum>,[†] a city in front, which had been abandoned . . .⁹
- 101 In Tauris the victory caused great rejoicings. Rustan, hearing the news of the defeat of the enemy, and the death of Sechaidar, sent immediately to Ardouil to seize his wife and three son, and wished to put them to death; but to please some lords, they were liberated, keeping them, however, in charge in an island in the lake of Astumar <Aghtamar/Lake Van>, inhabited by Armenian Christians. There are there more than six hundred houses, a church named after the Holy Cross, in which are more than a hundred priests governed by a patriarch.

* Probably Egin.

[†] Erzeroum or Erzingan.

<A.D. 1514>

The countries I am about to mention are under the sway of the Turk, kept in subjection 122
by his janissaries. They rule over the country of Arsingan and Baibiert, where there are many
towns and castles; these countries are the Turkish frontiers towards Trebizond, and are both
in Lesser Armenia. Thence from the | Euphrates, the country of Diarbek, the metropolis of 123
which is Amit, in Greater Armenia; also, the land of Mosul and the great plain as far as the
borders of Bagadet, being part of Mesopotamia.



Partial reproduction of a map of the Ottoman Empire included in E. C. Creasy's History of the Ottoman Turks: From the beginning of their empire to the present time, Vol. I (London, 1854).

Nicholas Nicholay Daulphinois—1517–1583

The Nauigations, peregrinations and voyages, made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay Daulphinois, Lord of Arfeuille, Chamberlaine and geographer ordinaire to the King of Fraunce: conteining sundry singularities which the Author hath there seene and obserued: Deuided into foure bookes, with threescore figures, naturally set forth as well of men as women, according to the diuersitie of nations, their port, intreatie, apparell, lawes, religion and manner of liuing, as well in time of warre as peace.

Translated out of the French by T. Washington the younger

Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson, 1585

[Published in 1968 by Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd., Amsterdam & Da Capo Press, New York]

A.D. 1550–1551

Peregrination. 4. Book

133 Of the Armenians

The Armenians are conversant in Turkey and Grecia like unto strangers, chiefly at Constantinople and Pera, being the most part merchants, do great traffic of merchandises of Levant, as Chamblets, Mockados, Saycs, and Carpets of Suria. The poorer sort of them are artificers, or else do give themselves to dressing of gardens and vines. Their garments are long, like unto the Grecians and other nations of the East parts, and on their heads do wear a blue Tulbant, mixed with red and white, for that it is not permitted unto any than to the Turks to wear a Tulbant being white only.

The Religion and manner of living of the ancient Armenians

In times past, the Armenians in their laws, customs and manner of living, did not much differ from the Medians, nor likewise in their religion wherein the most part followed the error of the Persians, nevertheless the Persians worship one Goddess only called Tanais, unto whom they built in sundry places, divers temples and dedicated unto them not only their men and woman servants, but likewise their own daughters of the most noble houses: their law being such as constrained them to put them forth publicly, and along time unto all commerce, before they might be married, & there was none that for this matter would refuse to take them in marriage, which to contract, they did as follows. The bride groom did cut of the tip of the right ear of the bride, and the bride of the left ear of her husband, and by this mutual consentment without any other ceremony, was the marriage contracted and observed between them, and published to all the world. But when they would vow any great and
134 solemn oath, | they took of the blood of their right ear, and so drunk it with wine, as is written in the ninth book of Valerius Maximus. Josephus in his first book of the antiquity of the Jews, writes, that Otree the son of Aram, was he which first gave the law and manner of living unto the Armenians.

135 Of Armenia

To come now to the original country of the Armenians, you must understand that Armenia is a region in Asia, so called Armenia by the name of Armene, otherwise called

Thessall, companion of Jason the Thessalonia in his expedition Argonautique, and is divided in two parts, to wit, Armenia the greater, now called Turcomania, and Armenia the lesser, which yet reserves his name. In this region (as Isidore says) is the mount Ararat, otherwise called the mount Gordian, upon the top whereof rested and remained the ark of Noah, after the great deluge was ceased. Through the plains of Armenia passes the river Araxe by them called Arath, and likewise a great part of the renowned Rivers of Euphrates & Tiger. The Euphrates which in the Assyrian tongue is called Almacher, through his | inundations (as 135 Nilus does in Egypt) makes the country fruitful and abundant, in the channel and decourse whereof are found many precious stones of great price and value. Ptolome in the first book of his Geography, & pope Pius in his three part of the description of Asia, describe Armenia after this manner: on the North side it has a part of Colcide, now called Calpurt of Hiberia and Albania: on the West it has the great course of the river of Euphrates, which on the left hand leaves Cappadocia, Armenia the lesser, Sira, Comegena, and towards the Euxine the mounts Mosquises. On the East it is terminated with part of the Sea Hircanum and of Media, toward the which are the Caspian mounts: and on the South side has Mesopotamia and Assyria. The most famous mountains of Armenia are the Mosquises, which stretch towards Cappadocia upon the part of Periade, whereas are the springs of Euphrates, Araxes and Antitaure, which is the half part of the Euphrates, and runs through Media and Armenia, and at the end of his course is called Albus: the Cordicque out of which the Tiger grows and extends unto the pales of Tospie the Taur, and the Niphante, which divide Mesopotamia and Assyria from the Armenians, the Caspiens which decline to the Medes and the Caucases, which shut up the North parts towards Iberia & Albania. As for the rivers most renowned in Armenia the 4 principallest are these which follow: Cyrus which growing from the mount Caucase, leaves on the left hand Iberia and Albania, and on the right hand Armenia, and so falls into the Hircan Sea: Araxe, (which as we have said) falling from the mount Periade, takes his course far Eastwards, afterwards inclines towards the North and having run so a great way, divides into two streams, whereof the one keeps his course Northwards and falls into Cyrus, and the other towards the East, casts out into the Sea Caspium: the Euphrates which issues out of the same mount towards the West, runs unto the Mounts of the Mosquise, and to the borders of Cappadocia, and from thence takes his course far towards the south, returning to Antitaure parts the same form Armenia the lesser: afterwards taking his right | course towards the South, 136 the flood Mela, which falls from the mount Arga, after cutting the Taur in two, leaves Syria on the right hand, and Mesopotamia on the left, extending unto Arabia the desert, & then again having run a long course towards the South, and tending again towards the East and West, separates Babylon from Mesopotamia, & of new returning towards the East, not far from Seleucia, bows towards the South, & makes a great course by Apamia: and afterwards running once again towards the East, mingles with the Tyger, which also takes his origin in Armenia, from the mount Cordickes & running with him towards the South enters into the gulf of Persia. The most famous cities of Armenia the less, according to Plinie in his first book the ninth chapter, are Cesaria, Asa, and Nicopoli. And of Armenia the greater, Arsamote, which Ptolome calls Arsamosate near unto Euphrates, and to the Tiger Carcachiocerte. In the mountains is Tigranocerte, and in the plain near unto the flood Araxe, Artaxete. Ptolome speaks of a great many more which I leave behind for eschewing of prolixity, but only that I will say, that at this present day, Armenia the greater has the first place amongst the countries

of Sophy, as being ennobled of his royal city of Tauris or Terua, as Ptolome says, or else as it seems unto some Hebrews very well experimented in languages, and assieties of countries, the famous and ancient city of Susa. But as for Armenia the lesser, the most part thereof is now under the yoke and dominion of the great Turk, and Armenia the greater, under the puissance of Sophi king of the Persians.



A merchant of Armenia.

[From Nicolay's work published by *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*
Ltd., Amsterdam & Da Capo Press (New York, 1986).]

Anthony Jenkinson—d.1611

The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation Made by Sea or Over-land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeeres.

Richard Hakluyt, Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford
Vol. V, Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904

A.D. 1553

The manner of the entering of Soliman the great Turk, with his army into Aleppo in Syria, marching towards Persia against the Great Sophie, the fourth day of November, 1553, noted by Master Anthony Jenkinson, present at the time.

. . . The Grand | Signior himself was lodged within the town, in a goodly castle, situated 107/8 upon a high mountain: at the foot whereof runs a goodly river, which is a branch of that famous river Euphrates.

The rest of his army passed over the mountains of Armenia called now the mountains of Camarie, which are four days' journey from Aleppo, appointed there to tarry the coming of the Grand Signior, with the rest of his army, intending to march into Persia, to give battle to the Great Sophie . . .

Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq—1522–1592

The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin De Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador At Constantinople, 1554–1562.

Newly translated from the Latin of the Elzevir edition of 1633 by Edward Seymour Forster
Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1927

<Vienna, 1 Sept. 1555>

8 At Buda I first came across the Janissaries, which is the name they give to their footguards. When they are at their full strength, the Sultan possesses 12,000 of them, scattered throughout his empire, either to garrison the fortresses against the enemy or to protect the Christians and Jews from the violence of the populace. There is no village, town, or city of any size in which there are not some Janissaries to guard the Christians, Jews, and other helpless folk from the attacks of malefactors.

19 Now it often happens that the Christians, weary of Turkish insolence and contempt, withdraw from the main roads into more inaccessible parts, which are less fertile but safer, and leave the better land to their masters.

67 After remaining about a fortnight at Constantinople in order to regain my strength, I started on my journey to Vienna, the beginning of which may be said to have been ill omened. Just as we were leaving the city, we were met by wagon-loads of boys and girls who were being brought from Hungary to be sold in Constantinople. There is no commoner kind
68 of merchandise than this in Turkey; and, just as on the roads out of Antwerp one meets loads of various kinds of goods, so from time to time we were met by gangs of wretched Christian slaves of every kind who were being led to horrible servitude. Youths and men of advanced years were driven along in herds or else were tied together with chains, as horses with us are taken to market, and trailed along in a long line.

<Constantinople, 1 June 1560>

102 Slaves constitute the main source of gain to the Turkish soldier. If he brings back with him from a campaign nothing but one or two slaves, he has done well and is amply rewarded for his toil; for an ordinary slave is valued at forty or fifty crowns, while, if the slave has the additional recommendation of youth or beauty or skill in craftsmanship, he is worth twice as much.

121 News had been brought from that part of the world <Croatia> to Roostem that a certain Turk, whom he praised very highly and declared to be a kinsman of his own, had suddenly put in an appearance with armed force as a highly inconvenient guest at a wedding which some Christians were celebrating. They imagined themselves quite safe, for they lived in a remote district and had no idea that there were Turks anywhere near. The raiders caused a general confusion, killed a number of men, and carried off several persons, including the

unhappy bridegroom and his intended bride. Roostem was delighted at the news and inflicted upon every one a boastful account | of his kinsman's wonderful generalship. Up to this point 122 the story provides food for commiseration rather than congratulation; such events are the tragic sport of cruel fate.

<A> . . . speech disgusted the Pashas, who exclaimed, "Did you dare to challenge a 125 comrade in arms to fight a duel? Was there any lack of Christians for you to fight?"

. . . The Turks not only consider themselves at liberty to call Christians by opprobrious 157 names and otherwise insult them, but actually think that to do so is an act of piety, because they may be induced through shame at the insults heaped upon them to change for a better one a religion which exposes them to such abuse.

. . . The Turks regard it as an act of great piety to bear false witness against a Christian. 212 They do not wait to be questioned but come of their own accord . . .

. . . The Turks are accustomed to regard it as disgraceful and shameful for a Turk to be 214 beaten by a Christian . . .

Leonhart Rauwolff—1540?–1596

A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages in Two Tomes, the First Containing Dr. Leonhart Rauwolff's Itinerary into the Eastern Countries, as Syria, Palestine, or the Holy Land, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Chaldea, etc.

Translated from the High Dutch by Nicholas Staphorst . . . by John Ray
London, printed for S. Smith and B. Walford, 1693

A.D. 1574–1575

- 73 When the Turks have taken a strong town, or a whole country by the sword, that they may keep them the easier in subjection without a great garrison, or danger, they demolish the places that are not very strong, and send away the nobility and chief persons, which otherwise might do them a great deal of mischief; and in the rooms of these they bring in sangiacs, with their soldiers, to keep the strong places, and to take care of the Emperor's revenue. So that in these places there is no nobility that come from any ancient races . . .
- 83 . . . Great caravans of pack-horses and asses, but more camels arrive there <Halepo> daily, from all foreign countries, viz. from Natolia, Armenia . . .
- 126 . . . A barge . . . come from Armenia, to go . . . to Babylon <on the Euphrates>.
- 211 <In Zibin> Live abundance of Armenians, for it lies in the confines of Greater Armenia, and so we were no more in so great danger as we were in the country of the Curters.
- 212 From <Orpha> . . . the nearer we came to the Mount Tauri (which separates Armenia from Mesopotamia towards the south) the worse grew the roads . . .
- 216 The famous town Nisib . . . is situated on this side of the river on the borders of the lesser Armenia . . .
- 348 The Armenians possess a large country, which is chiefly divided into two parts, viz. the lesser Armenia, which is now subject to the Turks; and the Greater, now called Turco-Mannie by some, which is partly belonging to the Sophy king of Persia. In it arise two great rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris . . . They are pious and honest people, innocent, but very zealous in their religion, and receive strangers readily that come to them, and give them lodging, as I have often found it in my travels. They are also very much inclined to help and assist the poor slaves, that are under Turkish confinement, and ready to help them out. Their merchants, whereof there are many amongst them, are dispersed not only over all Turkey, but also Persia, the Indies, and many other countries; whereof they have in all chief towns of trading, as Antiochia, Alepo situated in Coelosyria, Orpha, etc. their peculiar warehouses and churches; and also in Jerusalem (whither they go in great numbers) the beautiful church of St. Jacob the Greater . . .

. . . They have some errors worth to be rejected, and some scandalous customs besides. So you may see them here and there cry over the graves of their deceased friends: for to give them visits they go out in the morning early, the greater part of them | old women, and there they 349 make such mourning and howling . . . There you shall see them sit, some on their breasts; others spreading themselves over the grass . . . In the meanwhile their priests go among them reading and praying, and sometimes they speak to some of them. When they have done mourning thus, and cast their sorrows from their hearts, they sit down together, eat, drink, and be merry . . . They dare not, no more than all other nations that live amongst the Turks, (except the Maronites) make | use of any clocks, to call people to church, in place whereof 350 they have strong wooden tables, or some house-doors prepared, several in each street, whereon they strike several strokes with a great cudgel, and so call people to church.



*Partial reproduction of Rauwloff's itinerary first published in the Dutch edition of his travels, 1707.
[From Karl H. Dannenfeldt's Leonhard Rauwloff: Sixteenth-Century Physician, Botanist, and Traveler
(Cambridge, 1968).]*

John Newberry—?

*Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes. Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages
and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others.*

Samuel Purchas

In twenty volumes. Vol. VIII, Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1905

A.D. 1581–82

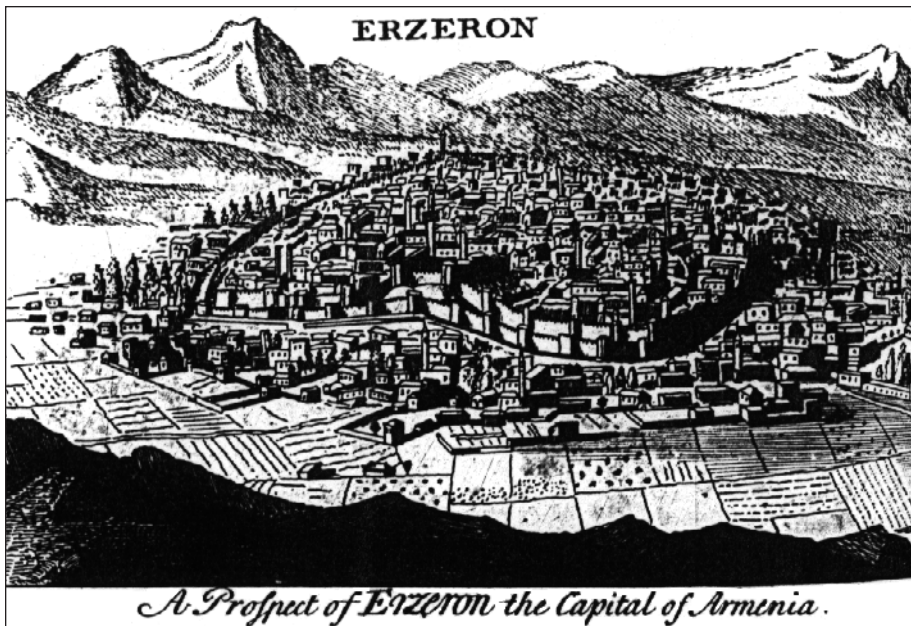
*Two Voyages of Master John Newberie, one into the Holy Land; the other to Bahsara, Ormus, Persia, and
back through Turkey.*

467 Near unto Teuris is much meadow ground. This week all the Armenians keep fast. They follow the orders of the Greeks: for every Wednesday and Friday they fast, and every Saturday eat flesh, except it be Easter Eve. The six and twentieth day of November, I was at their Church in Teuris: where first they sung Psalms, and then went to Mass: And the Priest went round about the Altar three times. The first time he censored, the second time he carried the Book about, and the third time the Chalice. At the beginning of Mass, every man does kiss one another; and after Mass kiss the Book, and take holy Bread: and the poor have pottage and bread given them.

470 Arzerum is a plentiful town for all kind of victuals, and has three gates. In Arzerum one Batman of Mel or Deps, is worth two Auctshas. And in this town one robbed three shops, and the next morning was hanged. After eight days abode in this place, the nine and twentieth
471 of December I departed from Arzerum, and the same day I lodged at a great castle, named Pretton. The thirtieth day from Pretton, and the same day at a castle, named Shennar. From Dagswan to Arzerum, the women go in gaskins like men: and upon their heads they wear a high round trunk hanged with pieces of silver money; and about that and their chin, they have a large white cloth, which is all set round about with buttons of silver: & also upon their heads, they wear a piece of red silk, which hangs down behind them, two or three yards upon the ground with a fringe: and about their necks they wear a collar of silver, and thereunto are fastened five or six pieces of silver made very broad, and to some more. They are the most part black, and have full faces, small feet, great legs, great hands and arms, and their lips not small.

The first day of January, we departed from Shennar, and the same morning passed by a castle, called Gotter. Also the same day we came to a cravansall, called Gebesse, and the next morning passed by another of the same name. The second day from Gebesse, and the same day at a great castle, called Backerreg, where is great plenty of wine: and here the Batman is sold for six Parra. The third of January from Backerreg, and the same day at a castle, called Bettarreg, which is near unto Arsingam. Also the same day I went unto Arsingam, which is within four days journey of Trebesonda. The weight and measure of Arsingam, do both agree with Arzerum: and here Merchel is worth fifty-four Auctshas. The carriage of a Mule from Arzerum to Arsingam, costs twelve Shehides; and from thence to Tockat three Duckats. To the eastward of Arsingam, is a very strong castle, and to the South of the town a stone bridge,

which passes over the River of Ponnats. And in this valley are three hundred and sixty castles of Christians. The thirteenth day of January we departed from Arsingam, and the same day lodged at a cravanserras, named Serperron. The fourteenth day being Sunday, from Serperron: and the same day at a castle, called Ardansegh: and this day we | passed over the Mountains ⁴⁷² of Chardalor, with the greatest snow, frost and wind, that ever I was in, and were in danger to have remained in the mountains all night. The <day of> 16. from Ardansegh, the same day at a Castle, called Shewbaning, which has a small church standing up small round Rock.



Erzurum as seen by Tournefort.
[From Tournefort's *A Voyage into the Levant* (London, 1718).]

Ralph Fitch—1583–1606

The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation Made by Sea or Over-land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeeres.

Richard Hakluyt

Vol. V, Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904

A.D. 1583–91

The voyage of M. Ralph Fitch merchant of London by the way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormus, and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, and all the kingdom of Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor, to the mighty river Ganges, and down to Bengala, to Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Imahay in the kingdom of Siam, and back to Pegu, and from thence to Malacca, Zeilan, Cochin, and all the coast of the East India: begun in the year of our Lord 1583, and ended 1591, wherein the strange rites, manners, and customs of those people, and the exceeding rich trade and commodities of those countries are faithfully set down and diligently described, by the aforesaid M. Ralph Fitch.

466 Babylon is a town not very great but very populous, and of great traffic of strangers, for that it is the way to Persia, Turkia and Arabia: and from thence do go caravans for these and other places. Here are great store of victuals, which come from Armenia down the river of Tygris. They are brought upon rafts made of goats skins blown full of wind and boards laid upon them: and thereupon they lade their goods which are brought down to Babylon, which being discharged they open their skins, and carry them back by camels, to serve another time.

Fox—?

Mr. Harrie Cavendish, His Journey to and from Constantinople 1589.

By Fox, His Servant. Edited by A. C. Wood

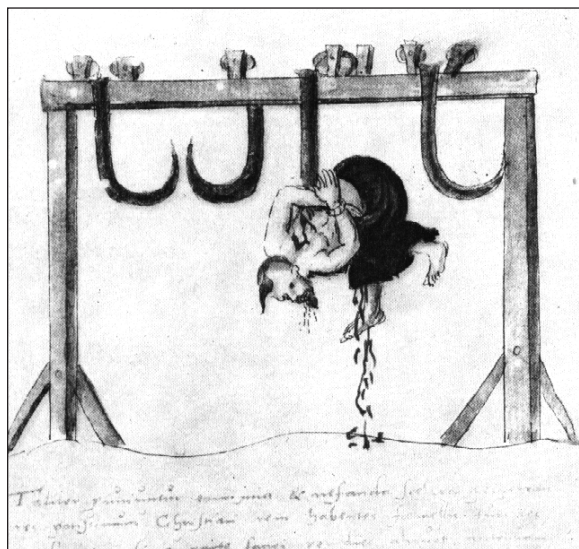
London, Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1940

A.D. 1589

In these countries they have no beds in their houses but lie upon boards and benches wrapped 24
in a coarse rug and upon the ground. Neither have they any tables to eat their meat upon or
stools to sit upon, but they sit cross-legged upon the ground. So do the tradesmen that sell
wares sit cross-legged upon their stools like tailors. The women do sit cross-legged at their
meat. The Great Turk kept that year that we were there between four and five hundred
women all in one house called a Sorelya <Seraglio> besides his first wife which must be the
daughter of a Christian. There were thirteen of them with child at our being there; and all his
sons that he has by his first wife be strangled at the death of their father saving the eldest, for
the Great Turk has no brother allowed him. So when the father dies he makes a chapel for
him self and his strangled sons to be buried in. And then the eldest is made Emperor.

The Turkish women wear boots always, as well at home in their houses as when they ride,
and when they ride they ride as men do with boots and spurs and astride. Their boots be of
colored leather, what color they like best, but their faces be always covered when they go
abroad.

No Christian man may have to do with a Turkish woman, but he shall die for it if it be
known, but a Turk may have as l many Christian women as he will. 25



Death by hook.

[From *Life in Istanbul 1588: Scenes from a Traveler's Picture Book* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1977).]

Vratislav Vaclav Mitrovic—1576–1635

Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratisslaw of Mitrowitz. What He Saw in the Turkish Metropolis, Constantinople; Experienced in His Captivity; and after His Happy Return to His Country, Committed to Writing in the Year of Our Lord 1599.

Literally translated from the original Bohemian by A. H. Wratisslaw, Head-Master of the Grammar School, Bury St. Edmunds, and formerly Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge
London, Bell and Daldy, 1862

A.D. 1591

- 4 The janissaries are much regarded in all the Turkish dominions, as being the Turkish emperor's household troops. They are infantry, and attend on the Sultan's person, to the number of 12,000; the rest are dispersed through almost all his territories, whether placed in castles and fortresses as garrisons against enemies, or stationed for the protection of the Jews and Christians against the illegal violence of the mob. They wear long garments down to the instep, but of cloth, not of silk, which never comes upon them. Instead of hats they wear a kind of sleeves, into the wider end of which they put their heads; these are different at each end, and one end hangs down the neck as far as the back, whereas there is a tube of silver gilt, set with pearls and the more ordinary precious stones, in front over the forehead. In this in war time they place feathers.

- 5 These janissaries are for the most part kidnapped persons, or children of Christian peasants living under the Turkish sway. Some hundreds of these latter are assembled every third year, bringing with them their male children of eight, nine, or ten years old. Surgeons are on the spot, who judge of the mental capacity of each individual child from his personal appearance, and determine for what future occupation he is likely to be fit. The most promising are selected for the service of the Turkish emperor, the next class for that of the pashas and other Turkish officials; the remainder, who appear of less intellectual promise, are sold into Anatolia or Asia, to any one who chooses to purchase them, for a ducat each. There they are kept till the appointed time, *i.e.* till they are eighteen, or, at latest, twenty years old; are brought up in want, poverty, cold, and heat, and are altogether treated little better than dogs: only whoever takes such a boy is obliged to bring him back again to the Sultan's court at the expiration of the above period, should the kidnapped youth still be living; should he die, his master must report the fact to the *cadi* or judge of the district, who keeps a register of such boys, in order that he may be struck out of the list. When about twenty years old, all embrowned with sun and heat, and accustomed to all kinds of labor, they are brought to Constantinople from the different countries in which they have thus been dispersed. There the most active are enrolled as *acziam oglany*, or young janissaries, and assigned to veteran janissaries to learn, under their instruction, to shoot, to use the saber, to fling darts, to leap over trenches, and to scale walls. They are bound to obey every order given by the elder janissaries, to prepare their food, cleave wood, and perform every necessary service as long as peace lasts. When they march with the elder soldiers to war, although enrolled in their
- 6 number, they are still obliged to wait upon them, to pitch their tents, and to look after the

camels and mules which carry their provisions and necessities. On occasion of a battle or skirmish they march in the van, and endeavor to surpass each other in valor and steadiness; nor are any of these boys taken into the number of the veteran janissaries till they have borne themselves like heroes. The younger are then bound to serve and attend upon them, as they did previously upon others. From these it is that the bravest and fiercest warriors that the Turks possess arise, and it is on these that the Turkish emperor places the greatest reliance. I have written this account of the janissaries, in recording the first occasion on which I saw them, because I was afterwards an eyewitness at Constantinople of the manner in which, from youth upwards, they are obliged to accustom themselves, not to pleasure, but to work, and are formed into the formidable soldiers which they are.

The sea contains a great abundance of fish, which at time swim from the Lake Mæotis, or the Black Sea, through the straits of the Bosphorus into the Ægean and Mediterranean, and at another, turn back again, as is the nature of fish, in such immense numbers that the abundance of them can be taken by the haul of a very small net. Thus it is that there is such an abundant fishery of diverse fish, and that they sell them so cheap. The fishermen are usually Greeks, and are also well acquainted with the art of cooking fish. Neither do the Turks despise fish, when they are well cooked, especially those which they consider clean. Still, it is not every natural-born Turk who is fond of them, but rather the renegade, or Christian who has turned Turk. Moreover, frogs, snails, tortoises, oysters, and the like, a born Turk not only will not eat, but will not even touch. In fact, in the Alcoran unclean fish and wine drinking are alike prohibited to the Turks, and no one in any official position whatsoever drinks wine, except in secret. This is usually done by renegades, who used to come to us in secret, drink for whole nights, return secretly home before dawn, and beg us earnestly to let no one know of it. But the unruly youth and the soldiers do not allow themselves to be kept in order; nay, they go into Christian taverns, eat as much as they please, and pay nothing; and if the host does not wish to be beaten he must not say a single word. And, when they get drunk, every Christian or Jew whom they meet gets as far out of their way as he can, otherwise, if you have not a janissary with you, you meet immediately with a box on the ear, or a stab. Such persons, when they commit any misdemeanor, are immediately put into prison, and thrashed with a stick for the crime of drinking wine.

. . . Various Turkish officials, whether captured in childhood, or in manhood, and afterwards converted to the Turkish religion, although the children of Christian parents, and although many of them had lived a considerable time in the Christian faith, are, nevertheless, not over-kindly disposed towards Christians. And it is matter of wonder that they have arrived at such great dignity; for they regulate the whole dominions of the Turkish emperor, containing numerous kingdoms and princedoms, and govern them by their wisdom and understanding, on which depend the whole management of the lands of the Turkish emperor. As long as any one of them lives, so long does he remain in honor; but when he dies, everything—were it millions—falls again into the imperial treasury, for the Emperor says to them:—“Thou hast been my man, thou hast gained wealth from me; it is a proper thing that, after thy death, it should be returned back again to me.” Their children do not inherit any landed property, unless their father secretly provides them with ready money, or helps them,

in his lifetime, to some office, or procures for them an estate, or a current pension from the Emperor. Never, therefore, did I hear it said of any pasha, or observe, either in Constantinople, or in the whole land of Turkey, that any pasha was a natural-born Turk; on the contrary, they are either the kidnapped children of Christian parents, or persons captured in childhood, or persons who have turned Turks.

They told us, for instance, that Cykula Pasha was captured, when twelve years old, in a boat with his father, and that when the Turks promised him that they would release his father from captivity provided he turned Turk, he did so, wishing to aid his father. The Turks, certainly, did release the father; but sent him home so carefully that he died within three days. The son, who had become a Turk, having once tasted Turkish freedom and pleasures, proceeded gradually to worse and worse, till now he will have nothing to do with Christianity; but, on the contrary, is pasha and high admiral, and is a great enemy of the Christians, as he showed in the battle of Erlau, in Hungary, in the year 1596. In that battle, when our soldiers had given themselves up to plundering the Turkish tents, he, with his fifteen renegades, or Christians who had become Turks, charged back again upon our men, forced them to flee, and was the cause that so many Bohemians and good men were slain.

John Sanderson—1560–?1627

*The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant 1584–1602, with his Autobiography and
Selections from his Correspondence.*

Edited by Sir William Foster

Reproduced, by permission of the Hakluyt Society from the edition originally published by
the Society, 1931, Kraus Reprint Limited, Nendeln/Liechknstein, 1967
(Second Series No. 67, issued for 1930)

A.D. 1592–1598

[The author as a source to his discourse mentions “a little pamphlet that was presented me by
a doctor Jew poet; which said discourse he gave me in Latin. I immediately translated the
same into English, the 17th and 18th of August 1594.”]

Here <in Constantinople> likewise they sell many Christian slaves of all sects and age, in 78
manner as they sell their horses, looking them in the eyes, mouth, and all other parts. This
they do every forenoon, except Friday, which the Turks hold for their day of rest.

<In Constantinople there are:>	83
. . .Whores of all sorts at least	1,000
Chaouses, that is officers or sargients . . .	1,600
Capogies [qapujy], that is porters . . .	700
Spahis . . . I say horsemen	30,000
Janissaries, to say footmen, common soldiers	24,000
Topgies [topgy]; gunners . . .	3,000
Jamoglians, youth to make Janissaries	20,000
. . . Other Turks, dwelling in the city (besides women and children)	200,000
Christians of all sorts and countries, at least	200,000
Jews, in and near about the city, at least	150,000
Women and children of all sorts, Christians, Jews, Turks, etc.	600,000
<Total>	1,231,207

John Cartwright—?

The Preachers Travels. Wherein is set down a true journall of the confines of the great countries of Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Media, Hircania and Parthia. With the authors returne by the way of Persia, Susiana, Assiria, Chaldaea, and Arabia. Containing a full suruew of the kingdom of Persia: and in what terms the Persian stands with the Great Turke at this day: Also a true relation of Sir Anthonie Sherleys entertainments there: and the estate that his brother, M. Robert Sherley lived in after his departure for Christendome. With the description of a Port in the Persian Gulf, commodius for our East Indian merchants: and a briefe rehearsall of some grosse absurdities in the Turkish Alcoran.

Penned by I. C., sometimes student in Magdalen Colledge in Oxford
London, Printed for Thomas Thorppe, and are to be sold by Walter Burre, 1611

A.D. 1600

- 22 . . . Armenia the Great . . . by some <is> distinctly divided into three parts: the north part whereof being but little, is called Georgia: the middle part Turcomania: and the third part by the proper name of Armenia.

The Description of Armenia

Armenia was founded by Armenius (one of the companions of Iason, who won the golden fleece at Colchos;) for after Iason was dead, Armenius having gathered together a great multitude of people, and wandering up and down the country, in the end founded the town of Armenia, near unto the mountains out of which the river Tygris springs; constituting many good laws, whereby from time to time, the country of Armenia was governed by kings of their own nation, until such time as the house of the Ottomans subdued the same.

- 23 It is now called Turcomania, and was the first seat of the Turks, after their first coming out of Scythia, who left their natural seats in the cold and bare country, to seek themselves others in more pleasant and temperate countries more southerly | of all other, the most true progeny of the Turks.

. . . This country of Armenia has for it utmost bounds northward, Colchos, Iberia, and Albania; all which are now called by the Tartars Comania . . . westward it confronts upon Euphrates and Armenia the less, southward on Mesopotamia, with that which the Curdies inhabit; and eastward on River Araxis, which waters the south part of Armenia, and almost divides from Georgia.

At our first entrance into this country, we traveled through a goodly, large and spacious plain, compassed about with a row of high mountains, where were many villages wholly inhabited by Armenians; a people very industrious in all kind of labor: their women very skillful and active in shooting, and managing any sort of weapon, like the fierce Amazons in ancient time; and the women at this day, which inhabit the mountain at Xatach in Persia. Their families are very great; for, both sons, nephews and nieces do dwell under one roof, having all their substance in common: And when the father dies, the eldest son does govern the rest; all submitting themselves under his regiment. But when the eldest son dies, the government does not pass to his sons, but to the eldest brother. And if it chance to fall out,

that all the brethren do die, then the government does belong to the eldest son of the eldest brother, and so from one to another. In their diet and clothing, they are all fed and clothed alike, living in all peace and tranquillity, grounded on true love and honest simplicity.

To discourse how populous this nation is at this day, is needless, since they inhabit both 24
in Armenia the greater, and Armenia the less; as also in Cilicia, Bithinia, Syria, Mesopotamia
and Persia. Besides the principal cities of the Turkish empire be much populated with them,
as Brusia, Angori, Trabisona, Alexandria, Grand Caire, Constantinople, Caffa, Aleppo,
Orpha, Caraemit, Van, and Julpha. Some of this nation affirmed unto us, that the chiefest
cause of their great liberty in the Ottoman kingdom is, for that certain of their kings bear
great affection and love unto Mahomet their lewd Prophet, in regard whereof Mahomet did
I recommend them as his kind friends to his successors, who ever since have permitted the 25
poor Armenians to live amongst them. But the true reason is, for that they are very laborious
in transporting merchandise from one city to another, by which means through the customs
which are paid in every city, the coffers of the Grand Signior are wonderfully enriched. Unto
which does well agree that scoffing taunt which Abbas now king of Persia did throw upon an
Armenian, who being desirous to forsake his Christian faith, and to embrace the wicked and
filthy superstitions of the Persians, upon hope of reward and preferment, the king did not
only rebuke his tepidity and coldness in his religion, but sent him away with his scornful
reproach: That an Armenian now was good for naught, save as a camel to transport
merchandise from one city to another, implying that howsoever in antique times they had
been warlike and courageous, yet now they were become buffaloes and pultrones, altogether
unfit for martial affairs.

This people have two patriarchs to whom they give the name Universal: the one keeps his
seat in the city of Sis in Caramania, not far from Tharsus: the other in the monastery of
Ecmeazin <Etchmiadzin>, near unto the city of Ervan in this country. Under these two
Patriarchs are eighteen monasteries, full fraught with friars of their religion; and four and
twenty bishoprics. The maintenance allowed in times past unto each of these two Patriarchs
was a maid in a house; each Patriarch having under him twenty thousand households: but
now that large benevolence the Great Turk has ceased into his own hands, as if the tithe of
the church were fitter for his unsatiable desire; therefore those poor, miserable, and despised
church-men: and therefore now they are constrained to live on the alms of the people, going
continually in visitation from one city to another, carrying their wives and whole family with
them.

The people of this nation have retained amongst them the Christian faith; as it is thought
from time of the apostles . . .

The Description of Bithlis

27

This city stands in a pleasant valley, by which runs a little river, falling out of the
mountains Anti-Taurus, it was once a town in the confines of the Persian kingdom, bordering
upon Mesopotamia, and had a castle kept with a garrison of Persian soldiers, before such time
as Solyman the Magnificent did conquer these countries, which was in the year 1535 . . .

Having well refreshed ourselves among these villages, we proceeded in our ordinary travel,
but before we had passed two miles, certain troops of Curdies encountered our caravan, with
a purpose and intent to have robbed the same, but finding themselves too weak to contend

with such a company, they departed until the next day following, when again they met us in a very narrow passage between two mountains, where they made a stay of our whole caravan, exacting a shaughoe on every person which to purchase our peace we willingly paid.

- 29 <From Bithlis we> set forwards towards the great city Van, three days' journey farther. In which travel we had a very wearisome and painful journey, over high mountains and craggy rocks, the way being exceeding narrow, that a beast could hardly pass with his burden, without much heaving and tumultuous shouldering. The which narrow passage the Turks told us, was by the commandment of Amurat the third; the Great Turk, cut through by the main industry of laborers, for his army to pass . . . In this place our travel was very dangerous, by reason of a brackish lake or little sea, called the lake Arctamar, which was under the rock, over which we passed . . . Two miles from this shore in the aforesaid lake are two islands called the Ecmenicke Islands, inhabited only by Armenians, and some Georgians, which two islands do bring forth and yield such store of cattle and plenty of rice, wheat, and barley, that . . . these islands are at this day the garners and store of houses for all the country round about.
- . . . On the west side of the city <Van> lies a pleasant and delightful plain, wherein the Janizaries twice a week do exercise themselves after their manner in the feast of war. On the
- 30 north side runs the lake Arctamar <Aghtamar/Lake Van> . . . | Out of this lake is caught yearly an innumerable quantity of fish like our herring, which being dried in the sun, they disperse and sell them over all the country thereabout.

John Mildenhall—?

Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes. Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others.

Samuel Purchas

In twenty volume. Vol. II, Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1905

A.D. 1600

The Travailes of John Mildenhall into the Indies, and in the Countryes of Persia, and of the Great Mogor or Mogull (where he is reported afterwards to have died of Poyson) written by himselfe in two Letters following.

And the seventh of July, 1600, I departed from Aleppo, in company with many other Nations, as Armenians, Persians, Turks, and diverse others, to the number of six hundred people in our caravan, and only of English M. John Cartwright, Preacher: from whence we went to Bir, which is within three days' journey, and stands upon the edge of the river Euphrates. From thence we went to Ursa <Urfā>, which is five days' journey, which we found very hot. From thence we went to Caraemit, which is four days' journey. From thence to Bitelis, a city under the government of a Nation called the Courdes, yet under the subjection of Constantinople, which is seven days' journey: and from thence to Van, which is three days' journey from Bitelis, a city of great strength, and by the side of the Castle is a great Lake of salt water <Lake Van>, navigable, and is in compass nine days' journey about, which I myself have rowed round about. And once a year, at the coming down of the snow waters from the mountains, there is abundance of fish, which come of themselves to one end of the lake, which I may compare to our Herring-time at Yermouth . . .

Ottaviano Bon—1551–1622

The Sultan's Seraglio—An Intimate Portrait of Life at the Ottoman Court.

From the Seventeenth-Century Edition of John Withers] Introduced and annotated

by Godfrey Goodwin

Saqi Books, 1996

A.D. 1605–1607

46 This Seraglio may rightly be termed the seminary or nursery of the best subjects. For in it, all they have their education, which afterwards become the principal officers, and subordinate rulers of the state, and affairs of the whole empire; [as hereafter I shall show at large].

They which are within the third gate, called the King's gate, are about two thousand persons, men and women; whereof the women (old and young one with another; what with the King's concubines, old women, and women servants) may be about eleven or twelve hundred. Now, those which are kept up for their beauties, are all young virgins taken and stolen from foreign nations; who after they have been instructed in good behavior, and can play upon instruments, sing, dance, and sew curiously; they are given to the Grand Seignor, as presents of great value: and the number of these increases daily, as they are sent and presented by the Tartars, by the Bashaws, and other great men, to the King and Queen. [They do likewise sometimes decrease, according as the Grand Seignor shall think fit. For upon diverse occasions and accidents, he causes many of them to be turned out of this Seraglio, and to be sent into the old Seraglio: which is also a very goodly and spacious place, of which hereafter I shall take occasion to make mention.] These virgins, immediately after their coming into the Seraglio, are made Turks: which is done by using this ceremony only; to hold up their forefinger, and say these words; law illawheh illaw Allawh, Muhammed resoul Allawh. That is, there is no God but God alone, and Mahomet is the messenger of God. And according as they are in age and disposition (being proved and examined by an old woman

47 called Kahiyah | Cadun, that is, as we say, the mother of the maids) so they are placed in a room with the others of the same age, spirit, and inclination, to dwell and live together.

59 Having already spoken of the women, I must in the next place say somewhat of the Agiamoglans* which are in the Seraglio, and of their employments.

There are ordinarily about six or seven hundred of them, from twelve to twenty-five or thirty years of age, at the most, being all of them Christians children (as almost all Agiamoglans are) gathered every three years in Morea, and throughout all the parts of Albania: the which renegado children are disposed of, as hereafter you shall hear.

The number of them, which are to be taken, is uncertain; for there are gathered sometimes more and sometimes less, according as the Capoochees and officers appointed for that service, in their own discretion, shall think fit; but the greatest collection seldom or never comes to above two thousand.

* The word signifies inexpert or untutored youths.

They are taken from such families as are supposed to be of the best spirit, and most warlike disposition; nor may they, when they are gathered, exceed twelve, or fourteen years of age at the most, lest they should be unfit for a new course of life, and too well settled in Christianity to become good Turks. The Capooches | having finished their circuit, and gathered their 60 whole complement, bring them forthwith to Constantinople, to be distributed and shared out as follows. So soon as they are arrived at the port, they are all clothed in coarse Salonichi cloth, it makes no matter of what color; and their caps are of felt of the form of a sugar-loaf, of the color of camel's hair; and so they are all brought to the Vizir Azem, who at that time is accompanied with the other Bashaws, and officers of the Seraglio; that he may make choice of the most well favored, and such as he judges likely to prove the best spirits: then this choice being made, the said youths, chosen by the Vizir, are carried by the Bustangee Bashaw into the King's own Seraglio, and there distributed to such companies as want some to make up their complete numbers. Then are they circumcised, and made Turks, and set to learn the Turkish tongue; and according as their several inclinations are discovered and discerned by their overseers, so are they encouraged in the same, and suffered to proceed: and such, as have a desire to learn, are taught to read and write; but generally all of them are taught to wrestle, to leap, to run, to throw the iron weight, to shoot the bow, to discharge a piece, and, to conclude, all such exercises as are befitting a Turkish soldier.

Now part of the residue of them are distributed by the chief Vizir into all the Grand Seignior's gardens, and houses of pleasure, and into such ships as sail for the King's account, and which go to lade wood, and such like provision for the Seraglio; confining them to the masters of the said vessels, with condition to restore them again, when he shall require them: and so he doth with the chief arts-men of the city, of all sorts of occupations, to the end that the youths may learn some trade, to keep them from idleness, when they are | become 61 Janizaries, and are at home: or if they will, they may practice the said arts abroad, when they are at the wars, and reap great benefit for their pains. He lends likewise to all the Bashaws, and Grandees of the court, many of them to serve them; but they are all delivered by name and written down in a book, that he may have them returned again, when there shall be occasion to make them Janizaries. But these, which are given to the Bashaws, are the scum and refuse of all the rest, and are employed only in the service of stables, kitchens, and such base offices of drudgery, and the better sort of the residue are put into divers nurseries, committed to the custody and discipline of certain white eunuchs, who are appointed to be their overseers, and to take care that they be brought up, and trained in military exercises, until such time as they shall become fit to be entertained into the number of the Janizaries, in the room of the dead, or of old ones which are no longer fit for the wars, [but are made Otooracks,] and have leave to stay at home; so that these of the latter sort, kept in Seminaries, do indeed serve at all hands: the King, Queen, and Vizir Azem, employing them also many times in their buildings, and other very laborious offices, without exception.

These Agiamoglans being thus distributed; the chief Vizir presents a book, wherein all their names are set down, to the King, who, having seen it, appoints every one his pension, according to the Canon: which is of two or three, or at the most of five Aspars a day; and underwrites it with his own hand: the which book is forthwith consigned into the custody of the chief Defterdar that so he seeing by the said book what their several names and pensions are, they may duly receive their pay from him. Now this Defterdar is bound, so often as their

62 pay is due, that is once in three months, | to visit them all if he can; inquiring who is dead, and taking good notice how the others live and spend their time; whether they profit or not, by their tutors and overseers; that if so be things be not as they should be, he may acquaint the Grand Signor therewith, and have them amended.

I will now return to speak of the Agiamoglans of the Seraglio; having not thought it superfluous to have digressed a little, and to have spoken somewhat of the other Agiamoglans also: for it may peradventure prove delightful to those who have not as yet heard of those passages so distinctly.

The Agiamoglans of the Seraglio, albeit they are chosen for the best uses, out of the rest, by the chief Vizir; yet are their first employments but very base and slavish. For they serve in the stables, kitchens, gardens, for digging, for cleaving of wood; and are made to row in Kaiks, and to lead the greyhounds a coursing, and whatsoever else they are commanded to do, by their Oda Bashaws: the which Oda Bashaws are also Agiamoglans as they are, but of the highest rank and longest standing, and have about fifteen aspars a day; two vests of cloth yearly; two pieces of linen cloth for shirts and handkerchiefs; and so much satin or fine cloth as will make each of them a pair of Chakshirs or breeches, after their fashion down to the heels, and ruffled in the small of the leg, as our boots are. Nevertheless these Oda Bashaws are all under command of the Kahiyah, who is the Bustangee Bashaw's steward; now the Bustangee Bashaw himself hath daily about three hundred aspars pay; for he is their patron, judge, and protector. [And as any Turk whatsoever may be known of what degree he is, by the bigness and making up of the turbant which he wears, and by some other tokens which they observe in their habit; so to the end that the Oda Bashaws and Bulook Bashaws may be
63 known | from the common sort of Agiamoglans,] they wear broad silken girdles of divers colors about their middles, and are allowed a larger stipend: who, by authority given them from the Kabiya, do bring the underlings to such an extraordinary subjection and sufferance, by their often beating them upon the least misdemeanor; that they do not only not refuse all manner of pains taking, but patiently undergo whatsoever is done unto them.

They have their terms and prerogatives amongst themselves; preceding or succeeding one another according to the length of time which they have spent in the Seraglio: so that in process of time, if they still continue there, and are not sent out upon other occasions, they may aspire to the degree of chief steward to the Bustangee Bashaw, or of Bustangee Bashaw himself, which is a very eminent place; for he hath the keeping of all the Grand Signor's garden houses, and steers the King's Kaik, and wears a turbant upon his head in the Seraglio, although' he were but lately an Agiamoglan as the rest are, and did wear one of the aforesaid felt caps: who also (if he be in grace with the King, as commonly every Bustangee Bashaw is) may rise to greater dignities, as to be captain Bashaw, Bashaw of Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, etc. nay sometimes to be Vizir Azem.

These Agiamoglans are not altogether debarred from liberty, and going abroad, but may upon good occasion be licensed to go whither they please, although at the first they are strictly looked unto: and the Bustangee Bashaw always takes with him good store of them, when by his Majesty's order he is sent to put some great man to death: the which is commonly done by the hands of four or five of the chiefest, and strongest of the said Agiamoglans.

64 There are sometimes natural born Turks brought in | amongst them, but indeed very seldom, by means made to the Bustangee Bashaw, who therein does greatly pleasure such poor

folks as are willing to be rid of their children: but it must be first made known to the Grand Seignor, and done with his consent. [For the natural born Turks are not held to be of so brave spirits, and fit for service, as the other: and for divers other respects best known to themselves, as the increasing the number of Mussulmen, and the like, they do not willingly admit of any but Christians children.]

. . . Now of this rank of Agiamoglans which are in the King's Seraglio, they never make 65 Janizaries, as they do of those which are brought up in the other Seraglios and Seminaries; and of such as are lent to divers of the King's subjects, as tradesmen, masters of ships, and the like, and to the Bashaws: but his Majesty's turn being served of these, he bestows them upon his gentlemen Aghas, when he employs them abroad in some principal government, that they may be faithful assistants unto them in their businesses, and that in time they themselves may become men of worth; as often they do, if by their diligence, and fidelity, they prove to be men of good desert.

The Grand Seignor likewise makes great use of them, when he intends a journey to any place; as when he goes to the wars, or any whither else, far from Constantinople; for the pitching of his tents, for removing, and carrying of chests and baskets, and many other such like services, as must be done at those times: for which employments the King never takes with him less than three or four hundred of them.

It now remains that I say somewhat of the Grand Seignior's Itchoglans; which are youths 67 kept also in the Seraglio, but in far better fashion than the Agiamoglans; and are, for the King and country's service, brought up in learning, in the knowledge of the laws, and in military exercises; that they may in time be made able to perform those things, which belong to the government of the whole empire. And albeit for the most part these are Christian captives and renegados, yet there are some natural born Turks amongst them, (which must be youths of very comely aspect, and their outsides must promise a great deal of worth and goodness) brought in by the Capee Agha's means, who is chief chamberlain, with the King's consent: but this happens very seldom, and is effected with great difficulty; for the ancient institution was, that the Itchoglans should always be made of Christian renegados, and captives only, of the most civil and noblest that could be found.

The victuals in the Seraglio, for the most part, are dressed by Agiamoglans brought up to 93 cookery, which are called Aschees, and are known from other Agiamoglans by their white caps, yet in the form of a sugar loaf as well as the others are. Howbeit there are belonging to the kitchens, that are therein, more than two hundred under-cooks, and skullions; besides their principal officers, as sewers, caters, and such like: all which are carefully to look to their several kitchens, and not any one to trust another with his business.

And if the man puts away the woman, then he is bound to allow her the jointure, which 120 he promised her, when they were contracted before the Cadee, and witnesses: but if the woman forsake the man, then she can recover nothing, but departs only with a small portion, such as she brought with her into her husband's house. And if they have any children, then he must keep the males, and she must take the females along with her. The same order is also observed, and held with married Christians. For, if the husband turns Turk, he may take his

sons with him, and make them of that profession; but his wife will retain the daughters: and, if she turn Turk, she doth the like by her daughters, and leaves the sons to him.

Now in case a Turk take slaves for his use, he may not sell them again; but they become members of his family, in which they are to remain till they die. But if they prove barren, then they may be sold from hand to hand, as often as it is their fortune.

The Turks may buy of all sorts of slaves, of every religion, and nation; and may use them as they please (killing only excepted) which the Christians and Jews there may not do; for they have liberty only to buy Christians and Jews.

There is for this purpose a place in Constantinople, near the Bezisten, where every Wednesday, in the open street, there are bought and sold slaves of all sorts, and every one may freely come to buy for their several uses; some for nurses, some for servants, and some for their lustful appetites. For they, which make use of slaves for their sensuality, cannot be punished by the justice, as they should be, if they were taken with free women, and with Turkish women especially.

121 These slaves are bought and sold, as beasts and l cattle are . . .

123 And hence it is, that Avantias are so commonly framed; for they can stoutly, and that with ease, outface the poor Christians and Jews; nay for a bribe they will not spare their own sect, in bearing false witness; or raising an Eferat against them. For these Turks being naturally given to covetousness (though they pretend to be lovers of honesty) and altogether inclined to rapine (yet without question, there are some honest men amongst them) when they meet with a fit opportunity, they will play fast and loose with any man, be he of what condition soever, for their own benefit. Wherefore it proves dangerous to have any dealing with them; for that they with that trick will easily free themselves from any obligation, or agreement before made; Judgment there consisting chiefly in the proof by witnesses; so that a man had need to be wondrous circumspect and wary, in his proceedings with Turks, especially in matters of contract.

Thomas Shirley—1564?–?1630

Discours of the Turkes.

Edited for the Royal Historical Society by E. Denison Ross
Camden Miscellany, Vol. XVI, London, Offices of the Society, 1936

A.D. 1598–1603

I have passed clean through Macedon, and sometime, and that for the most of the way, I have 8
ridden twenty mile together, & that in as pleasant a country as ever I saw, and have not seen
one human creature, nor one house. Armenia lies all utterly waste, without any inhabitant.

The Turks hold traffic of merchandise two ways, the one abroad, the other at home. That 9
abroad is most to the East Indies over land, & that was entertained in the time that there was
peace between the Persian & Turk, either by the Persians or Armenians, that brought the
goods of China & India, with some Persian commodities, by caravans to Aleppo, or else by
the Arabians, that brought them to Mecha, & there shipped them & carried them by the Red
Sea to Alexandria.

Robert Coverte—?

The Travels of Captain Robert Coverte.

Edited with an introduction and notes by Boise Penrose

Privately Printed in Philadelphia, 1931

A.D. 1608

86 <In Bugdad> There are only two Venetian factors, who trade for inestimable wealth in merchandise of all sorts. Also some small number of Armenians, which are all the Christians that are there resident.

88 There is no trade of merchandise in this city <of Mussell>, but it is only kept by the Turk as a town of garrison, yet there are Armenian Christians, who have their churches and friars, and do freely use their religion without check or control.

89 <We> came to Hamadaine* an ancient town of the Armenians; but much ruined by the Turks. Here we saw many ancient monuments which showed that it had been a town of great antiquity and worth . . .

. . . We traveled towards the great city of Ulfawe† . . . and there all travelers pay great custom.

This is a mighty strong city and a continual garrison kept there by the Turk.

92

The six and twentieth day, we traveled some eight leagues more <from Aleppo> to a monastery called Huddrealins, which was built by an Armenian Christian, who gave sufficient maintenance to provide, olives, bread, and oil for lamps, for the harbor & relief of all Christian travelers, and there is a picture of Saint George on horseback fighting with the dragon, and his picture on foot, and his cross, and mention in old Roman print of his noble & memorable acts, which relic is much honored by many Christians as they travel by the same, and to that end there is a chapel and lamps burning therein continually.

* Possibly Mardin.

† Urfa.

George Sandys—1578–1644

Sandys Travels, containing an history of the original and present state of the Turkish Empire: their laws, government, policy, military force, courts of justice, and commerce. The Mahometan religion and ceremonies: a description of Constantinople, the Grand Signior's Seraglio, and his manner of living: also, of Greece, with the religion and customs of the Grecians. Of Egypt: the antiquity, hieroglyphics, rites, customs, discipline, and religion of the Egyptians. A voyage on the River Nylus: of Armenia, Grand Cairo, Rhodes, the Pyramids, colossus; the former flourishing and present state of Alexandria. A description of the Holy-Land; of the Jews, and several sects of Christians living there; of Jerusalem, Sepulcher of Christ, Temple of Solomon; and what else either of antiquity. or worth observation. Lastly, Italy described, and the islands adjoining; as Cyprus, Crete, Malta, Sicilia, the Æolian islands; of Rome, Venice, Naples, Syracuse, Mesena, Ætna, Scylla, and Charybdis; and other places of note.

The seventh edition, London, printed for John Williams Junior, 1673

A. D. 1610

Now Cairo this great city is inhabited by Moors, Turks, Negroes, Jews, Copties, Greeks, and 95
Armenians, who are the poorest, and every where the honestest: laboring painfully, and living
soberly. Those that are not subject to the Turk, if taken in wars, are freed from bondage: who
are, live freely, and pay no tribute of children as do other Christians. This privilege enjoy they,
for that a | certain Armenian foretold of the greatness and glory of Mahomet. They once were 96
under the Patriarch of Constantinople: but about the Heresy of Eutiches, they fell from his
government and communion with the Grecians, whom they detest above all other: re-
baptizing such as convert to their sect . . . They deny the real presence in the Sacrament, and
administer it as the Copties do: with whom they agree also, concerning Purgatory, and not
praying for the dead . . . Their Patriarch has his being at Tyberis in Persia: in which country
they live wealthily, and in good estimation. There are three hundred Bishops of that nation.
Priests marry not twice; eat flesh but five times a year . . . They observe the Lent most strictly
. . . As for images they adore them not . . .

*Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes. Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and
Lande Travells by Englishmen and others.*

Samuel Purchas

In twenty volumes. Vol. VIII, Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1905

The Turkish Empire is the greatest that is, or perhaps that ever was from the beginning. For 121
first the European part thereof extends westward unto the Archdukes of Austria's dominions,
stretching to the Adriatick Sea by the confines of Ragusa, bounded on the south with the
Mediterraneum; on the east, with Ægeum, Propontis, and Pontus, even to Theodosia, a city
of the Scythian Chersonesus; and on the north almost to Russia and Polonia; | containing 122
Romania, Bulgaria, Servia, Rascia, the tributary principalities of Valachia and Moldavia; the
greater part of Hungary, Bosnia, Albania, Macedon, Epirus, all Grecia and Peleponnesus; all

the fruitful islands of the Ægean Sea: Ragusa pays for her liberty; nor is Candie, Zant, or Cephalania held without presents. But what is this, compared to her Asian territories? within which, all Natolia is comprised; on three sides embraced with the Ægean, Euxine, and Cilician Seas; containing the provinces of Pontus, Galatia, Bythinia, Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphilia, Cicilia Cappadocia, and the lesser Armenia; beyond which, Colchis stretching northward to Cataie, and bounded on the east with the country of the Georgians, whereof the Turks possess not a little. A great part it also contains of the Greater Armenia: all Syria (in which Coelosyria, Phoenicia, and Palestine;) Babylonia and Mesopotamia: Arabia felix, which stretches out into the South Sea, interposing the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, do bow to that Sovereignty: so do the inhabitants of Petrea, and Deserta; such I mean, as have known habitations. In Africa it extends all along the coasts of the Mediterraneum, even from the Red Sea to Acrath, a city of Mauritania (except some few places possessed by the Spaniard) wherein is the country of the Troglodites, the miraculously fertile kingdom of Ægypt, Tripoly in Barbarie, the kingdom of Tunis, and city of the Argers with her territories, with the tributary kingdoms of Fesse and Morocco. To this add Cyprus, Rhodes, and all the fertile islands of the Mid-land Sea, that lie east of Candie. Thus great at this day is the Ottoman Empire: but too great for it are their assumed titles: as God on earth, Shadow of God, Sole Monarch of the World, King of Kings, Commander of all that can be commanded, Sovereign of the most noble Families of Persia and Armenia, Possessor of the holy Cities of Mecha and Jerusalem, Lord of the Black and White Seas, Sultan of Babylon, and so proceeding with a repetition of their several Kingdoms.

- 123 But the barbarous policy whereby this <Ottoman> tyranny is sustained, does differ from all other: guided by the heads, and strengthened by the hands of his slaves, who think it as great an honor to be so, as they do with us that serve in the courts of Princes: the Natural Turk (to be so called a reproach) being rarely employed in command of service: amongst whom there is no nobility of blood, no known parentage, kindred, nor hereditary possessions, but as it were of the Sultan's creation, depending upon him only for their sustenance and preferments. Who disposes, as well of their lives as their fortunes, by no other rule then that of his will; although sometime for form he uses the assent of the never gain-saying Mufti. These are the sons of Christians (and those the most completely furnished by nature) taken in their childhood from their miserable parents, by a levy made every five years (or oftner, or seldomer, as occasion requires) throughout the whole Empire, (excepting certain privileged places, amongst which are Sio and Constantinople,) who are bestowed in several seminaries, instructed in the Mahometan Religion (changing their names upon their circumcision)
- 124 taught the use of their several weapons, and made patient of hunger and labor, | with inured abstinence, and continual exercise. These they call Jemoglans, who have their faces shaven (the token of servitude,) wearing long coats and copped caps, not unlike to our idiots. The choicest of them for spirit and feature, are after a while received into the Grand Signior's Serraglio, distinguished by chambers like to those in hospitals, according to their seniorities; where all are brought up in the discipline of war; and not a few, acquainted with the secrets of State: such as by the excellency of their gifts do assure the expectation of a future eminency. Those of the first chamber, are the first preferred: yet not in order, but according to the worth of the place, and worthiness of the person. Of these come the Beglerbeks, (the name

signifying, a Lord of Lords) of whom there be only two, the one of Greece, and the other of Natolia: who command all the horse-men in those countries under the General) the Great Bassas, (whereof some are Generals of armies, some Viziers of the Porte, the rest Vice-roys of provinces) the sanziaks governors of cities, for so the name signifies, with their Territories and Forces, and other officers both of war and peace; with those of the court, of principal place and attendance. Of the other Jemoglans some come to be Chauses, who go to embassies, execute commandments, and are pursivants, and under-Sheriffs; attending the employment of the Emperor, who mounted on horse back, carry dabuzes (a weapon like a mace) before him, and on the courts of justice: soliciting all the causes of their clients.

Constantinople is said to contain seven hundred thousand persons: half of them Turks, 163 and the other half Jews and Christians, and those for the general Grecians. But Pera has three Christians for one Mahometan: for no Jew dwells in Pera, though they have their shops there.



An Agiamoghlan (Jamoglan).

[From *Life in Istanbul 1588: Scenes from a Traveler's Picture Book* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1977).]

Thomas Coryat—1577?–1617

Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes. Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others.

Samuel Purchas

In twenty volumes. Vol. X, Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1905

A.D. 1613

Master Thomas Coryates travels to, and observations in Constantinople and other places in the way thither, and his Journey thence to Aleppo, Damasco, and Jerusalem.

420 The twentieth of April, there began a fire in Constantinople about midnight, which was like to have done much hurt, if it had not been prevented by the care and industry of the Captain Bashaw. For he came thither a little after it began with a great multitude of men to repress the fury of the flame as much as in them lay. He was so furious at that time, that with a certain war like instrument called in the Turkish tongue a Capooch, which is somewhat like a mace, he struck a Janizarie that he saw rifling of a house, so fiercely upon the head, that immediately he fell down dead in the place: and had done the like to some other Janizaries that were the adherents of the other, in his enterprise of ransacking other men's goods, if they had not suddenly escaped by flight. For indeed it does happen that Janizaries do of purpose set houses on fire, even to the great endangering of the city for prey and spoil sake, especially the houses of Jews.

422 <During Ramazan> Janizaries commit insolencies against Christians, taking money from whomsoever they meet by the way.

442 <In Lesbos, now called Mitylene> The people flocked about us, many of them women, the ugliest sluts that ever I saw, saving the Armenian trulls of Constantinople.

Greetings from the Court of the Great Mogul.

De Capo Press, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd., Amsterdam & New York, 1968

A.D. 1615

. . . A great part of the Turk's land is extreme barren and sterile . . . especially in Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia; many large portions thereof being of wonderful fruitless, that it bears no good things at all . . .

William Lithgow—1582?–?1645

The Totall Discourse, of the Rare Aduentures, and Painefull Peregrinations of Long Nineteene Yeares Trauayles, from Scotland, to the Most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica. Perfited by three deare bought voyages, in surueighing of forty eight kingdomes ancient and moderne; twenty one reipublickes, ten absolute principalities, with two hundred ilands. The particular names whereof, are described in each argument of the ten diuisions of this history: And it also diuided in three bookes; two whereof, neuer heretofore published. Wherein is contayned, an exact relation, of the lawes, religion, policies, and gouernment of all their princes, potentates, and people. Together with the grieuous tortures he suffered, by the inquisition of malaga in Spaine, his miraculous discouery and deliury thence: And of his last and late returne from the Northerne Iles.

Imprinted at London, by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by Nicholas Fussell and Humphrey Mosley at their shops in Pauls Churchyard, at the Ball, and the white Lyon, 1632

A.D. 1614?

The Turks generally, when they commit any copulation with Christians, or their own sex, they wash themselves in a south running fountain, before the sun rising, thinking thereby to wash away their sins . . .

. . . In Asia Major, and Minor, to wit, <the Turkish emperor has his> eighth <seat> in Arzeron in Armenia Major . . .

Alexander of Rhodes [of Viet Nam]—1591–1660/1

The Travels and Missions of Father Alexander de Rhodes in China and Other Kingdoms of the Orient.

Translated by Solange Hertz

The Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland, 1966

A.D. 1648–1649

226 I was obliged to stay about three months in Isfahan to wait for a caravan of Armenians, without which I couldn't safely cross the many kingdoms I still had to go through. And even so my friends all wanted me to take off my habit and disguise myself as an Armenian for fear the Turks would offer me some insult when I went through their territory.

232 We left upper Armenia, where the Persians don't treat travelers badly, to enter the territory of the Turks, who were so inhospitable they wouldn't let us enter their towns and made us sleep in the snow in the middle of the fields, which to tell the truth was a very vexing thing, because very often we had the snow both under and above us, thus sleeping between two white shrouds that could certainly have used a warming pan . . .

After eighteen days we had occasion to enter the town of Erzurum, which is the most beautiful and well-known in all lower Armenia.

233 Tokat <is> now one of the most famous in Anatolia. Many Armenian doctors came to see me and even listened willingly to the talks I gave them on the primacy of the Pope over all patriarchs and bishops of the world. Some seemed to have assimilated my reasoning so well they promised me to set out for Rome.

. . . The Armenians showed us all the kindness they could. We were then beginning Lent in good spirits, which these good people rigidly observed without ever breaking their fast. I tried to do likewise, although I found myself so run down I was bereft of energy . . .

234 After leaving Tokat we came across a town full of Armenians who had all been Christians and had recently abandoned their faith to become Mohammedans, thus wronging | Jesus Christ and their consciences. There were only one good old man and two very aged women who hadn't bent the knee before Baal . . .

So it is that these poor Armenians, living in great ignorance of our mysteries after being separated from the Pope, leave Jesus Christ very easily and hand themselves over to Mohammed at the slightest persecution dealt them by the enemies of the Christian name. Persons worthy of credence have told me that at one single time 3,000 of these wretched people renounced their Baptism during the reign of Abbas, king of Persia, who was urging them to it; later many, on repenting their infidelity, left the country in order to return to the Church they had abandoned in such cowardly fashion.

Paul of Aleppo—?

Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch: written by his attendant Archdeacon, Paul of Aleppo, in Arabic.

Vol. II, Translated by F[rancis] C[unningham] Belfour

London: Printed for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great-Britain and Ireland, 1836

A.D. 1652?

The city of Tocat is built in a valley between two hills. Its waters are abundant; its fountains 443
near at hand, among the houses; but the quality of the water is at the same time rather heavy. Its castle is of the foundation of the Mahometans, on the ridge of the hill. It is a great mart, frequented by the whole world. Its markets are fine; and all its streets, both large and small, are paved. The Armenians in it are numerous; and they have seven churches within the town. They had an eighth church, on an eminence, overlooking the city; but the Moslems destroyed it. There are round the town, also, Roman monasteries, of which I visited I know not how many.

Early on Good Friday, the caravan proceeded: but we stayed behind, with those travelers 451
on horseback whose bundles had fallen into the water. Having beaten up the neighborhood, they engaged the peasants to draw out their packages. This delay was very convenient for us, who stayed, till near the approach of noon, drying our goods and wardrobe in the sun. We then mounted our horses; and again, on this day, suffered great hardship from the roughness of the road. Indeed, we had as yet seen nothing equal to it: for this route by Zeitoon (the well-known Armenian town) is notoriously bad, all the way from Eli Bostan to Marhash. It winds on ridges of hills; and through valleys, the bottom of which is covered with rapidly-flowing streams, issuing down from the tops of the mountains; and here and there are springs, throwing out water like rivers.

On the morning of Holy Saturday we rose early, to pursue our way, which lay over 452
mountain-ridges covered with deep snow. The mud was therefore equally deep in those parts where the sun had effect. And this mountain-track we pursued till noon; when we descended into the Valley of Zeitoon, with its vineyards. We passed by the Pilgrimage of Sob Kerabid <Surp (Saint) Garabed>, that is, of Mar Johanna, or St. John the Baptist, which is visited by the Armenians from Aleppo. It is an ancient dome, in the midst of hot springs; into which a company of Armenians, who were with us, went to bathe. These waters are beneficial in all chronic diseases. In the afternoon, we came opposite to Zeitoon; and there halted. Zeitoon is situated on the flat of a hill, and its houses are built of brick. We sent and fetched some wine from the town; but we could find no eggs there, nor cheese, nor meat; which we wanted for the next day, being Easter Sunday: for Hasan Pasha's men had plundered the whole of this country. We were surprised at the name of this town, Zeitoon; and at first supposed that it was from the great number of olive-trees around it they had so named it. But the case is quite the reverse; for there are indeed immense woods surrounding it, but not a single olive-tree is to be seen in the neighborhood.

Jean Baptiste Tavernier—1605–1689

The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne; through Turkey, into Persia and the East-Indies, for the space of forty years. Giving an account of the present state of those countries, viz. of the religion, government, customs, and commerce of every country; and the figures, weights, and value of the money currant all over Asia. To which is added a new description of the Seraglio.

Made English by J. P.

Added likewise, a voyage into the Indies, etc., by an English traveler, never before printed: Published by

Dr. Daniel Cox, London

Printed by William Gobddid, for Robert Littlebury and Moses Pitt, 1677

A.D. 1655

<Book I>

- 5 Tocat is a good fair city . . . very well inhabited with Turks, who are the lord controllers, Armenians, Greeks, and Jews . . . For fourteen or fifteen leagues round Tocat, the country is all inhabited by Armenian Christians, but very few Greeks being intermixed among them. The greatest part of Christians are tradesmen, and for the most part smiths . . . A man may live very cheap at Tocat: the wine is most excellent . . . In short, Tocat is one of the most remarkable thoroughfares in the East, where are continually lodged the caravans from Persia, Diarbequer, Bagdat, Constantinople, Smyrna, Synopus, and other places . . .
- 6 It is the custom of the Armenians, when they hear of the approach of a caravan, to ride out two or three days' journey to meet their country-men and carry them provisions. Those of Charkliqueu coming to meet our caravan, three of the Armenians took a large mornings-draught, which made them so pot-valiant, that they would needs raid before to the town alone by themselves; but by the way they were set upon by six horsemen that came from the north, where there are higher mountains than those which we were to cross. Immediately the thieves darted their half-pikes at the Armenians, in so much that two of them fell down mortally wounded, and the other saved himself among the rocks, but the thieves got their horses and goods, which were valued at ten thousand crowns.
- 7 . . . We came to a little town called Adras, the inhabitants whereof are all Armenians.
- 8 Erzerom is a frontier town of Turkey toward Persia. It is situated at the end of a large plain environed with mountains, the plain being beautified with many fair villages. If you take in the castle and the suburbs it may pass for a city, but the houses are all built of wood, without any neatness or proportion. There are some remains of churches and of the ancient buildings of the Armenians, by which you may conjecture that it never was very beautiful . . .
There are in Erzerom several great inns; this city, like Tocat, being one of the greatest thoroughfares in Turkey. The country about it bears wine, but not very good, and in regard the people are strictly forbid to drink wine, the merchants are forced to buy it very privately, for fear it should come to the knowledge of the Cadi. Though it be very cold at Erzerom, barley grows there in forty days, and wheat in sixty, which is very remarkable. The customs

paid there for the carrying out of the gold and silver, and upon all other commodities, is very severe. Silk, that comes out of Persia, pays four and twenty crowns for a camel's load, which is eight hundred pounds. 9

. . . From Kars to Erivan the caravan makes it in nine days' journey, and lies where it can find most convenience, there being no certain stages. The first day's journey ends at a monastery and a village, the one no less deserted than the other. The next day you come to the ruins of a great city, called Anikagaë <Ani Kaghak>, in the Armenian language the city of Ani, which was the name of an Armenian king that was the founder of it . . . This city was very strongly situated . . .

The caravan is usually twelve days upon the road, from Erzerom to Erivan. Leaving Halicarcara, you ford the Aras three times, and cross it the next day again: for it winds exceedingly. A league and a half from the place where you ford it the fourth time, upon the top of a high mountain stands a fortress called Kaguigan, which is the last place which the Turks possess to that side. The customers that live there come to the caravan to take their toll, which is four piasters for every camel loaded, and two for every horse loaded. In the year 1655 the caravan lodging about a league from the fortress of Kaguigan, the mountains adjoining being inhabited by Christian Armenians, there came to us a poor bishop attended by fifteen or sixteen persons, among which there were certain priests, who brought us bread, fowl, and fruit, desiring the charity of the merchants, who recommended them to their satisfaction. About four or five months after, this bishop had one of his eyes struck out by a Janisary. That wicked fellow came to the town where the bishop lived, and lighting upon the bishop, asked him for money, which because the bishop had none to give him, in rage he stabbed him in the eye with his dagger. Complaint was made to the Aga, who it is thought would have punished the officer, but he fled, and left the bishop without remedy of satisfaction. 10

<Book III>

Diarbequir is a city situated upon a rising ground, on the right side of Tigris, which in the place forms a half-moon . . . About a league from the city there is a channel cut out of Tigris, that brings the water to the city: And in this water are all the red marroquins washed that are made at Diarbequir, surpassing in color all others in the East: which manufacture employs a fourth part of the inhabitants of the city. The soil is very good, and yields according to expectation: there is excellent bread and very good wine, nor is there any better provision to be had in any part of Persia: more especially, there is a sort of pigeons which in goodness excel all the several kinds that we have in Europe. The city is well peopled, and it is thought there are above twenty thousand Christians. The two thirds are Armenians, the rest Nestorians, with some few Jacobites. 104

Taduan <Tatvan> is a great town within a cannon-shot of the Lake Van, in such a part, where nature has made a haven, sheltered from all the winds, being closed on all sides with high mountains, the entry into which though it seem narrow, is very free. It is able to contain twenty or thirty great barks . . . 105

106 Van is a great city upon the side of a wide lake of the same name . . . There is but one sort of fish in the lake, a little bigger than a pilchard, of which they take great store in the month of April. For about a league from the lake there is a great river that is called Bendmahi, which descending from the mountains of Armenia, empties itself into the lake. Now in March when the snow melts and fuels the river, vast numbers of these fish come down the river into the lake; which the fishermen observing, so stop up the mouth of the river that the fish cannot go back; for else they would not stay above forty days; at which time they catch them up in wide-mouthed baskets at the mouth of the river, thinking to return: it being lawful for any man to fish. The people drive a great trade in these fish, transporting them into Persia and Armenia; for the Persians and Armenians both, drinking wine at the end of their feasts, they then bring this dish to the table for a relishing-bit. The people of Van tell a story, how that there was a certain rich merchant who farmed the whole fishery, paying a good sum of money for it to the basha; who thereupon strictly forbade any to fish but the merchant; whereas before it was free for any man. But when the fishing season came, and the merchant thought to have caught his fish, he met with nothing but serpents. So that after that time the fishery was never more farmed. And there seems to be something in it . . . There are two principal islands in the Lake of Van; the one called Adaketons <Aghtamar>, where there stand two convents of the Armenians, Sourphague <Sourp Khatch/Holy Cross> and Sourp-kara <?>: the other island is called Limadasi <Lim geghzi (island)?>, and the name of the convent is Limquiliasi <Lim Church>, all which Armenian monks live very austere.

<Book IV>

169 Since the Armenians traded into Europe and began to be travelers, their churches are better set out then they were heretofore. They spare no cost to adorn the choir and the altar: you tread upon rich carpets, and for the structure and embellishments of it, they employ the best workmen and the choicest materials they can meet with . . .

174 *Examples of the constancy of the Armenians, in maintaining their religion against the persecutions of the Mahometans.*

It is the custom of the Armenians, that when any one of them apostatizes, and desires to return again to the church, he cannot have absolution but at the same city or village where he first abjured his religion.

Now it happened that a young Armenian being sent to Smyrna with a very considerable
 175 quantity of goods, and falling to debauchery, turned Mohametan, to the end he might defraud his father and his brethren of their estate, according to Haly's Law . . . But after he had spent good part of the goods in debauchery, he returned to the Three Churches, where the Grand Patriarch lived, to be absolved from his fault; but the Patriarch telling him he must go to the Bishop of Smyrna, he went accordingly; and in some few days after he had undergone the penance enjoined him, he went to the Cadi, and with a great Resolutions Sir, said he, you know that some years since I turned Mohametan; now I come to declare before ye that I have repented, and do repent of the foul crime I committed, when I denied the Savior of the world, and embraced your wicked law. The Cadi . . . caused him to be carried to the piazza, where he was cut to pieces immediately. For no persons go with more courage and joy to suffer for their faith, than the Armenians.

In the year 1651 there happened to be a wedding between a young Turk and a virgin of the same nation. To this wedding was invited an Armenian lady, who was a great friend of the bridegroom's mother. The Armenian had an only son of about twelve years of age, that earnestly desired to go along with her; at first she refused him, knowing that after the age of five or six years, no youth is permitted to be in company with the Turkish women or maids. But the boy still pressing his mother, and being seconded by an aunt, who to please her nephew, told her she might let him go in girl's apparel; at last the indulgent mother, over-ruled by the importunity of the child, took him along with her in a female dress. Three days the solemnity of the Turkish weddings last: but the very first day, an old gypsy-Turk casting her eye upon the young Armenian, and finding him too sparkish and too nimble for a girl, suspected his sex, and calling his mother aside, told her, that by all the gestures and actions of the child, she could be no girl, but a boy in disguise. The mother not only denied the matter, but also seemed highly offended at the old woman's suspicion; who as much incensed to have her judgment questioned, decoyed the child among the eunuchs of the family, and caused him to be searched; and finding herself in the right, spread it presently about the house. Immediately the people cried that the chambers were defiled, that the Armenian lady had done it in derision of their law; and seizing mother, aunt, and youth, carried them all before the basha, demanding justice. The basha dismissed the mother and the aunt, but kept the youth for six or seven days, hoping the rage of the people would be over. But in vain he strove to plead for the child, though the father offered them half the weight of him in gold, for the basha was forced to deliver him up into the hands of the married woman's kindred; who carried the child to the market-place of the city, where they striped him stark naked; and first they sliced him from his neck behind down to the waist, and so left him with a guard upon him all night. The Cadi and Moullah's exhorted the child to turn Mahometan, and they would preserve him from further mischief. His mother begged him to have pity upon her and himself, and to turn Mahometan to save his life. But neither tears, nor all the tender words that grief and affection could inspire, could shake the constancy of the infant . . .

Van is a city peopled as well with Armenians as Turks: so that it is a usual thing for the Armenian and Turkish boys to play together. One day it unfortunately fell out, that the boys playing one among another, and flinging stones at each other, an Armenian boy hit a young Turk full upon the temples, and struck him dead. Presently the other Turkish boys and the rabble seized him, and carried him to the basha; the father and mother of the child slain followed with hideous outcries, bawling for justice, or that the boy should turn Mahometan to expiate his fault. The Armenian parents offered a large sum of money to redeem their child; but the adverse party obstinate against all accommodation, the basha was constrained to deliver the poor child, giving sentence that the young Armenian should endure the same death the Turk had suffered, and no other. Immediately the Turks hurried the poor child to the place where he had unfortunately slain his play-fellow; and after the parents of the young Turk had had the two first hits, he was presently brained by a shower of stones from the rabble. Yet as near death as he knew himself to be, without any disturbance at all, he exhorted his weeping play-fellows to stand firm to the faith of Jesus Christ, for which he was going to die.

Evliya Celebi—1611?–?1682

Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century.

Translated from the turkish by the Ritter Joseph Von Hammer

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A.D. 1640–1655

- 104 It <the governorship of Erzerum or Erzenrum> is situated in Azerbeijan and Armenia, and, according to some, erected by Nurshivan; but the truth is that it was by Erzenbai Ben Softar Ben Kunduz, of the dynasty of the White Sheep, whose ancestors had come from Mahan, and built the castle of Akhlat, on the borders of the lake Wan . . . With great difficulty we traversed the rude pass of Iskefser, and in three hours we reached Shakhna, an Armenian village of two hundred houses, where the Armenian girls are wonderfully pretty.
- 105 . . . The village of Ezbeder, in the territory of Shuban Kara-hissar, <is> an Armenian village surrounded with gardens. Four hours further we reached the valley of Tilismat Za'aba; the torrent of Tilismat Za'aba issues from the neighboring mountains, and falls into the river Akhlat; there are one hundred houses here built upon rocky ground; the subjects here are all Armenians. A cave is still shown in which there was formerly a treasure, guarded by two swords, which were continually moving up and down, a mast has many times been put beneath them and instantly cut through; a magician has since got possession of the treasure, but the cave still remains to be seen. There is, besides, another talisman somewhere hereabout, but I have not seen it. Five hours from hence is the village Yakub, on the frontier of Shuban Kara; three hours further on, that of Korkun Kiassi, and in one hour more, the village of Baru; after which we came through the pass of Tekman, which is closed by the winter for seven or
- 106 | eight months. After having got through it with much difficulty, we reached Kazi oghlikoi, an Armenian village. Four hours further is the castle of Shiran, on the frontier of Shuban Kara; in four hours the village of Kara Jalar; in five hours the village of Sarichalar, inhabited by Moslims and Armenians; in eight hours the village of Salut, the pass of which we traversed with considerable trouble, and for the space of five hours were crossing the great plain of Kerkuk. At the end of this plain is the village of Genj Mohammed Agha, with two hundred houses and a mosque, on the frontier of the district of Shuban Kara-hissar; five hours to the east is the village of Keremli, inhabited by Moslems and Armenians . . .
- 107 . . . We reached the village of Pulus, and in four hours that of Terjanli Ali Agha, an Armenian village of three hundred houses, a mosque and a bath. Ali Agha gave a grand repast here, accompanied with a present of ten horses, ten purses, ten strings of camels, and five of mules. We went from hence nine hours further, to the village of Mama Khatun, in the district of Erzerum, consisting of one hundred Mussulman houses; it is a free ziamet.

Pilgrimage of Mama Khatun.

This lady is buried beneath a cupola, at the foot of a rock; she was the daughter of one of

the Princes of the Auk Koyunli, and lies buried here with all her children, but without any keeper attached to her mausoleum, she is buried in a marble coffin; near it is a mosque and a bath. Six hours further is the village of Habs, at the western end of the plain of Erzerum; it consists of one hundred and fifty Armenian houses.

Erzerum contains seventy quarters of Moslims, and seven of Infidels. There are no 111
Armenians, Copts, or Jews; if any make their appearance they run the risk of being killed.

The inhabitants <of Erzerum> are all Turkomans and Armenian kurds,¹⁰ of lively 113
complexion, middle size, stout, strong in youth, and vigorous in old age. From ten to twenty-five years of age they are extremely fine, but after that they quickly become hairy men, good natured and brave. The principal men dress in sable furs, the Ulemas in ferrajis of cloth and caftans of Bogassin; the workmen wear abbas, and sometimes a caftan of Bogassin. During three months the air is mild and pleasant; the water is sweet and extremely wholesome for the women; whoever drinks of the spring called the Source of Paradise in the summer, understands in its full sense, the verse of the Koran, "Water vivifies all things." Seeds ripen here in sixty days, and bring forth fruit from eighty to one hundred fold; there are seven sorts of corn, one of which is as white as camel's teeth. The workmanship of the tailors and goldsmiths is very skillful. They make two kinds of pies here, one of chicken and the other of a sort of vegetable called Cheresh; white and excellent pastry (Chorek), white bread called Kolaj, and meat roasted on stoves, &c. Their beverages are Sherbet of Ribbes, and excellent Buza.

The walks are the place of the Jerid; at the mills in the meadow; the place of Gumishli Kunbed (the silver vault), and the Convent of Abd-ur-rahman Ghazl.

Outside of the gates of the fortress on the east, west and north sides, is the suburb, inhabited by more than thirty thousand Rayas; on the south side, from the gate of Tabriz to that of Erzenjan a wall has been begun, had it been finished, it would have made Erzerum an amazingly strong fortress. Between this wall and the castle is the suburb divided into seven quarters. The suburb of the Tabriz gate extends from the quarters of Daragach, and that of 114
Duluker to Gumishli Kunbed. The suburb of the Georgians on the north side, is the quarter of the rich merchants; here is the custom house where I was employed as clerk: round it are the houses of Persian, Indian, and Chinese merchants, next to the custom-houses of Constantinople and Smyrna, that of Erzerum is the most busy. The suburb of Erzenjan extends, on the eastern side of the castle-gate, from the Camel fountain to the mill of Ali. This suburb being mostly inhabited by Armenians, there are thirteen churches here. The Infidels wear variegated turbans, and blue coats, and the lower classes wear felt, with coarse shoes called Chark; their women wrap white sheets round their heads, and the Musselman women wear pointed caps of gold and silver stuff, velvet trousers and yellow boots: they are extremely pretty, their teeth as well arranged as their words; with their beautiful hair, dragging a thousand lovers after them as slaves. The men are long-lived, in society may be found many men past seventy years of age, with full use of all their faculties. They generally speak a peculiar dialect, but their divines and poets speak with great eloquence, and their story-tellers delight intelligent people by their tales of Hamza, and by Chinese shades. There are also many Santons and holy men, of whom Allah-an-dede was famous for his uxoriousness. Though the

air of Erzerum is cold, yet its vegetables are abundant, its soil being extremely fertile, and blessed with productions of all kind, which makes Erzerum one of the cheapest places in the world. Though Erzerum has neither gardens nor vineyards, yet it is famed for roses; some winter apples and pears are the only fruits which are found here . . .

- 115 An agha has the inspection of the wood; the poor people burn cow-dung. The Rayas place the stove in the middle of the house, on the sides of which the cattle stand; the house is as warm as a bath, and they cook their bones and offal on the fire.

Evliya Celebi in Diyarbekir. The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname.

Edited with translation, commentary and introduction by Martin Van Bruinessen and

Hendrik Boeschoten

E. J. Brill, Leiden, New York, Kobenhavn, Koln, 1988

- 115 What can be said with certainty <about Diyarbekir> is that <control of> the city passed from one state to another thousands of times. After Anushirwan's reign it was in the hands of the Armenians and attained great prosperity. Therefore the historians consider it part of Armenia (vilayet-i Ermen). When later, in the tenth year after the Prophet's migration to Medina, during the caliphate of His Lordship Abu Bakr the Righteous, Khalid [ibn Walid] was the supreme commander of 70,000 soldiers, he wrested Diyarbekir by the sword from the control of the Armenian emperors. Thousands of infidels, fearing the severity of the monotheists' armies, threw themselves down from the citadel onto the Fis Rock and were all dashed to pieces. Thus—praise be to God—the castle Diyarbekir was conquered.

- Afterwards the Armenian infidels once more occupied Amid and held it for seventy years. Finally Sultan —, the son of Sultan Awhadullah of the Kurdistan branch of the Abbasids, 117 marched against Diyarbekir | with an army as large as the sea and laid siege to the city for seven full months. The dissolute infidels that had entrenched themselves in the citadel, being pressed by famine, cried for mercy and surrendered the city to Sultan — on the following seven conditions:

Their first condition: they were to pay a gold piece each as jizya, as according to the pact that Umar had concluded [with subjected Christians].

The second condition: their churches within the city walls were not to be destroyed.

The third condition: their clergymen, patriarchs, priests and monks were not to pay kharaj.

The fourth condition: their merchants were to pay the same customs tithes as the Muslim merchants.

The fifth condition: they could continue to live in their houses within the city walls.

The sixth condition: they were to bury their dead bodies, that unclean carrion, in their ancient burying grounds, and their graveyards were not to be turned into gardens and orchards.

The seventh condition: nobody was to prevent them from wearing their striped turbans.

When the above seven conditions were graciously granted, they surrendered the city.

The Ottoman sancaqs of Diyarbekir are: the sancaqs of Harput, Ergani, Siverek, Nisibin, 121
Hisnkeyfa, Çemishezek, Si'ird, Mayafariqin, Aqçaqale (near Nisibin), Habur and Sincar, and
the sancaq of Diyarbekir, which is the one where the pasha has his seat. All these sancaqs are
administered by Ottoman begs.

The autonomous governorates (hükümet) in the province of Amid are the following: the 123
hukumets of Cezire, Egil, Genc, Palu and Hazzo. The rulers of these five emirates have the
rank of autonomous *beglerbegis* (*mir-i miran*). They too, however, are obliged to take the field
with the vizier [of Diyarbekir] on military campaigns. These five hükümet included, the total
number of Diyarbekir's sancaqs amounts to twenty-five.

The city has altogether — wards. Forty-seven of these are Muslim wards, seven are 153
Armenian wards. There are no wards of Greek Orthodox, Franks, Gypsies or —

Swords, scimitars, maces, axes, arrows, daggers, spear-blades and arrowheads such as those 157
forged hereabouts are made nowhere else, except perhaps by the weapon-smiths of Isfahan,
[that] Half of the World.

With their hammer-beating and bellow-pumping all the Armenian blacksmiths here
produce musical tunes. Melodiously playing classical *Kar* and *Naqis*, *Zecels* or eastern songs,
they work away, earning their profit (*kar*) while playing songs (*kar*). And their servants,
knocking their hammers, do this in twenty-four different rhythmic patterns, beating a *tirtaqa*
tirtaqa tirtirtaqa in the double two-one (*çifte dü-yek*) meter. Working the bellows they pull them
likewise, in the Sofiyane rhythmic pattern. Even more extraordinary is what the cotton carders
here do. When they beat [and whip up] the cotton, the sound of the strings of their cardings
bows is heard to perform the maqam *Segah* or, in the case of others, the *Dügah* and the *Yekgah*.
The meter is that of the bow's hoop (*yay cemberi*), i.e. the Saqil rhythmic pattern: *tirtaqa*
tirtaqa tirtaqa tirtirtaqa tirtaqa taq tirtaqa tirtirtaqa tirtaqa tirtirtaqa. In this complex meter the
carders whip up the cotton.

They <the men> wear invaluable *lebaçes* (full, long robes) of sable fur, and fur cloaks of 161
martin and sable paws. There are notables who sport satin, brocade and other silk cloths.
Those of middle status wear cloaks and robes (*ferace*, *qontos*) of piranqona and serge woollens.

The lower classes wear various sorts of English woollen cloth.

. . . They <the women> all wrap themselves in white coverings; over their faces they wear
face-veils woven of hair, on their heads pointed gold and silver caps and on their feet in all
circumstances boots.

This being Diyarbekir, the virtuous virgins are so richly covered with shawls and
wrappings, golden jewels and trinkets that they seem to be submerged beneath them.

Among the lands of the House of Osman the city of Diyarbekir stands out for the fact 183
that, thanks to His Holiness Jonah's blessings, it was animated by people of all races; but its
<Muslim> inhabitants are mainly Kurds, Turcomans, Arabs and "Ajams," while its subjects,
those tied to the land as well as the free ones, are all Armenians. For this reason the area is
considered part of Armenia.

The walled city itself, on the bank of the Tigris, is deemed to belong to Mesopotamia (the island of the Dijla) for the entire area between the Euphrates and the Tigris is considered as Mesopotamia. Due to the pleasantness of the climate the people are very intelligent, and their young sons are very well-behaved and polite. All the people speak Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic, Ajami (Azeri and/or Persian) and Armenian. As for readiness of tongue, some persons are highly proficient in correctness and elegance of speech. There are men here who are most hospitable and charitable. They are all merry and saucy, mirthful and witty people, with sociable and ingenious, sagacious and quick-witted persons among them. In dignity, strength and courage each of them equals Rustam. Some men and some women have reached very old age. Truly, there are no[where else] people of such pleasant character and with the general elegance of this country[’s inhabitants], it is said.

All people here are true believers, monotheists of unspoilt creed, given to the contemplation of Oneness, and full of piety. Among their women folk there are extremely chaste, devout and beautiful ladies of the rank of Rabi’a the ’Adawiya. In the market streets one does not even see a decrepit old woman. If people were to see a young girl in public they would kill her or at least reprimand her father. To such a degree does Diyarbekir observe [the code of] respectability.

- 193 After leaving Diyarbekir we did not cross the Tigris but, leaving the river to our east, my companions and I went in the direction of the qibla, staying on the so-called Island of the Dijla, between the Tigris and the Euphrates. After ——— hours we arrived at our first halting-place, the village of Goksu. It is a flourishing Armenian village, one of the jurisdictional districts of Diyarbekir, a flourishing village on the vast cultivated territory between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates that is called the Island of the Dijla (Mesopotamia).

Evliya Celebi in Bitlis. The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname.

Edited with translation, commentary and introduction by Robert Dankoff

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- 57 <Bitlis> . . . is part of the country of Ermen (*i.e.*, Armenia), but belongs to the province of Kurdistan. The fortress has changed hands many times, but usually was under the control of the descendants of Karakoyunlu Yusuf Celayir or Akkoyunlu Uzun Hasan. Before that, the first to conquer it by force of arms from the Armenians was the Abbasid Sultan Evhadehullah . . . In the year 920 (1514) when Sultan Selim I defeated Shah Ismail at Chaldiran, the Khan of Bitlis, Khan, rendered obeisance to Sultan Selim and was confirmed as governor by royal decree. They are Khans to this day, from father to son, and are addressed in imperial orders with the title Khan-i-ali-shan (“noble Khan”). It is a great governorship (*hükümet*).

The form and layout of Bitlis castle. First of all, this lofty castle is situated in a broad rocky valley between Mt. Deh-divan and Mt. Avikh, atop a bare cliff which rises up at the point of confluence of two rivers, the Avikh to the left and the Iskender to the right. It is a mighty fortress, like a building of Sheddad, constructed of hewn stones, each stone being the size of a Mengerus elephant. The cliff is like an island between the two rivers, a very lofty pallisade, with a difficult road climbing six hundred paces to the gate. The fortress itself is laid out

rectangularly, lengthwise from east to west. The eastern end is very tall with a lofty tower overlooking the gorge below, which is like a pit of hell. The Khans sometimes have certain individuals, who need to be gotten out of the way, hurled from that high tower on the eastern end, for which reason it is called “Bloody I Tower.” There is also a great tower on the western 59 end at the corner of the Khan’s palace, where all kinds of munitions are stored.

The crenels along the wall total six hundred and seventy, each with a loophole, and another loophole below it. Further down are the gunholes, but these were made later. The walls rise up in an angular fashion, the turrets at the joints facing one another, with a sentry-box above each turret. On the southern side, going down toward the town, is a three-layered iron gate, each interval decked with arms. All the sentries guard this great gate night and day, so neither man nor woman can gain access. Because it once happened that several hundred men dressed as old women entered the fortress and put it to the sword, now they do not even allow a woman to go inside, except for the veiled wives known to them. There is no entry aside from this gate. And there is no moat at all surrounding it, since all four sides consist of smooth cliffs of rock towering above pits of Babylon.

The castle is 2900 paces in circumference, but it was not possible to pace off the side of the Khan’s palace where the noble Khan’s harem is; if we add 1,000 paces for the Khan’s palace—but God knows for sure—it comes to 4,000 altogether. The height of the walls is eighty royal cubits, their width ten cubits. Within the fortress are three hundred houses, but half of these are included in the Khan’s palace which has layer on layer of Persian and Turkish style ornate chambers and splendid courtyards—so many that one would be unable to describe each one. Every khan and every king for the past eight hundred years has built and added to it, and Abdal Khan especially spent several Egyptian treasures and made it into a palace of Kaydafa.

All the windows and balconies are situated above the towers and turrets and give a view to the town and to Mt. Deh-Divan. Inside the cliff are caves filled with grain and other provisions, and amidst the caves are water conduits leading down to the rivers below. Aside from a cami and a medrese, and the storehouses, there is no sign of any building or market.

The government and administration of Bitlis. It is an independent governorship in the eyalet of Van. Instead of imperial domains granted by the Sultan, he has his own private resources, providing him a daily income of one *kile-yi mevik** of silver coins from his eyalet. In rank it is equivalent to the eyalet of I Van. He governs with two thousand soldiers, and if 61 a campaign comes up, or he is summoned to repair the fortress of Van, he rides on campaign along with the commander of Van. The market due on caravans that come into the town is fixed as his private income. But the cizye-tax, paid by the Jacobite Armenians and the Arabian subjects residing in the town, belongs to the Van garrison.† At the beginning of each year an agha comes from Van, collects the *kharac* tax from these Arabian subjects, and transmits it to the Van garrison as a stipend. The Khan has nothing to do with this *kharac*. But the *kharac* on the Mush plain is entirely the Khan’s private estate and provides him 26,000 piasters

* This measure, carefully spelled in the text, is otherwise unknown . . . kile is 20 okkas, or 25.6 kg.

† The confusion of Armenians with Jacobites and “Arabians” appears to be based on the presence of Arabic-speaking Jacobite (or Syrian) Christians among the mainly Armenian Christian communities in some eastern Anatolian towns.

annually. Sultan Murad, after conquering Revan, was a guest in the palace of this Khan of Bitlis and in return for the Khan's service granted him the kharac of Mush by imperial decree. The Khan pays the salaries of the castle warden of Bitlis and his two hundred soldiers out of that kharac or out of his private income and the market due. The castle is in his control, its keys are with the Khan day and night, it is wholly his autonomous governorship, "set aside from the pen and cut off from the foot," and he has a very large territory.

The borders of the eyalet of Bitlis. First of all on the east it borders a prefect of Van named Tatvan on the shore of Lake Van. Again on the east it shares a border with Vestan castle belonging to the ruler of Hakkari. To the south it marches on the territory of the emir of Shirvan; in the *qibla* direction, the emir of Hizan; and, one stage further, the emir of Zirki. Three stages to the west it marches on the territory of the emir of Hazzo in the eyalet of Diyarbekir. To the north it marches with the emir of Tercil at the third stage, and the emir of Chapakchur at the fourth; in the Pole star direction, with the emir of Mamruvan in the territory of Erzurum beyond Mush plain. Three days' journey to the north it marches on the
 63 emir of Melazgird in the territory of Erzurum. To the northeast it marches with the emir of Akhlat, of Van sanjak, on the shore of Lake Van. But on the east its territory is completely Lake Van—he has no authority beyond that.

The tribes and clans subject to the noble Khan, totaling seventy-seven in number. First and choicest of all is the clan of Mudiki Ali Beg, who controls an army of 7,000 musketeers . . . At the Khan's request, 70,000 soldiers belonging to these tribes in the eyalet recorded above will appear ready at arms, with their leggings and snowshoes, their mallets, trouser-and jacket outfits, bow-and-arrow cases, and muskets—very brave and daring and renowned warriors.

But within the town of Bitlis are 40,000 men belonging to the tribe of Rozhiki, *i.e.*, *roziki* meaning "friend for one day." The townsmen's independent Rozhiki dialect will be noted below. They are not brave and warlike like the other Kurds, but sophisticated, men of learning and culture, with henna on their hands and beards and antimony on their eyes.

According to the Khan's register, there are 43,000 Armenian subjects in the eyalet of Bitlis, half in the Mush region subject to the tax collectors of the Van garrison, and half belonging to Abdal Khan. The eyalet comprises 13 *ze'amets* and 214 timariots, there are a cavalry commander, a troop commander, and a captain. According to statute, there are in total 3,000 soldiers, along with their armed retainers, who march on campaign in the army of the Pasha of Van under the Khan's banner.

71 The Arabian and Jacobite Armenian quarters number eleven non-Muslim quarters, but I do not know their names. There are no Jews, Franks, or Greeks in this clay, only Armenians, and all wealthy merchants.

77 *Men's dress.* Although it is Kurdistan, nevertheless there are many notables and retainers of the Khan who wear sable furs. The middle class wear shapik (jackets) from the town of Ma'den near Shirvan, also various kinds of broadcloth, *serhaddi* and *kontush* (coats). The poor wear twill.

Women's dress. According to what I have heard from several close friends, the women all wrap themselves in white shawls, have veils on their faces and gold and silver caps on their heads; and there are ladles whose apparel is entirely of silk.

Bitlis has twenty-seven springs flowing into seventeen rivers on all sides of the town, and 89
all the rivers and streams have, on the right and left banks, numerous garden mansions of
stone and “huts of sorrows” and smell garden houses of wicker-wood. According to the list of
the noble khan’s water superintendent there are a total of 12,000 gardens and mansions and
huts. The populace—notables | great and small, rich and poor—all migrate from the city to 91
these gardens during the summer and spend eight full months enjoying the garden season,
with parties and musical entertainments day and night. Each garden is adorned with finely
wrought pools and fountains and lofty structures, making up a magnificent suburb—to be
sure, one that is scattered and piecemeal, since the gardens are very extensive.

For ages past, these gardens have been such a shaded vale of paradise, reminding one of
the vale of Isfahan, “half the world,” that the tongue is too weak to describe them. But the
most elaborate of the gardens belong to the Jacobite Armenians. Each of these has wal’is like
a castle, and steep turrets. Some of the gardens produce [an annual revenue of] 2000 piasters.
But the gardens of Shirek, Baghdu, Mirek, Arabli, Haydar, and Kara Murad are the famous
ones. Occasionally the Khan himself visits them for parties.

All the gardens have a kind of house called *baz evi* which astounds any who enter. They
are like so many Chinese painting galleries, and the fragrance of thousands of kinds of herbs
and flowers suffuse one’s brain. The fruiting trees of these gardens are laid out in a chessboard
pattern. The grape bowers are laid out in rows on trellises of interwoven reeds, making
vineyard paths along which one may stroll and take pleasure in the shade.

Conclusion of the eulogy of Bitlis and its monuments. Although it is reckoned among the 151
Armenian provinces in the country of Azerbaijan, nevertheless it is an ancient and charming
city, the gathering place of scholars, the source of excellent and worthy men, and the seat of
poets. It is a marvelous city, whose learned doctors are in possession of all the occult and
multitudinous sciences, and whose skilled physicians and blood-letting surgeons are without
number and beyond compare.

But how much damage this town of Bitlis suffered! And how much wealth was plundered! 321
For the Ottoman army included several thousand rough mountain Kurds who tore to pieces
those precious silk carpets from Isfahan, Cairo, and Ushak, worthy of kings, and used the rags
to cover the mud and dirt in their tents. It is true that some hundreds of pretty Christian boys
were converted to Islam in | the process. 323

Jean de Thevenot—1633–1667

The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant in three parts, viz. into I. Turkey, II. Persia, III. the East-Indies.

Newly done out of French. Licensed Decemb. 2 1686, Ro. L'Estrange
London, Printed by H. Clark, for H. Faithorne, J. Adamson, C. Ckegnes, and
T. Newborough, 1687

A.D. 1656?

- 81 The subjects of the Grand Signior, who are not Musulmans, are either Christians or Jews; of the Christians, the chief are the Greeks, who use the same habit that the Turks do, only there are some colors which they dare not wear neither on their head, nor in their body-apparel; for not only they, but generally all who are not Turks, whether Christians or Jews, (subjects to the Grand Signior, or not) dare not wear green on their head, or any other part of their body; and if a Christian or Jew be found with the least bit of green about him, he'll be soundly bastonadoed, and pay money to boot; in so great veneration is green color with them. Nor dare Christians wear a turban all white, for if he taken with such an one (whether he be a
- 82 subject of the Grand Signior's or not) he must turn Turk or die for it; but they may wear of all other colors . . . though still it be dangerous to wear all red, or all yellow, because the soldiers affect those colors. Neither dare the Christians (who are subjects to the Grand Signior) wear yellow paboutches, upon pain of several bastinadoes, but only red . . .

The Lent of the Armenians is stricter than that of the Greeks; for during their Lent, they eat no kind of fish; not so much as shell-fish nor oil; nor do they drink wine, but live only on bread, water, herbs and roots.

- 83 In the whole extent of the Turkish empire, all male Christians and Jews who are subjects to the Grand Signior, pay the yearly karadge, which is the tribute of four piastres and a half a head: they begin to pay this tribute, when they are nine years of age; but the Christian priests and monks are exempted from it, and so are the Jewish rabins; the women also pay nothing.

Henry Marsh—?

A New Survey of the Turkish Empire and Government, in a brief history deduced to this present time, and the reign of the now Grand Seignior Mahomet the IV, the present and XIV, Emperor. With their laws, religion and customs. As also an account of the siege of Newhausen.

London, Printed for Henry Marsh, 1663

A.D. 1663

They <in the Ottoman Empire> have one judge as well of Christians as Turks, (but always 39
chosen from amongst the Musselmen) to administer equal right to all men. If any kill another, he suffers death: if steal, to violently take from another, he is hanged: as it happened to a Janizary, who drunk milk of a poor woman's, brought to sell, and paid not for it: and accused before the judge, denied the fact: whereupon, being stretched up by cords at his feet, and about his middle, he forthwith vomited the milk, and was immediately by the judge commanded to be strangled: this happened in my presence at Damasco, when I traveled from Armenia to Jerusalem.

Death, and confiscation of all sorts of goods, is inflicted on those who undertake, procure, 39
or assist captives in their flight, or running away, yet notwithstanding both Greeks and Armenians cease not to entertain them, being Christians, to hide them, and in disguise to conduct them unto shippings of the Venetians or other Christians, and freely give them good provisions and all things necessary for their journeys; nor do they spare or omit any kind of piety towards them . . .

When a province is subdued and taken, all sorts of goods moveable and immovable are 61
given away for spoil <by Turks>. They totally extirpate the whole nobility; but especially the princely issue.

It is a sin to admit a Christian to any public office, to wear, have arms or habit like a Turk: 62
or else to use the recreations of cheerfulness, as pageants, plays, or dancings. If they injure Christ or you with bitter or contumacious words, you must be silent, and endure it. If you speak ought against their professed religion, you are forced to circumcision; and ought to whisper against Mahomet, fire and brimstone follows. If a Christian on horseback pass by a Musselman, (that is, one initiated in the Turkish faith) he must, on necessity, light from his horse, and bowing down his head worship him; which if omitted, he straight is knocked down with clubs.

. . . They <Christians> pay a part of all increase, not only of corn and cattle, but even mechanics pay it out of all their profits. And then they pay another subsidy, for every single man through a family, each head a crown. If parents refuse this tribute, their children are taken from them, and made slaves. Others are bound in chains, and beg from door to door to pay this crown; which if they cannot this way procure, they are cast into perpetual prison; and when all duties are performed, it is yet lawful for the Turk to chose the best amongst his

Paul Rycaut—1628–1700

The present state of the Ottoman Empire; containing the maxims of the Turkish politie, the most material points of the Mahometan religion . . . their military discipline, with an exact computation of their forces both by land and sea. Illustrated with divers pieces of sculpture, representing the variety of habits amongst the Turks.

Third edition, London, J. Starkey and H. Browne, 1670

A.D. 1666

The youths then that are designed for the great offices of the empire, called by the Turks 25
Ichoglans, must be such as are of Christian parents, taken in war, or presented from remote
parts . . . the policy herein is obvious, because the sons of Christians will hate their parents
being educated with other principles and customs; or coming from distant places have
contracted no acquaintance, so that starting from their school into government, they will find
no relations or dependencies on their interests than that of their great master, to whom they
are taught, and necessity compels them to be faithful. In the next place, these youths must be
of admirable features, and pleasing look, well shaped in their bodies, and without any defect
of nature.

The Grand Signiors themselves have also been slaves to this inordinate passion. For Sultan 33
Morat became so enamored of an Armenian boy called Musa as betrayed him, though
otherwise a discreet prince, to a thousand follies; and at another time preferred a youth for
his beauty only . . .

The under officers and servants called Agiam Oglans . . . are designed to the meaner uses 40
of the Seraglio. These are also captives taken in war, or brought of the Tartar, but most
commonly the sons of Christians taken from their parents at the age of ten or twelve years, in
whom appearing more strength of body than of mind, they are set apart for labor and menial
services . . .

These are seldom the sons of natural born Turks, but yearly collected . . . from the increase 41
of poor Christians in the Morea and Albania, by which means these countries are greatly dis-
peopled . . .

The Beglerbegs of the first sort are in number twenty-two, who have their revenue allotted 51
them in the places that they govern, collected by their own officers according to commission
| of which the first is of Anatolia, anciently called Asia Minor . . . 52

2. Caramania, anciently called Cilicia . . .

3. Diarbekir, otherwise Mesopotamia, has a revenue of a million two hundred thousand
and 660 aspers, and has under its jurisdiction nineteen sangiacks, with five other governments
called *Hukinment* in Turkish, eleven of which sangiacks are properly belonging to the
Ottoman royalties, and eight are Curdian counties, or of the people called Kurts . . . Those
sangiacks which are properly belonging to the Ottoman royalties are: Harpu, Ezani, Syureck,

Nesbin, Chatenghif, Tchemischkekrek, Seard, Mufarkin, Aktchie, Kala, Habur, Sangiar otherwise Diarbekir, which is the place of residence of the Beglerbeg. Those sangiacks which are entailed upon families are: Sagman, Kulab, Mechrani, Tergil, Atak, Pertek, Tchifakichur, Tchirmak . . .

- 53 5<th Beglerbeg is of> Siwas, a city in Armenia Major has a revenue of 900 | thousand aspers, and has under his dominions six sangiacks, viz. Amasia, Tchurum, Buradick, Demurik, Gianick, Arebki, the castles of which are nineteen.

6. Is the government of the Pascha of Erzurum on the confines of Georgia, has a revenue of a million two hundred thousand and 660 aspers, and has under its government eleven sangiacks, viz. Karahizar, Scharik, Kieff, Pasin, Esber, Hanes, Tekman, Turtum, Meyenkerd, Mamervan, Kyzutchan, Melazkerd; and has thirteen castles.

7. Is the government of the Pascha of Wan or Van a city in Media, has a revenue of million a hundred and thirty two thousand 209 aspers, and commends fourteen sangiacks, viz. Adilgiwar, Ergisch, Musch, Barkiri, Kiarkian, Kisani, Espiard, Agakis, Ekpad, Benikutur, Kalaibaierid, Berdea and Edegick.

. . . 15. The government of the Pascha of Kars a city near Erzurum . . . commands six sangiacks, viz. Erdehankiutchuk, Giugewman, Zaruschan, Ghegran, Kughizman, Pasin.

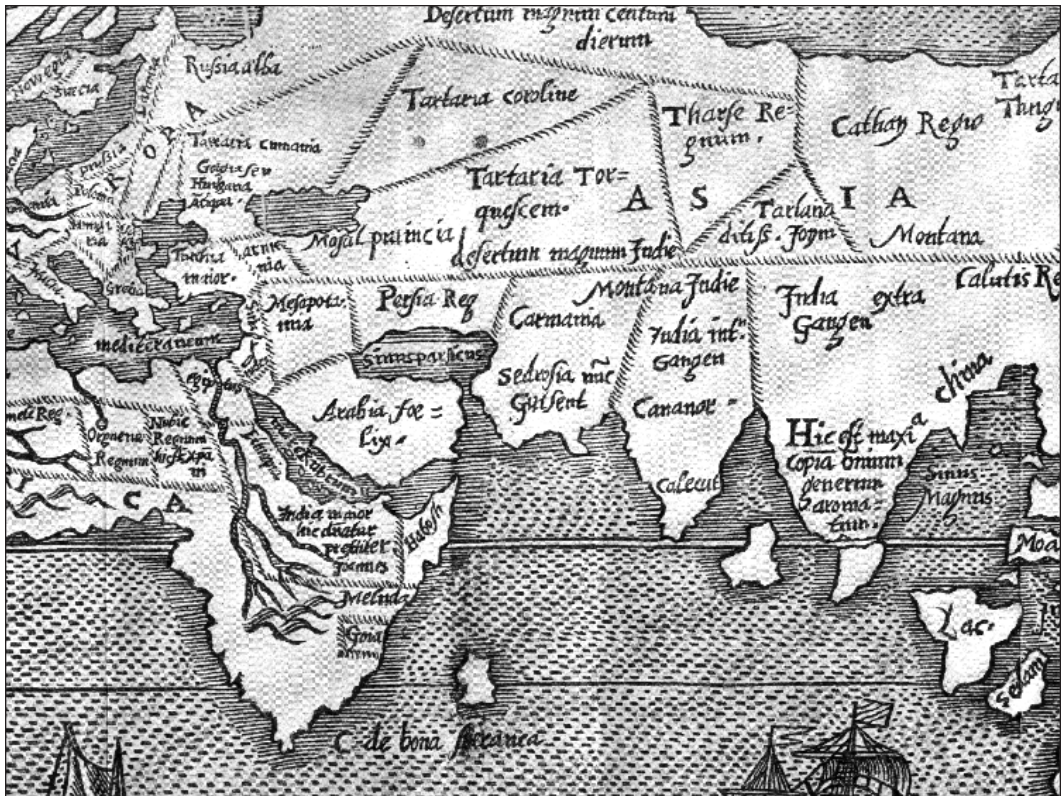
- 67 . . . The Turks have but one sole means to maintain their countries, which is the same by which they were gained, and that is the cruelty of the sword in the most rigorous way of
68 execution, by killing, consuming and laying | desolate the countries, and transplanting the people unto parts where they are nearest under the command and age of a governor . . .

Another advantage, and not inconsiderable, that is the manner of dispeopling the country brings to this empire, is the difficulty an enemy would find in their march, should they with a land-army attempt to penetrate far into the country . . .

- 79 . . . No people in the world have ever been more open to receive all sorts of nations to them, then they <the Turks>, nor have used more arts to increase the number of those that are called Turks.

- 80 It was custom formerly amongst the Turks, every five years to take away the Christians children, and educate them in the Mohametan superstition; by which means they increased their own people, and diminished and enfeebled the force of the Christians; but now that custom in a great part is grown out of use, through the abundance of Greeks, Armenians and Jews, and all nations, who flock in to enjoy the imaginary honor and privilege of a Turk. And indeed it is no wonder to human reason, that considers the opposition and attempt that poor Christians are exposed to, and the ignorance in their churches, occasioned through poverty in clergy, that many should be found who retreat from the faith; but it is rather a miracle . . . that there is conserved still amidst so much opposition, and in despite of all tyranny and arts contrived against it, an open and public profession of the Christian faith; which next to God's providence, considering the stupid ignorance of the Greek and Armenian churches, the conversation of the faith is not to be attributed to any instance more, than to the strict observation of the feasts and fasts of their churches . . .

. . . It is worth a wiseman's observation, how gladly the Greeks and the Armenian 82 Christians initiate the Turkish habit, and come as near to it as they dare; and how proud they are, when they are privileged upon some extraordinary occasion to appear without their Christian distinction.



Partial reproduction of Robert Thorne's map, 1527.
[From George Burner Parks' Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages (New York, 1928).]

Thomas Smith—1638–1710

Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks. Together with a survey of the seven churches of Asia, as they now lye in the ruines: and a brief description of Constantinople.

London, printed for Moses Pitt, 1678

A.D. 1671

4 . . . <The> hatred <against Christians> they <the Turks> are very careful to instill into their children from their very infancy, as a most necessary part of their education . . . I must profess, it raised my wonder oftentimes to see little boys, whose tender age seemed no way capable of such resentments, upon the sight of Franks (for by that general name they most confusedly
5 call | the Western Christians) passing by, to leave their sport and play, and with great vehemency of passion, and with a fury above that of children, exclaim upon them, and not satisfied with this, throw stones at them, with a most strange and furious fashion . . .

. . . Obscene words <against Christians> . . . are now grown a common mode of speech among them, and so frequent in their mouths, that upon any the slightest accident that crosses them, if a stone that lies in their way does offend them, if their horses are unruly or
6 do but stumble, if their buffaloes and asses | trip or stand still, they vent their passion and displeasure in the same beastly language. When their passion swells and rages, and prompts them to show a higher degree of contempt and hatred to us, then *bre domuz, you hog*, is the word . . .

7 In cities, and places of trade, where merchants reside, there is provision made by capitulations and articles, accorded by the Grand Signor to their respective sovereigns, for the security of their persons and estates, which interest alone makes them submit to. For as dull and as heavy they are, they are mighty sensible of the benefit and advantage they receive by foreign trade. They themselves not caring to traffic out of their own empire, either out of a principle of pride, as if there were more of state in it, that all sorts of merchandises are brought to their doors, without their seeking or fetching; or of laziness and fear, not willing nor daring to undergo the hazards and fatigues of sea-voyages, or for want of skill in the art of navigation . . .

10 Their prejudices lying so deep as not easily to be removed, a Christian who is not a slave
11 as the Greeks and | Armenians are, who seem to be below their hate and scorn, will be liable to continual affronts, which he must put up and digest with a patience becoming his religion and his prudence, and not seem much concerned, but be deaf rather to the noise and ill language.

133 <Besides the Janizaries> The Spahies are another great support of the Turkish empire; soldiers who are obliged to serve on horseback by the tenure of the lands (*timars*) and estates they are possessed of; these being not only the reward of their sweat and blood, but ties and obligations to further service . . .

134 Of these they reckon about twenty-three thousand in Europe, and as many or more rather in Asia; for their number is uncertain, and increases with their victories: and sometimes a rich

timar is divided upon the death of the former possessor into many parts; besides such as live about Buda on the one side, and Erzerum and Bagdat on the other, who are not obliged to go out of their quarters. We must not think that when they war against Christendom, they make bare the limits and frontiers of the empire towards Persia. These Spahies are no better than country farmers; their minds are so taken up with the study of good husbandry, and the pleasure of enjoying what they have has so taken off their minds from the fatigues and hardships of a soldier's life, that by money and presents oftentimes they labor to get themselves exempted from that | personal service they owe their emperor . . .

135



Armenian monks as seen by Tournefort.
[From Tournefort's *A Voyage into the Levant* (London, 1718).]

John Covel—1638–1722

Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant. I.- The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599–1600.

II.- Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covel, 1670–1679.

Edited by J. Theodore Bent

London, printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1893

A.D. 1675

173 A mile further we came to the suburbs of Stambal, commonly called Job's tomb, but it is the dormitories or Mausoleums of several Turkish princes, Viziers, warriors, and men of fame amongst them, one whereof was called Jupe (as they now call Jacob, and the Armenians call him Agup), which gave name to the place.

177 *Ponte Grande* is called by the Turks Buyook-chedmedje (or great-chest, abusing the word *checkmése* for a wooden bridge, as both these and the other bridges at *Ponte piccolo* at first were of wood) . . . The inhabitants are most Turks, some Jews and Armenians, but more Greeks mixed with them.

213 Now for the dances and sports. You must understand that from all parts of the Empire were summoned all (his subjects), Jews, Greeks, Arabs, Armenians, Turks, etc., that were any ways excellent for any sports or entertainments of delight, and truly I do not believe these Eastern Countries can afford any thing more in that kind than what I have seen here. First, your dancers were for the most part young youths, very handsome generally; most Greeks, yet some more Turks, Armenians, and a few Jews.

The best were clothed very rich, either cloth of gold, silver, or rich silk. They had on a *just a corp*, as we say, coming to mid thigh, close buttoned at the hands, and girt about them with rich girdles as their purse and fancy led them; under it (over the rest of their cloth's) they had a petticoat, which was very large, and hanged very full, down to their ankles; this was very rich, and of some pretty light merry color. These clothes were given them by the G. S. <Grand Segnior>, or Sultana. Their heads are not shaven quite close, but very lovely locks are left round, which at other times they wear up close, and are unseen; but now they let them down, and set them out to best advantage, sometimes disheveled all about their shoulders, sometimes braided and hanging at their back. They commonly wore over their hair a plain cap of silk (small, or scull fashioned) or (which is more gentle) a furred sort of cap, called here
214 a *culpack*. There was a delicate lovely boy, of about ten years old, had as comely head of hair, long as most women. With him danced a lusty handsome man (about twenty-five), both Turks. They acceded all the roguish lascivious postures conceivable with that strange ingenuity of silent ribaldry, as I protest I believe Sardanapalus and all the effeminate courts of the East never came near them. They pleased so extremely that there was scarce a night but they acted in some place or other. I saw them several times before the Sultana do as much as anywhere else. The rest danced four, six, sometimes eight in a company. It consists most in wriggling the body (a confounded wanton posture, and speaks as much of the Eastern

treachery as dumb signs can), slipping their steps round gently; setting and turning. Never is there arming, or any figure, or handing; yet one night before the Sultana they danced in hats and perukes, and Frank habit, but could not imitate us in anything. I never saw them a second time, which makes me believe they did not please. They always come before the person (where they dance) running (as all other that have occasion to pass and re-pass, unless in the bringing of presents or the like solemnity); then they fall either into a semicircle or whole round, and so continue falling out of one tune and humor into another, till at last, with a merry wherry of their music, they turn round (as the Dervises) a long time, and so stopping they bow, and away they run to their music, which are always hard by. These differ from the other Musicians, and may be called the private music, being commonly Pans pipe of twenty, twenty-five, thirty, (at most) thirty-two reeds, placed in order, less and shorter each than another as the notes rise. I have heard it played on three or four times since I came into Turkey, and fancy it certainly to be the most enravishing tone in nature; yet the notes are fixed, and cannot be altered flat and sharp *ad libitum*, and I therefore cannot be brought into the canon of music to play anything that is appropriated to some peculiar lessons. 2d, a little pitiful instrument with three wire strings, which every fellow thrums ordinarily about the street. I take it to be the *Pandura* of the ancients. 3rdly, Turkish and Arab lutes of five, eight, sometimes but four, double strings, with a little neck a yard (the least), sometimes more, long. They have several sorts of them—all not worth a lowse. four, a sort of Dulcimer with gut strings, touched with both hands, as the Harp, only this lies flat and horizontal. The Jews have a kind of fiddle of 4 guts, tuned like a violin, but (that you may know the excellency of it) the back and sides are commonly made of the bottom of a gourd, the belly of a dried film, or skin *hornified*; the neck is of a piece of broom stick. Lastly, to crown the Consort, you have every where a *Tambur*, of which some thing is said above, is well known in Italy. These minstrels set all down cross leg at a convenient distance on the one side of the persons before whom they plaid. The dancers have in each hand two pieces of Ebony, 3 or 4 inches long, which they knock and charre together in time to the music. I fancy they are every whit as good as our castenettas. They call them in Turkish *chalpareh* . . . Next there were many actors of little plays or interludes; all in the most beastly brutish language possible, as I was sufficiently informed by my companions, and there actions fully confirmed it. The actors of men were Armenians and Turks that came from the borders of Persia, and several times acted certain conceits in Persian habit, which was very becoming, being far more rich and gaudy than the Turks wear. They often I mix, as is said, several sorts of beasts in their gambles, and in every play always entered in a large Dear (like our hobby horses), whom they called *Hóo*, which is a name of God; but there it stood for a Robin good fellow, or hobgoblin, pulling them, and biting them, and playing a 1,000 freakes. In sum, the best of them did not exceed our ordinary Christmas gambles. 215

The best sort of people fled to other places, as the Turks likewise themselves did from Adrianople to . . . <Constantinople>, for . . . they are not afraid of the plague, because their fortunes are wrote in their forehead; for all fled, but such as were poor, or had offices about Court, and could not get away. There died that year about 100 persons out of the Vizier's own house; and really, those that are forced to stay by it value it no more than we do an ague. But this is the same amongst Jews, Greeks, Armenians, and everybody else. 244

Mr. North stayed in Adrianople all the time, and came to us every day; I went to him several times, and as I live I valued no more to meet a dead corpse than a dead calf. Yet I have met above twenty in a morning, going from our tents to Mr. North's house; and there is more danger in passing by the clothes of the living than in touching the body of the dead. All slaves and poor people, so soon as they are dead, are wrapped in some pitiful covering (perhaps nothing but an old mat), and so laid upon a *Hamal's* or porter's back, and carried away to his grave, without any more ado. Infinities of Turks came out of the town and lived in tents, as well as we; yet many Turks came or sent out their women to their country houses there. I chanced to see a couple of very lovely women several times, which came and lived in a fine house just by me, and being under the government of only one poor silly old man, they would get out into a great garden there hard by, and romp and play the rogue like little sprites; but more of that between ourselves.

245 This whole town live by selling of wine, and every day I come hundreds of people from Adrianople to be drunk; so that it was impossible but that the plague should be brought there. The Janizary Aga gets at least 10,000 dollars a year out of them for selling their wine; and yet he came there many times in show of severity, but notice was always given at least an hour before he came, so that he always found the coast clear. By the by, I must tell you that the Turks love wine, and drink as much as other people; I am assured not one person in five (throughout all this part that I have traveled) refuses it; at court (excepting the G. S. <Grand Segnior> himself, the Mosaif, and Kaimacham) not a man but will take his *Keiph* profoundly. I have seen the Vizier himself, *Mamur* that is, crop sick several times. All the Greeks and Armenians (not daring to be merry in Adrianople in companies) come here to feast, and I have been several times by when 200 or 300 persons have all been sitting together feasting and drinking like fishes; and the Turks observe the same freedom, or rather take much more.

My landlord (the Parson) was the greatest vintner in the town, and to secure his wine he put the greatest part of it into a place in the church; and in the yard by us the chief Turks of the city would come and be merry publicly; the common Turks never drink but to stark drunkenness. The Parson had a kinswoman that lived but on the other side of our hedge; she was the only child of her father, who would come and be merry with us, and we went there to him often. This man was very rich and had promised his daughter and all that he had to a young silly fellow in town. She was extraordinary handsome and ingenious, and cared not for her lover. I know not how it came to pass, though they lived alone and had no neighbors, but 246 yet she got the plague, and died. I could tell I you a most passionate story of her, but let this suffice. There were about 500 Greeks came to her burial, notwithstanding the plague, and the Metropolitane of Adrianople came to bury her; and the chief of the town, which were fled, came back to the funeral. The young fellow was in a manner distracted, and came constantly every morning for many days, and mourned over her grave. The manner of the Christians burial here is much the same; all have the *Praeficae*, who sing (or rather howl and snarl out), which they begin at home and continue to the grave. The weather was excessive hot, and the air stagnated in a manner, we being placed in a pan or flat; so that it was plague enough merely to stay there. Whilst we were in Adrianople the rats and mice, and fleas, and rumbling of carts all night long, and brawling of curs (great numbers being nourished in every street), and the stink of the Jews, did give us no small purgatory; but coming here, where we thought

to have had braver accommodations, we found it worse. The terrible heat of the sun reflected from a dry barren sandy soil, and the fulsome foggy air, broiled us and choked us.

You cannot imagine the strange superstition that is generally amongst the people of this country; Turks, Jews, Greeks, Armenians, all have their amulets and Telismes (talismans) . . . about themselves, but especially about their children, their horses, their houses. Nightingales are very commonly kept in cages and let out to sing by so much per diem, but you shall not see one but shall have a deal of this trumpery about the cage. The Turks have commonly their Telismes engraved on silver or gold; I have seen 10,000 lie in goldsmiths' boxes to be sold upon all occasions; there are peculiar arts of making of these, but I count them all mere old wives' conceits. There was a Scotchman here who much delighted and practiced in such mysteries, and gave me the best account he could, but I will assure you they are more absurd and nonsensical than figure flinging; and since he was gone I chanced to dine one day with the French Ambassador, when he had on purpose sent for the most noted Turk in all these parts for such things. It will be tedious for to recount you all that past, but we manifestly proved him an impudent impostor. He got his *Keiph* there sufficiently, and that was (I believe) his chief design. 255

As we went home from Ortacui we were driven into a town by a storm, and laid there the most part of the night. Our Janizary chanced at our going into the house to catch a bat; he rejoiced exceedingly, and borrowing a zechine of me (the ceremony must be done with gold or not worth a farthing), he cut the throat of it therewith, pronouncing the name of God and some other conceits; he saved every drop of the blood in cotton, and kept it as a most divine thing. By this, he said, he could make friends with any one; love in a woman; in fine, preserve himself and us from all evil. 256

We set out from that little town, and were overtaken in a most dreadful tempest of thunder and lightning; just getting up a steep bank a flash of lightning discharged a sheet of fire, which fell on the ground and rested there a good while, within less then two yards of me and Dr. Pickering (we two being foremost), and huffed my hat and vest like a mighty gust of wind; our horses trembled and stood as half dead, but presently we got forward. All the world will not persuade that fellow but that the blood of his Bat preserved us. I have now been too, too impertinent, but yet could add much more to this purpose about your Greeks . . . (the walking of dead men), and their solemn prayers and exorcisms of their church in that point. Also I concerning the Armenians' *caracongila* (or hobgoblin, or kind of Robin good fellow), which is universally believed by them, and on the 13th and 14th of Feb. have a solemnity on purpose about it. Likewise about witches (which certainly, if there be any in the world, they are here) I can tell you stories which will much amaze you; yet I must confess I am very slow of belief in that point. I have likewise a strange Greek manuscript presented me concerning such whimsies; but enough of this matter. Before the Plague I walked about all the town; the old city (as is said) is not above a 3rd part of the whole, and the walls are pitiful thin brick work. 257

William Joseph Grelot—?

A Late Voyage to Constantinople: Containing an exact description of the Propontis and Hellespont, with the Dardanelles, and what else is remarkable in those seas; as also of the city of Constantinople.

Published by the command of the French King, by Monsieur William Joseph Grelot

Made English by J. Philips

London, Printed by John Playford, 1683

A.D. 1680?

- ²³⁹ The Turks never put their hands on the plough, unless extremity constrain them; for there must be neither Christians nor Armenians in that village, where the Turks trouble their heads either with sowing or reaping.



Drake's Voyage, from the Dutch map in New York Public Library.
[Partial reproduction from George Burner Parks' *Drake's Voyage* (New York, 1928).]

Sieur des Joanots du Vignau—?

The Turkish Secretary, containing the art of expressing of one's thoughts, without seeing, speaking, or writing to one another; with circumstances of a Turkish adventure; as also a most curious relation of several particulars of the Serrail that have not before now ever been made publick.

Translated by the author of the Monthly Account. Licensed July 3, R. Midgley

London, printed by J. B., 1688

A.D. 1688?

- 52 The Harem, or Women's Apartment <of the Serrail>, is divided into several chambers, where they are separated and kept with extreme regularity. All the maidens, there confined, ought to have been taken in countries enemies to the Ottomans, as Poland, Russia, Moscovy, Circassia, Mingolia, and others. The Turks, Greeks and Armenians, subjects of the Grand Signior may not be confined there, and His Highness cannot without adultery admit them to the imperial bed, unless he has married them, which is contrary to the laws of the empire, which forbid the Sultans to ally themselves, or in any wife share the Sovereign Power with women, but permits them to have as many slaves as they think convenient. Those emperors have rather chosen to take this course, and this reason is said to have obliged Sultan Murad to cause an Armenian woman to be strangled, with whom he was desperately in love, because that she being become with child, he was obliged to execute through a Devoir of Religion what the law of the empire forbid him. And thus was he constrained to make his love give way to reason, so to avoid a popular commotion, which might have drawn on his ruin.

Philippe Avril—1654–1698

Travels into Divers Parts of Europe and Asia, undertaken by the French King's order to discover a new way by land into China. Containing many curious remarks in natural philosophy, geography, hydrography, and history. Together with a description of Great Tartary, and of the different people who inhabit there.

Done out of French. To which is added, a supplement extracted from Hakluyt and Purchas; giving an account of several journeys over land from Russia, Persia, and the Moguls country to China. Together with the roads and distances of the places. Imprimatur April 4, 1693.

London, printed for Tim Goodwin, 1693

A.D. 1692

Of all the eastern countries to which the light of the Gospel has been conveyed, there are few 1
wherein more considerable progress have been made then in China . . .

. . . A resolution has been taken some few years since, to find out a passage into China by 4
land.

. . . To this purpose it was that I traveled all over Turkey, Persia, Armenia, the southern
Tartary, Muscovie . . .

<In Aleppo> I prepared to be gone with a numerous caravan, that was mustering together, 21
and within a short time was ready to depart for Betlis, the capital city of Curdistan.

Among the rest that made up this caravan, there was an Armenian merchant, and who
professed himself a Roman-Catholic, and who under that notion seemed to be much a friend
of the Jesuits . . .

It was in time of a Lent, which the Armenians observe with so much rigor, that they make
it a great scruple of conscience, to feed upon lettuce, fish and oil, or to drink wine. Therefore, 22
I thought myself engaged to comply with the weakness of those people, who believe the whole
essence of religion to consist in these exterior observations, and to deprive myself, as they did,
of all those refreshments of nature, which the Catholic Church allows her children . . . I left
Aleppo disguised like an Armenian for my greater security . . .

I took the road for Armenia; after I had passed the Tiger the first time, over a fair stone- 32
bridge, about a quarter of a league from the city of Diarbekir.

Erzerum, or Arzeron, is a city of Turkey, upon the frontiers of Persia, seated in a pleasant 45
plain, about seven or eight leagues in circuit, and bordered on every side with little hills that
rise insensibly one above another . . .

. . . Certain it is, that a more advantageous situation cannot be picked out by mortal eyes,
than that of this city which we have made choice of for the settlement of our new mission. It
is near about as big as Marseilles, encompassed with a double enclosure of walls, after the
ancient manner, with a little high seated citadel that commands it. The suburbs are very large
and well peopled. The air is wholesome; the water excellent, and in great plenty. In a word,
every thing concurs to make it one of the best cities of the Ottoman empire.

46 But that which is most of all to be considered, and which above all things put us upon resolving to settle here, is the vast concourse of all nations that trade in Asia, more especially of the Armenians, who have a particular kindness for this city, which was formerly the seat of their kings; insomuch, that to this day there are to be seen the ruins of the palace where they kept their court, with some beautiful remains of the patriarchal church which they had built in honor of St. John.

47/48 The Armenians more especially were so sensible of our zeal, to I prefer them before all other nations of the earth . . .

. . . I had the pleasure during a stay of six months that I made at Erzerum, to see that growing church increasing with so much success that I thought we had no reason to envy the
49 primitive ages of Christianity. But it I was not so much the number of the faithful that composed it, which rendered it considerable, as the zeal with which it appeared to be enlivened.

50 . . . Some few days before my departure, a little before midnight we were surprised with an earthquake, so furious, that there was hardly any body among us, who did not believe himself utterly lost. I waked of a sudden, at what time the beams and girders of my chamber were all in motion; and I was afraid more than once, that the walls that seemed to stoop forward, would have buried me under their ruins. But there happened no ill consequences of this disorder. The earthquake ceased in half a quarter of an hour; though it continued with a much more moderate shaking for eight days together, precisely at the same hour, that it began the first time.

In regard these sorts of accidents are very usual in Armenia, by reason of the prodigious number of mountains with which that province is covered; the people of the country have no
51 other way to shelter and secure themselves from the dreadful I consequences which they fear, but to leave the cities, and abide in the fields under tents, till every thing be quiet. Yet sometimes they are surprised, notwithstanding all the care they can take. For in regard that the earth many times cleaves and opens with the violence of the shocks of the earthquake matter, sometimes whole villages are swallowed up in those parts where the motion is most sensibly perceived; as they told me it befell a village about seven or eight leagues from the city.

Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri—1651–1725

A Voyage Round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri.

Part I. Containing the most remarkable things he saw in Turkey.

[A Collection of Voyages and Travels, some now first printed from original manuscripts, others now first published in English, in six volumes. Vol. 4, third edition, printed by assignment from Messrs Churchill, for Henry Lintot; and John Osborn. London, 1745]

A.D. 1693

<A> Jew led me . . . to see the two custom-houses of the city <of Smyrna>; one a great one, 55 called of the trade, where is paid the duty of the great quantity of raw silk the Armenians bring out of Persia, and the Franks transport into Europe . . .

<A.D. 1694>

Trabezond, by the Turks called Tarabassan . . . is an archiepiscopal see, and metropolis of 97 Cappadocia, a province between the Lesser Asia and Greater Armenia.

. . . I took notice the suburbs were for the most part inhabited by Armenians and Greeks, with their bishops, for the exercise of their religion . . .

The Bassa's family was maintained several days at the expense of the poor Greeks and 98 Armenians, who are to make a good contribution when the Bassa himself arrives: nor does this exempt them from the pole-tax; and it is a dismal thing to hear their complaints, they being to earn all the money by their labor and industry.

The village <Balaxor/Balahore> being for the most part inhabited by Armenians, they all 99 flocked in crowds to our stable, to be instructed in the divine mysteries by F. Villot. He had learned the Armenian language perfectly to this purpose . . .

Erzerum, or Adirbegian, by some is placed in Lesser Armenia, and by others made the 101 metropolis of the greater . . . <Near the castle> is the Armenian cathedral, much decayed, excepting two towers built of brick . . . The houses, as also those in the suburbs, for the most part inhabited by Armenians, are low, and made of wood and mud; the streets narrow, and unpaved; and the bazars mean; but it is so populous, that there are in the suburbs only, twenty-two caravanserais for the caravans of Persia . . .

Three persons coming to me from the Mussellin, of Bassa's lieutenant, to command me to 102 depart the city <of Erzerum> within three days; which order was also sent to the Jesuits and Dominican . . . we guessed this was . . . brought about <also> . . . by the schismatic Armenians, to obstruct the fathers settling in Erzerum, and the spreading the word of God. They had two years before presented the Bassa with 2,000 piastres, to send them away . . . which was done with some tumult raised by the Armenians, 2,500 persons going in seditious manner to the Bassa's house, and about 400 to the monastery <of the fathers> . . .

- 105 . . . The village of Cotanlo . . . was inhabited by Armenians . . .
Kars is a large, but not populous city . . . seated in Turcomania . . .



Armenian monks as seen by Tournefort.
[From Tournefort's *A Voyage into the Levant* (London, 1718).]

Jean Dumont (Baron de CarlsCroon)—1667–1727

A New Voyage to the Levant: Containing an account of the most remarkable curiosities in Germany, France, Italy, Malta, and Turkey; with historical observations relating to the present and ancient state of these countries.

Sieur du Mont

London, printed by T .H. for M. Gillyflower, 1696

A.D. 1696?

The Armenians . . . profess almost the same Articles of Faith <as the Greeks, though not so scrupulous>; for they make use of the modern way of painting; and there is at present on their High Altar an image of the Virgin, made by a French-man, which shows so much of her breasts that I should be almost jealous if my mistress were painted after that manner. Nevertheless you must not suspect them of libertinism; for I never heard of any Religious Order, except the monks of Trape, that observe such mortifying Fasts. They keep four Lents, which last one half of the year, like those that are observed by the Greeks. But the Armenians do not allow themselves so much liberty as the rest of their fellow Christians, for they abstain from eating flesh, fish, and even shell-fish, butter, milk, cheese, and every thing that has or ever had life; which may be justly reckoned a very severe piece of mortification. Their Bishop had put himself under the protection of France, to deliver himself from the insupportable exactions of the Turks; and it is but a very little while ago since he was freed from prison, where he had lain six months. He is a very honest and civil person . . . He wears a hood or cawle at the neck of his gown, and carries in his hand a cross . . . made of wood. 294

Joseph Pitton de Tournefort—1656–1708

A Voyage into the Levant: perform'd by command of the late French king. Containing the antient and modern state of the islands of the Archipelago; as also of Constantinople, the coasts of the Black Sea, Armenia, Georgia, the frontiers of Persia, and Asia Minor. With plans of the principal towns and places of note; an account of the genius, manners, trade, and religion of the respective people inhabiting those parts: and an explanation of variety of medals and antique monuments.

In two volumes. Vol. II, London, printed for D. Browne, A. Bell, J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, J. Pemberton, C. Rivington, J. Hooke, R. Cruttenden and T. Cox, J. Battley, E. Symon, 1718

A.D. 1701

192 . . . We are in the Great Armenia or Turcomania . . . Some believe that Selim added it to his conquests, after his return from Persia, where he had won the famous battle against the great Sophi Ismael . . . Armenia fell under the dominion of the Turks . . . in 1522.

193 We encamped close to the bridge of Elija, upon one of the arms of the Euphrates, six miles from the city of Arzeron or Arzerum, which others call Erzeron, though Arzerum is the true name of it . . .

Erzeron is built in a lovely plain, at the foot of a chain of mountains that hinder the Euphrates from falling into the Black Sea . . . The hills that edge this plain were still covered with snow in many places: Nay, we were told that it had fallen the first of June . . . The plain of Erzeron is fruitful in all kinds of grain. The wheat was less forward than in Paris, not yet two foot high, so that their harvest is not till September.

194 Besides the sharpness of the winters, what makes very unpleasant, is, the scarcity and dearth of wood . . . Nothing but pine-wood is known there, and that too they fetch two or three days journey from the town: all the rest of the country is quite naked. You see neither tree nor bush; and their common fuel is cow's dung, which they make into turfs . . . It is very well for strangers that their water is good, for their wine is the most abominable stuff that ever was touched . . . Their brandy is no better; it is musty and bitter, and more than all this, it costs no small pains and money too, before even these filthy beverages can be got. The Turks affect more severity here than any where else, and take mighty delight in surprising and bastinading those that carry on such trades.

195 . . . It is thought there are eighteen thousand Turks in <Erzeron>, six thousand Armenians, and four hundred Greeks. They reckon sixty thousand Armenians in the province, and ten thousand Greeks. The Turks who are in are almost all of them Janizaries; they reckon about twelve thousand there, and above fifty thousand in the rest of the province. They are mostly trades people, and are so far from receiving pay, that the majority of them give money to the Aga, which purchases them the privilege of being good for nothing, and committing all kind of insolences. The best sort of people are faced to list themselves in this body; because, besides that else they would not be welcome to the Governor, who is almost absolute in the town, they would be daily exposed to the violences of their neighbors, and not be able to obtain any justice from the officers . . .

The Armenians have a bishop and two churches in. They have some monasteries in the country, as the great Convent and the Red Convent. They all acknowledge the Patriarch of Erivan.

. . . This town is the thorough-fare and resting-place for all the merchandise of the Indies. 196

The government of Erzeron yields three hundred purses yearly to the Bassa, whom we shall henceforth call the Beglerbey or viceroy of the province . . . They arise, first, from the merchandises that come into the province, or are carried out of it; most pay three per cent. and sometimes twice as much . . . Secondly, the Beglerbey disposes of all offices in the cities and the provinces; these offices are farmed out according to the custom of the country, and go to the highest bidder, as every where else. Thirdly, excepting the Turks, all that go out of province for Persia, are obliged to pay in at least five crowns, though they have no merchandises; which is a kind of capitation constantly imposed upon them . . .

The province of yields in money above 600 purses to the Grand Signior. Besides the 300 198 purses of the *carach*, exacted from the Armenians and Greeks, he has also six per cent custom out of the merchandises.

We . . . went to see an ancient monastery of Armenians, which is but one day's journey 200 from that town, and which bears the name of St. Gregory. The whole country is bare, not the least bramble to be seen any where about. This monastery is pretty rich . . .

That night we lay at another monastery of Armenians, called the Red Monastery, because 201 the dome, which is shaped like a dark lantern, is besmeared with red . . . This convent is but three hours' journey from Erzeron, and the bishop, who is reckoned the most learned of all the Armenians, makes his residence in it: this character of him must not be reckoned any thing prodigious, for learning is not very frequent commodity in Armenia; but as we were informed that he was much esteemed among the Curdes, who according to their custom were encamped about the sources of the Euphrates, we omitted nothing that might engage him to go thither with us. It is impossible to be too cautious before one ventures into those parts, for a Kurd is a very obstreperous sort of an animal; they are as unmanageable to the Turks as to any body else, and will strip them to the skin without any ceremony, when they can get an opportunity.

The Armenians are the best people in the world, civil, polite, and full of good sense and 291 probity. I should account them happy in not understanding the use of arms, if it were not by the corruption of mankind become necessary to use them sometimes, purely to defend ourselves against the violence of others. But the Armenians trouble themselves with nothing but trade, which they follow with the utmost attention and application. They are not only masters of the trade in the Levant, but have a large share in that of the most considerable places in Europe . . .

The center of the Armenian merchants is not in Armenia, but at Julfa, the famous suburb of Ispahan . . .

Cha-Abbas successfully aimed at two things, for the good of his kingdom. He secured it from being attacked by the Turks; and greatly enriched it by establishing commerce . . .

292 To hinder the Turks, whom the Persian calls Osmanlis, from penetrating into his
countries, he judged it proper to take from them the means of maintaining numerous army
upon his frontiers: And as Armenia is the principal place where the Turks ordinarily make
293 their attempts, he unpeopled it as much as he thought proper for his design . . . | And in short,
he made the Armenians, who were husband men, to become merchants; and now they are the
greatest traders upon earth.

301 The Armenians have many patriarchs in the dominions of the king of Persia, and the
Grand Signior . . . In Turkey there are two prelates, who have made themselves Patriarchs by
the Grand Visier, who would give this title to all the prelates, if they would buy it of him, as
the Bishop of Cis near Tarsus in Cilicia, and the Armenian Bishop of Jerusalem have done,
who by presents obtain their mission and authority from the Porte.

<From the 1741 three-volume edition, Vol. II>

160 The Greek, Jewish, and Armenian women have more liberty <than the Turks>, but do not go
abroad so often as our women, because the slaves do all that is to be done with out
doors . . .

173 When the Greeks, Jews, and Armenians die without male issue, their houses devolve to the
mosque . . .

<Vol. III>

76 The towns of this country <Armenia> are very well governed, and you hear no thieves in any
of them; they all keep the country, and plague none but travelers . . .

77 The Greeks and Armenians have no stomach for fighting, and so are often made to pay
off scores (as they call it there) for the blood of a thief they never killed . . .

93 . . . Great Armenia <is called> . . . Turcomania . . . lesser Armenia <is> called Aladoli.

Ellis Veryard—?

An Account of Diverse Choice Remarks, as well geographical, as historical, political, mathematical, physical, and moral; taken in a journey through the Low-Countries, France, Italy, and part of Spain; with the isles of Sicily and Malta. As also, a voyage to the Levant: a description of Candia, Egypt, the Red Sea, the deserts of Arabia, Mount-Horeb, and Mount-Sinai; the coasts of Palestine, Syria, and Asia-Minor; the Helespond, Propontis, and Constantinople; the isles of the Carpathian, Egean, and Ionian seas . . .

London, printed, and sold by S. Smith and B. Walford, 1701

A.D. 1700?

Christians are permitted to go into the mosques at Constantinople, provided they put off 341
their shoes, and behave themselves decently . . .

<The Janissaries> are for the most part children of Christians taken away by force, and 342
educated from their infancy in their religion and martial discipline; so that they are esteemed
the best soldiers in Turkey.

The Armenians have a house in this city <Constantinople>, where their Patriarch usually 343
resides, with a small church adjoining, where they have Divine Service after their way. They
showed us a large room within the enclosure where a council had been held in the Christian
emperor's time, the prelates that assisted at it being represented to the life on the wall, and
some in such strange antique dresses as are very diverting to such as view them. Over the door
we observed the portraits of an emperor, an empress, and other persons in mosaic-mark, and
all so fresh as if they had been newly done.

The ordinary revenue of the <Turkish> empire . . . is raised by customs, crown-lands, 348
tribute laid on Christians and Jews, confiscations, and gifts . . . <The Grand Turk> is the
absolute and arbitrary disposer of the subjects' estates and goods, dispossessing, disinheriting,
and taking all of himself at pleasure. He claims the goods of all such as die without heirs or
very near relations, who are very numerous, forasmuch a great part of his military, civil, and
domestic officers are the children of Christians . . . who seldom marry, being esteemed less
capable of business in that state than when single.

Aaron Hill—1685-1750

A full and just account of the present state of the Ottoman empire in all its branches: with the government, and policy, religion, customs, and way of living of the Turks, in general. Faithfully related from a serious observation, taken in many years travels thro' those countries.

London, printed for the author, and are to be sold, by J. Mayo, 1709

<First decade of the eighteenth century.>

- 1 <The Turks> wrested forcibly the possession of Armenia Major from its supersized inhabitants.
- 3 <The Asiatic territories of the Ottomans contain> the vast extent of Armenia Minor . . . Armenia Major is now mostly theirs.
- 5 . . . First maxim of <the sultan's> policy is to depopulate as much as may be the remoter parts of his wide empire, the more effectually to strengthen its center. The reason he gives . . . first, that countries far distant from his eye, might with more ease and less danger be induced to some fatal rebellion . . .
- 79 Christians find it dangerous to deal with Turkey . . . leave the management of all their trade to crafty Jews . . .
- 82 Murder is so dangerously common in this country <Turkey> . . . The Turks, however, rarely butcher one another, but the hated Christians fall in every corner wretched victims . . .
- 185 That Christian Church, which calls itself Armenian, is in magnitude far more considerable than the Grecian, and consists of the displaced inhabitants of those large tracts of land, which bore the name, that now distinguishes her people, who have widely spread themselves in many countries, and are numerously scattered up and down the countries subject to the Great Mogul, Grand Signior and the King of Persia.
. . . There are vast numbers <of Armenians>, like the Greeks, remaining subject to the government of the Grand Signior, who possesses the dominion of their ancient monarchs, by the unresisted force of an illegal usurpation, from the right of conquest, handed down from prince to prince, for ages long since past, so that they now retain no notion of their former liberty, but live dependent on the power of a despotic tyrant.
In this however, they have better fortune than their fellow-slaves, the Greeks, that they are free from that unnatural duty of delivering their children, to be sent upon triennial seizures to Constantinople, and enjoy a hundred privileges more, because a certain countryman of theirs, a flatterer of Mahomets, and one, who used to prophesie his future greatness, gained a promise from him, that he would injoin his followers, if ever they should see occasion to invade Armenia, and the will of God should give it to their power, that they would distinguish

the inhabitants from other conquered people, by such large immunities, as should alleviate the burden of their losses.

They are very ignorant, but very honest, industrious in their natures, slow to anger, and extremely willing to forgive an injury; abstemious in their diet, little drinkers, and inclined to melancholy and sedate retirements; devout, and superstitious in a high degree; patient in affliction, nor too soon buoyed up beyond themselves, by the successful turns of chance, or their endeavors.

There are above three hundred bishops of that nation, scattered strangely up and down, 186 with poor allowances for the support of their degree; which notwithstanding is sufficiently atoned for, by the veneration paid them from the common people, and the humble dictates of their own morality, which teaches them contentedly to spend their lives in peaceful poverty, and raise their wishes to a future prospect, far surpassing the chimerical advantages, accruing from the gross and earthly blessings, which attend the aim of prosperous ambition.

The tenets of their faith are gathered from the several opinions of the Eastern Churches, strangely shuffled into an obscure collection; hardly one in fifty can inform a stranger in the principles and grounds of the religion he professes . . .

As for churches, they have very few, and those they have, are so decayed by time, or accident, that they are hardly fit to hold an audience; whereof they assemble to their public prayers, and other ceremonies, in low, private chambers, where they may be free from noise, and undisturbed in the calm exercise of their religion. They are seldom fond of painting, but are so entirely of the Greek opinion, as to sculptures, that they cannot bear to see them in their houses.

It is observable, that though the Turks in many things give greater toleration to the 187 Armenians than their other subjects, yet they use the same inhuman art to ruin their religion, never giving them permission to re-build a church, when once decayed; unless they are bribed to it at so high a rate, that it is a very rare attempt to ask a license for that purpose from the Turkish officers, who always learn one art, that is, to make the most, if not the best of their preferments.

Aubrey de la Mottraye—1674–1743

A. de la Mottraye's Travels through Europe, Asia, and into Parts of Africa; with proper cuts and maps containing a great variety of geographical, topographical, and political observations on those parts of the world; especially of Italy, Turkey, Greece, Crim and Nogaian Tartaries, Circassia, Sweden, and Lapland. A curious collection of things particularly rare, both in nature and antiquity, such as remains of ancient cities and colonies, inscriptions, idols, medals, minerals, etc., with an historical account of the most considerable events which happened during the space of 25 years.

In two volumes. Vol. I, London, printed for the author in the year 1723

<First decade of the eighteenth century.>

166 The exercise of all religion is nowhere more free, or less disturbed, than in Turkey . . . They <all religious orders> have their chapels for slaves who are Roman Catholics, even in the bagno's, as I have observed at Tripoli, (as have also the Greeks and the Armenians, who are condemned in the Oar for any crime that deserves it) . . .

167 I have heard some Turks say, that they wondered at the eagerness of Christians for Turkish women, they who might have, they say, those of their own religion; and if they have not wherewith to buy slaves, may they not take a Greek or Armenian that is free . . .

186 It is pretty well known, by diverse accounts, what a noise the Grecian and Armenian women make at the death and funeral of their husbands, children, and other relations with other mourners, either hired or voluntary, from among their neighbors; I say women, for the men content themselves with sighing and weeping silently, and leave them the privilege of crying out. They carry their dead bodies to the grave in great prompt, and in their finest clothes; and if women are rich, adorned with jewels and accompanied with the Patriarch and the bishops in their ceremonial habits, with a number of priests singing, and some Janizaries at the head of the procession, *ad honores*. When they come to the grave, they take off the
187 jewels and upper garments: then snip the rest with scissors, that no body may be tempted to steal them in the night.

The Armenians not only cry at the time of the death and burial, but begin they lamentations and clamors a-new on certain days of the year, especially on Easter holidays, when they carry to the sepulcher the finest clothes of the deceased, whose memory is dear to them, which they have preserved for that purpose, and lay them upon their tombs, then cry out as if they were just dead or buried; but after this and other exterior signs of griefs, they comfort themselves upon the spot, with good eating and drinking, prepared and brought by some of their acquaintance.

<1707>

189 <In the bazaar> A Turk on horseback, accompanied with five or six others on foot armed only with sticks, goes about with scales, and examines their weights and provisions; and if he finds any defect either in goodness or quantity, he immediately orders them to be punished

according to their deserts; and I have seen above fifty served in this manner. The Armenians and Jews are reckoned more honest, at least I never saw any treated thus for faults of this nature.

Greeks, Armenians or Jews <may not> sell it <wine> in Constantinople, but under the 193
protection of some ambassador, and this protection costing them presents, is the reason of its
being sold at a double price there.

About the latter end of October, Ephraim, Sergis and Soupy, three Armenian vartabiets, 208
or doctors, being competitions for the Patriarchate of Constantinople, (which dignity the two
first had enjoyed, and been divested of from years before) the latter was chosen by the
plurality of priests, and got the Porte's Barrat* for it; on which the two first pretenders, and
those of their party, declared a spiritual war against him and his electors, calling them
schismatics, and deserters from the true Orthodox Church . . . They taxed Soupy moreover
with receiving money from the Pope, through the hands of the Jesuits, to pay for his Barrat,
and with concurring with them to seduce the Armenians from their beliefs . . . Ephraim, who
was the metropolitan, or bishop of Adrianople, the better to signalize his zeal for the
Orthodox Church . . . drew up a kind of formulary, or confession of faith, in writing, in
which the Council of Chalcedon was condemned as Heterodox . . . In the contrary, Soupy
had written a letter to the Pope, in which he acknowledged that Council for Orthodox, and
his holiness as Patriarch of Patriarchs, and visible head of the Universal and true Catholic
Church.

<In Nicomedia> The Greeks and Armenians have several churches, that are but 214
indifferent.

The Armenians who have more commerce at Angora than the Greeks, have five or six 228
churches; which are not more considerable than theirs <the Greeks'>, if we except that
belonging to a monastery known by the name of St. Mary of the Armenians, about two miles
out of the city, which I went to see, and there I found two merchants of that nation, who were
ready to go to Sinope, one of them spoke Lingua Franca . . . This convent is the finest that I
have seen in that country, and was the residence of the Armenian Archbishop . . .

The conquered subjects called Rayas, or tributaries, as Greeks, Armenians and Jews, have 231
all the liberty they could enjoy under their former princes, only paying a very moderate
annual tribute to his highness; of which, together with the customs, and the confiscations of
the effects of those he strangles or deposes, consists his principal revenue. The caratch, or
annual tribute of the rayas, amounts but to two, three, four or five crowns a-head yearly, and
always the same in war-time as in peace: and even the richest pays but ten crowns.

* Barrat is an instrument in writing under the imperial seal, which answers to a Bull of the Pope's, by
virtue of which a Doctor of the Greeks or Armenians is confirmed Patriarch, after having been elected
(according to custom) by the majority of the clergy.

- 240 On the 19th <of May 1708>, the Greek Patriarch received orders from the Visier of the disaffected party, to publish in his cathedral and the rest of the Grecian churches, that any raya or Greek subject, who had any arms and brought them to him, should be paid for them as much as they were worth: and the same day the Armenian priests, who were deprived of their Patriarch Avidic, by the means of the new Catholics, who got him imprisoned, by making him pass for a muphtist, and going out that he was entrusted with some of his money, published the same in their churches . . .
- 252 The Greeks and Armenians do not use (for the generality) to see their wives much more before marriage, though they are nor quite so exact: they seldom have a view of them sooner than at church, when they are married by the priest, and when they eat and drink, after the ceremony, in the same room, or dance in some garden or meadow, it is summer . . .
- 253 An Armenian bride is conducted to the church, with a pace slower than that of tortoise, at the door which she is met by the Armenian bridegroom, who enters with her into the church. He is distinguished by a sort of coronet of jewels, that is fastened to his cap, as is the mediator or manager of the marriage by a saber, set also with precious stones; which if they are not rich enough to have their own, they borrow or hire for this ceremony.
- 269 On the 2d or 3d of January, 1707, the Muphty Ibrahim Effendi was deposed . . . Some time later, the Jesuits having engaged, not only the Patriarch of Constantinople, but also that of Jerusalem, who was not yet gone to his see, with several priests in the interest of the Roman Church, had begun their conversation with success enough, even to preaching again in Turkish in some Armenian churches; when all of a sudden, a more terrible storm than any of the former was raised against their proselytes by the Anti-Catholics . . . Amongst the rest, the new Dher Joannes and Dher Joachim accused the two Patriarchs aforementioned, and one Dher Gomidas, of being devoted to the Pope . . .
- 270 <Upon the memorial of the Anti-Catholics> the Visier set spies or informers, to observe all Armenians who frequented the Catholic churches, or were styled Franks, for that was term the Anti-Catholics continued to stigmatize them with. Dher Sarry, the Patriarch of Constantinople, was seized and sent to the bagno's, with above forty of the most considerable of his party, as well secular as ecclesiastics; that of Jerusalem was only deposed as less complained of, and Dher Joachim put in his room.
- 321 The Armenians that turn Latin are reckoned at Rome better Catholics than the Greeks; and they are incomparably more numerous both here, and in the Eastern countries, where there are a thousand converts for hundred Greeks . . .

Peter Henry Bruce—1692–1757

Memoirs of Peter Henry Bruce, Esq., a military officer in the services of Prussia, Russia, & Great Britain. Containing an account of his Travels in Germany, Russia, Tartary, Turkey, The West Indies, &c. as also several very interesting private anecdotes of the Czar, Peter I. of Russia.
London, printed for the author's widdow, 1782

A.D. 1711

The increasing treasure of some of these bassas enables them to maintain a standing army of 65
their own, whereby they become formidable to the grand signor himself, who then is obliged
to wink at their crimes rather than run the hazard of punishing them; for the bassa can rely
on his forces while he is able to pay them; so that between the despotic tyrant and his grim |
lieutenant, it is no very desirable privilege to be a Turkish subject. 66

They <the Turks> are so entirely absorbed in their faith of predestination, that they use no 68
precautions in the time of the plague; and are offended at the Christians for taking care of
their health on such occasions, by shunning the houses where the infection is, asserting, they
ought not to forsake dying or dead men . . .

Their <the Turks'> manners and customs . . . are opposite to ours in almost every respect:
they are so far from studying to improve their understanding, that they in a manner glory in
their ignorance; and their | ambition is so small that they never attempt any thing that has 69
not some sordid interested view for its object; living for the most part a recluse and lazy life,
scarce ever looking beyond the sphere of their own families; and provided their wives are
handsome, their horses well curried, and their servants submissive and respectful, they have
not the smallest curiosity about the affairs of the rest of the world.

The most usual punishments in Turkey for capital offenses are beheading, drowning, 75
hanging, strangling, burning, impaling, and the strappado; the two last are the most cruel,
and are appointed only for Turks who renounce the Mahometan faith, or renegadoes who
return to the Christian religion: robbers | and murderers are hanged; women are drowned; 76
persons convicted of rebellion or sedition, are beheaded; and burning falls to the lot of
Christians, and Jews, who blaspheme against Mahomet or the Koran, or lie with a Turkish
woman.

Mary Wortley Montagu—1689–1762

Embassy to Constantinople—The Travels of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

Introduced by Dervla Murphy. Edited and compiled by Christopher Pick

New Amsterdam, New York, 1988

A.D. 1718 <May>

193 Now I am speaking of their law, I don't know whether I have ever mentioned to you one custom peculiar to this country. I mean adoption, very common amongst the Turks and yet more amongst the Greeks and Armenians. Not having it in their power to give their estates to a friend or distant relation to avoid its falling into the Grand Signior's treasury, when they are not likely to have children of their own they choose some pretty child of either sex amongst the meanest people, and carry the child and its parents before the kadi, and there declare they receive it for their heir. The parents at the same time renounce all future claim to it, a writing is drawn and witnessed, and a child thus adopted cannot be disinherited. Yet I have seen some common beggars that have refused to part with their children in this manner to some of the richest amongst the Greeks; so powerful is the instinctive fondness natural to parents! though the adopting fathers are generally very tender to these children of their souls, as they call them. I own this custom pleases me much better than our absurd following our name. Methinks 'tis much more reasonable to make happy and rich an infant whom I educate after my own manner, brought up (in the Turkish phrase) upon my knees, and who has learned to look upon me with a filial respect, than to give an estate to a creature without other merit or relation to me than by a few letters. Yet this is an absurdity we see frequently practiced.

Now I have mentioned the Armenians, perhaps it will be agreeable to tell you something of that nation, with which I am sure you are utterly unacquainted. I will not trouble you with the geographical account of the situation of their country, which you may see in the map, or a relation of their ancient greatness, which you may read in the Roman history. They are now subject to the Turks, and, being very industrious in trade, and increasing and multiplying, are dispersed in great numbers through all the Turkish dominions. They were (as they say) converted to the Christian religion by St. Gregory, and are (perhaps) the devotest Christians in the whole world. The chief precepts of their priests enjoin the strict keeping of their Lents, which are at least seven months in every year and are not to be dispensed with on the most emergent necessity. No occasion whatever can excuse them if they touch any thing more than mere herbs or roots (without oil) and plain dry bread. This is their Lenten diet. Mr. Wortley
194 has one of his interpreters of this nation, and the poor fellow was brought so low with the severity of his fasts that his life was despaired of, yet neither his master's commands or the doctor's entreaties (who declared nothing else could save his life) were powerful enough to prevail with him to take two or three spoonfuls of broth. Excepting this, which may rather be called custom than an article of faith, I see very little in their religion different from ours. It is true they seem to incline very much to Mr. Whiston's doctrine, neither do I think the Greek church very distant from it, since 'tis certain the insisting on the Holy Spirit only proceeding

from the Father is making a plain subordination in the Son. But the Armenians have no notion of transubstantiation, whatever account Sir Paul Rycaut gives of them (which account I am apt to believe was designed to compliment our Court in 1679), and they have a great horror for those amongst them that change to the Roman religion.

What is most extraordinary in their customs is their matrimony, a ceremony I believe unparalleled all over the world. They are always promised very young, but the espoused never see one another till three days after their marriage. The bride is carried to church with a cap on her head in the fashion of a large trencher, and over it a red silken veil which covers her all over to her feet. The priest asks the bridegroom whether he is contented to marry that woman, be she deaf, be she blind? These are the literal words, to which having answered yes, she is led home to his house accompanied with all the friends and relations on both sides, singing and dancing, and is placed on a cushion in the corner of the sofa, but her veil never lifted up, not even by her husband, till she has been three days married. There is something odd and monstrous in these ways that I could not believe them till I had inquired of several Armenians myself who all assured me of the truth of them, particularly one young fellow who wept when he spoke of it, being promised by his mother to a girl that he must marry in this manner, though he protested to me he had rather die than submit to this slavery, having already figured his bride to himself with all the deformities in nature.

I fancy I see you bless yourself at this terrible relation. I cannot conclude my letter with a more surprising story, yet 'tis as seriously true as that I am, dear sister, your, etc.

Richard Pococke—1704–1765

A Description of the East, and some Other Countries.

Vol. II, part I. Observations on the Holy Land, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and Candia
London, printed for the author by W. Bowyer, 1745

A.D. 1738–1740

154/5 Antab . . . is situated on two | hills, and the valley between them, and is about three miles in circumference . . . The air of Antab is esteemed to be very good; the people live mostly on the hills, and have their shops in the valley; which being built at the foot of the hills, and having flat roofs, one insensibly descends upon them, and on the covered streets which are between them; so that it surprises any one when he imagines that he is walking on the ground, to look down through holes, which give light to the streets, and see people walking below.

. . . They have here a considerable manufacture of coarse stamped calicoes. The Christians are all of the Armenian communion, as they are every where to the north of Aleppo: They have a church here, and speak Turkish, as they do in almost all the villages between Aleppo and Antab.

160 <In Ourfa> There are considerable number of Armenian Christians in the city who have
161 two churches, one large one in the | city, the other at some distance from it: in the latter they showed me the tomb of a great saint, whom they call Ibrahim.

. . . <In Diarbeck> there are great number of Armenians . . .

A Description of the East, and some Other Countries.

[Reprinted in John Pinkerton's *A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world, many of which are now first translated into English.*

Vol. X, London, printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1811]

686 <In Afion Carahisar> There are . . . about fifty Armenian families, besides several merchants and tradesmen, who stay there part of the year, as they do in other towns, living in kanes; they have two churches, and of late they have had a bishop, whom they call metropolitan.

691 <In Angora> The Christians are thought to be about ten thousand, of which three hundred families, or about fifteen hundred souls, are Greeks, the rest Armenians; two thirds of the latter are of the Roman communion, and have four churches, the other Armenians have three: in rebuilding one of their churches not long ago, they found the bodies of seven children uncorrupted; I saw the head and hand of one of them, they were like the bodies of Bremen, and at Venzoni in Friuli, but rather more fair and entire. They suppose that these are of the twelve children who were martyred when Saint Clemens Ancranus suffered. The Armenians have a large convent a small mile to the north of the city . . .

<In Cæsarea> There are in the city one Greek and three Armenian churches, 693
Tocat . . . has seven Armenian churches . . .

<In Boursa> A small stream runs through it which swells to a torrent after rains: to the 716
east of this is the suburb, where the Armenians live with their archbishop, of whom there are
about eight hundred families, and they have one church.

<In Nice> The Armenians have a small church in a sort of grotto under the west end . . . 719

There have been two Armenian presses in Constantinople for about forty years. The vizier 727
Ibrahim Pasha having read an account of the usefulness of printing, persuaded the late Sultan
Achmet to permit a press to be set up . . .

<In Galata> The Armenians <have> two <churches> . . . 728

<Rodosto> is chiefly inhabited by Turks, though there are several Greek and Armenian 735
families in the town.

Charles Perry—1698–1780

A View of the Levant: Particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and Greece in which their antiquities, government, politics, maxims, manners, and customs, (with many other circumstances and contingencies) are attempted to be described and treated on. In four parts.

London, printed for T. Woodward, and C. Davis, and J. Shuckburgh, 1743

A.D. 1743

- 23 The province of Anatolia, in particular, which once boasted of such mighty riches, and so many great and splendid cities, is now reduced upon a par with the rest; having little else to show, but a few ruined towns . . .

There are yet, scattered up and down in Asia Minor, but more especially in the province of Anatolia, a great number of Greek and Armenian Christians; who live in miserable slavery and subjection to the Turks, and suffer great extortions and oppressions from them. And considering in what numbers those Christians are, in proportion to the Turks in those parts, it is much to be wondered at, that they have not, ere now, endeavored to shake off their yoke; but their miseries and sufferings, having now endured for many generations past, are become habitual . . .

James Caulfeild Charlemont—1728–1799

The Travels of Lord Charlemont in Greece and Turkey 1749.

Edited by W. B. Stanford and E. J. Finopoulos, drawings by Richard Dalton
Trigraph-London, for the A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1984

A.D. 1749

. . . Among them <the Turks>, to attempt the chastity of another man's wife should be 199
esteemed a crime of the deepest dye, and that adultery should be looked upon with much
more horror even than murder. But if their jealousy be so great with regard to their country
men and brethren, it is carried to a far greater length with respect to us Christians. It would
seem indeed as if they thought their women not only debauched but profaned also by
Christian communication; and the female who is so far gone in depravity as to suffer herself
to be defiled by the touch of a Ciaour or Infidel is deemed to be no longer fit to live. If a
Christian be found in a room with a Turkish woman, even though nothing criminal can be
supposed to have passed between them both parties are punished with death.

At Constantinople, though all communication with Mahometan women be so strictly 204
forbidden, the most perfect freedom is allowed to Christians with regard to women of every
other religion, and we are at liberty to frequent houses of the sort mentioned in the text
without being liable to the least molestation or even to scandal, and perhaps with more safety
than in any of our own great cities. Gallantry also of a more liberal kind is not unusual, and
the mode of living at Constantinople is to a young man as pleasant as in any great city
whatsoever. That quarter of the town, which is called Pera and | which forms itself a large city, 205
is entirely peopled with Franks and Greeks who live together in the most sociable manner
and, with the public Ministers, form a society as pleasing as possible. The pleasures of the
table are well understood and frequent, and scarce an evening passes without balls, concerts
or assemblies at all which the intercourse between the sexes is as easy as can be wished. The
women are exceedingly handsome and well-dressed, and their manners are remarkably
pleasing, a probable indication that they are no foes of love.

It may seem unnecessary to observe that in these houses Turkish women are never met 206
with. The ladies here to be obtained are Greeks, Jewesses, and Armenian Christians, many of
whom are extremely beautiful and well skilled in all the necessary arts and allurements of their
calling.

James Porter—1710–1776

Observations on the Religion, Law, Government, and Manner of the Turks.

In two volumes. Vol. II, London, printed for J. Nourse, 1768

<Mid-eighteenth century.>

- 81 It is customary in Turkey to marry boys of thirteen and fourteen to girls of eleven and twelve, and sometimes even under that age; the practice is common among all sects of religion. They are joined together in the good faith of their parents or relations, for they are never permitted
- 82 to see each other before the nuptial night. Various tricks, it is said, have been played on these occasions among the Greeks and Armenians: the lame, the deformed, and the blind were often a match to beauty and vigor. When the parties imposed on complained, the contrivers would answer with a compliment to their beauty and good qualities, and a profession that their inducement to this fraud was only a desire to improve the race. This injury is the greater, as Christians cannot easily obtain a divorce . . .



A Christian lady and a Christian man.

[From *Life in Istanbul 1588: Scenes from a Traveler's Picture Book* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1977).]

Francois de Tott—1733–1793

Memoirs of Baron de Tott. Containing the state of the Turkish Empire and the Crimea, during the late war with Russia. With numerous anecdotes, facts, and observations, on the manners and customs of the Turks and Tartars.

Translated from the French

In two volumes. London, printed for G.G. J. and J. Robinson, 1785

A.D. 1755

<Vol. I>

The Turks are, perhaps, the only people who seek celebrity by murder, without having sufficient courage to commit it deliberately. When the climate enfeebles, at the same time that despotism incites to violence, intoxication, only, can impart resolution sufficient for such a crime; and its commission raises the criminal to equality with the despot. viii

Neither the Greeks, the Armenians, nor even the Jews are, any more than the Turks, subjected to a natural slavery. xxviii

Under a despotic government, the existence of any person is necessarily precarious: No one can be ambitious without despising his own life; and I what regard can he have for the lives of others? 31

The Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews, as they are not blinded by the same extravagant prejudice, have discovered a kind of remedy <for the plague>, which they seem to use with considerable success; but not, however, till the first violence of the disease is abated. But it has been remarked, that each of these nations makes use of a particular regimen, which agrees with it alone. This singularity must certainly be attributed to the different nature of their food . . . 39

The pleasure of knocking down Christians is, indeed, so great a treat to the Turks, that the favorites of Sultan Mahamout, otherwise very respectable persons, could imagine nothing better to amuse their master in an entertainment which they gave within the Seraglio. 179

. . . The Jews, the Armenians, and the Greeks have invested their chiefs, with a kind of civil jurisdiction, to which they sometimes submit, to avoid having the property, for which they contend, devoured by the Cadi, who decides the cause. But, except among the Jews, who pay more obedience to their kakam, than the Christians to their patriarch, it is very common for those adjudged in the wrong, to have recourse to the Turkish judges, who commonly end the matter, by enriching themselves at the expense of each party. 196

<Vol. II>

<During a procession in Constantinople> when an emir, who proceeded the Banner, proclaimed, with a loud voice: Let no infidel dare to profane with his presence the Holy 4

standard of the Prophet; and let every Mussulman who perceives an unbeliever make it known under pain of reprobation.

From that moment no asylum was to be found; even those became informers, who, by letting out their houses, had rendered themselves accomplices in the crime. A religious fury seized on every mind, and put arms in every hand; the more atrocious the cruelty, the more was it meritorious. No regard was paid to sex or age; women with child, dragged by the hair, and trodden under feet by multitude, perished in the most deplorable manner. Nothing was respected by these monsters . . .

Richard Chandler—1738–1810

*Travels in Asia Minor, and Greece: or, an account of a tour made at the expense of
the Society of Dilettanti.*

In two volumes. Third edition. Vol. I, London, printed for Joseph Booker and R. Priestly, 1817

A.D. 1769?

<In Smyrna> . . . the Armenians <have> a large and handsome church with a burying-ground 74
by it.

Philadelphia <Alashehir> possessing waters excellent in dying, and being situated on one 289
of the most capital roads to Smyrna, is much frequented, especially by Armenian merchants.

Elias Habesci—?

The Present State of the Ottoman Empire, containing a more accurate and interesting account . . . of the Turks than any yet extant. Including a particular description of the court and seraglio of the Grand Signor . . . Translated from the French manuscript of Elias Habesci.
London, R. Baldwin, 1784

A.D. 1784?

- 189 Begler-beys, or princes with their tails, in Asia . . .

1 in Armenia	6 sangiachs	900,000 Aspers
1 at Erzerum	14 sangiachs	1,200,000 Aspers
1 at Karse	6 sangiachs	82,000 Aspers
1 at Trebizonde	6 sangiachs	82,000 Aspers
- 368 The Armenians, another nation subject to the Turks, greatly contribute to the population of Constantinople. Their number in the city, and its environs, is computed at 60,000. The major part are merchants, and in general they are very rich. Most of the bankers are Armenians.

A great part . . . of Armenians at Constantinople profess the Roman Catholic religion, but they have no church.
- 369 The Armenians in general bear a very good character; they are pious, faithful, honest, and polite to every body; but the Turks will not employ them in any service whatever: yet they avail themselves of their opulence, by extorting money from them under various pretense.
- 377 The Armenians have red slippers and purple drawers.

Elizabeth Craven—1750–1828

*A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople, in a series of letters from the
Right Honorable Elizabeth Lady Craven, to his Serene Highness the Margrave of Brandebourgh,
Anspach, and Bareith. Written in the year 1786.*

Dublin, printed for H. Chamberlaine, R. Moncrieffe, W. Colles, G. Burnet, W. Wilson, L. White,
P. Byrne, P. Wogan, H. Colbert, J. Moore, J. Jones, and B. Dornin, 1789

A.D. 1786

Upon new buildings or children, the Turks imagine the looks of Christians bring ill luck— 300
and so to attract what they call the evil sight, upon arches or houses they | suspend a ball, or 301
some fantastic thing to fix the attention of those who pass, in order that the eyes may not be
fixed too long on the building. As to children, particularly the Sultan's, the guards hide them
when Christian men or women would look at them . . .

Thomas Howel—?

A Journal of the Passage from India, by the route partly unfrequented, through Armenia and Natolia, or Asia Minor. To which are added, observations and instructions for the use of those intend to travel, either to or from India, by that route.

London, printed for the author, and sold by C. Forster, 1789

A.D. 1788?

93 . . . Karpoot . . . is situated on a rocky hill: this place was almost deserted, and the grass was growing in some of the streets. The garrison was in a state of great tumult and confusion; for the soldiers, divided into parties, were firing at each other.

100 Sivas is the capital of a Pashalic, and a very considerable town: it is seated in a valley, about a mile to the westward of a large river, which flows to the southward, and over which there are two stone bridges, at the distance of a couple of miles from each other.

The country we passed to day was poorly cultivated, and almost barren; one district alone wore a better appearance.

John Bacon Sawrey Morritt—1772?–1843

*The Letters of John B. S. Morritt of Rokeby Descriptive of Journeys in Europe and Asia Minor
in the Years 1794–1796.*

Edited by G. E. Marindin
London, John Murray, 1914

A.D. 1794 <August 7>

The people here pay no regular taxes of any sort, the coffers of the Grand Signor being filled 75
by the presents and extortions of the Pashas and by seizing the confiscated property of the rich
Greek or American <Armenian?> merchants when found out, which is no inconsiderable
source of revenue. There are many here, we are told, who possess very considerable riches, but
their appearance and that of their houses, so far from displaying it, are studiously calculated
to avoid its being suspected. It is a curious circumstance, and what we have hardly an idea of,
though very common here, for | a Greek or American <Armenian?> subject of the Porte 76
engaged in trade to pay a considerable sum—as much as 5,000 piastres, about £350—for a
protection from any foreign Ambassador which secures his property from his own
government.

<The Greek> women are the only ones who here have any liberty, the Armenians being 100
almost as strict with their wives as the Turks. All you see of either when you meet them in the
streets is their eyes and nose, a handkerchief being tied round their heads as high, or
sometimes over, their nose, and another covering their forehead and eyebrows. Their whole
person is muffled in a long cloth gown made very loose, the shape almost of a nun's in a
Roman Catholic country, which hides their shape entirely. When the Turkish women are
permitted to go out you see them in great parties in boats and the walks about, often amusing
themselves like children with escarpolettes or merry-go-rounds, but always totally secluded
from the society of men; nor would a Turk pay the least attention, or speak even to his wife,
if he met her in the street. By all these restrictions, the prohibition of wine, the
discouragement of arts and commerce, Mahomet certainly meant to make his followers a
nation of warriors; but what with their bad government and their want of ingenuity and
improvement even in the art of war, which they are most addicted to, they are as much behind
the Europeans in it as in everything else.

Guillaume Antoine Olivier—1756–1814

*Travels in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, And Persia, Undertaken by order of the government of France,
During the First Six Years of the Republic.*

Volumes I and II. Translated from the French

London, printed for T. N. Longman and O. Rees, 1801

A.D. 1797

- 19 The Armenians are all traders; in the Ottoman Empire it is they who are engaged in the greatest traffic, and who carry it on with the most intelligence. They are patient, economical, and indefatigable; they travel into the interior of Asia and into India; they have store-houses and correspondents every where. The greater part of them exercise mechanic arts; they are bankers, contractors, and men of business of the pachas or other great personages. They are reproached with sparing no means of enriching themselves, and of cheating, when they have an opportunity, in the quality of merchandise. Nevertheless, in endeavoring to gain the most they possibly can, they seldom fail in their engagements, and are punctual in the performance of their promises.

Austere in their manners, exact observers of the precepts of their religion, ignorant and superstitious, they need only education . . .

- 46 The graves of the Armenians are very close to each other, and are covered by a marble sculptured in relief in its upper part, representing a vase of flowers, the instrument which designates the rank and profession of the deceased, and an inscription in Armenian characters. A person must have died very poor if he have on his grave only a simple stone, without any ornament. Frequently is perceived, by the side of the inscription, the figure of a man whose head is cut off; this is a method of perpetuating the remembrance of an injustice, of an act of tyranny on the part of the Turks, and of transmitting it to the most remote posterity. I have often seen in the forenoon, Armenian women weeping and mourning over the grave of a husband, over that of a father, a mother, or a child: the whole family sometimes come thither: not unfrequently too priests come, with the parents of the deceased, to recite, over his grave, prayers for the repose and salvation of his soul. The Armenians, like the Turks, consider it as a duty to wash the body of their dead before they bury them, and almost all of them take care to plant, near the grave, a tree that may shade it one day, and moderate the ardent rage of the sun.

- 58 Although the toil of the environs of Constantinople is everywhere very fit for the vine, for various species of corn, for the mulberry-tree, and for the different fruit-trees of our climates, scarcely any culture is there seen, except on the borders of the channel. The land is tolerably level in the west part of the city; it forms a few rising ground, and some vast plains, on which an industrious and agricultural people would easily find an abundant and varied food: it is uneven and intersected by hills and vales in the northern part, that is to say, from the harbor to the Black Sea. Almost all this place is schistose; the vegetable stratum is more or less thick

and of a tolerably good quality, especially in the valleys and in the places where the soil is of any depth; but whether the mischievous genius of despotism dries up every where the sources of public prosperity, or whether the Turks are not fond of giving themselves up to the culture of the land, and that, in imitation of their forefathers, they prefer the dangerous profession of arms, robbery, or traffic, it is certain that, in all the Ottoman Empire, part of the best lands are | neglected, and that it is the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Arabs who apply themselves 59 more particularly to agriculture, when they are not too much oppressed by the agents of the government, or tormented by pillaging and devastating hordes that the pachas tolerate or cannot repress.

Among the poor Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, the whole family almost always sleep in 65 the same room; but, among the Mussulmans, the apartment of the men is always separate from that of the women.

<In Bechik-Tache, Orta-Keui, Kourou-Tcheshmé, and Arnaoud-Keui> are seen some very 69 handsome houses almost entirely built of wood and variously painted: those belonging to the Turks are in white or red; those of the | Greeks, Armenians, and Jews are of a blackish brown. 70 The latter are not allowed to employ the colors of the Mussulmans: in Turkey the houses, like the garments, distinguish the master from the slave.

The Armenian women, here as elsewhere, live retired, and do not appear in the streets 77 unveiled . . .

If we except the palaces of the ambassadors and a few merchants' houses, the inhabitants 149 of Constantinople have no chimneys in the apartments which they occupy: they warm themselves by means of a brassier in copper or baked earth, called mengal, which they place within reach of their sofas: but in the houses of some Mussulmans, and in almost all those of the Greeks and Armenians, this brassier is placed under a round or square table, covered with several carpets, one of which, wadded and quilted, in printed calico, hangs down to the floor in every direction, and retains the heat under the table: in this case a little charcoal is put into the brassier, and it is covered with ashes, in order to temper the heat.

. . . Whenever it is a little cold, the women seldom quit their tandour, there it is that they pass their day, that they work, that they receive their female friends, that they cause their meals to be served up.

Among this ignorant and ferocious people <of Constantinople>, fire is not unfrequently a 153 mode of expressing their discontent at the dearness of provisions, at the abuse of authority, at a denial of justice, or at the innovations which the government wishes to introduce . . . the Turks, at Smyrna, revenged themselves for the assassination of a janizary, by carrying fire and sword into the quarter of the Europeans, and murdering indiscriminately the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews that they met in the streets. The fire at Pera, which took place in the year seven (1799) is attributed by those who were witnesses of it, to the expedition of the French into Egypt, and still more to the monstrous alliance of the Porte with Russia.

169 Garlic, onion, vinegar, and particularly brandy, are considered by the Greeks, the
 170 Armenians, and the Jews, as preservatives against the plague. Most of them keep in their
 hands some labdanum, an aromatic substance which heat softens and renders more
 odoriferous; they turn it again and again in every way between the fingers, and smell to it
 from time to time, and especially when they are in fear of any dangerous emanations. Some,
 in the same view, carry about them musk, ambergris, or camphire.

186 There are four cases in which inheritance cannot take place: there are when there is,
 1. difference of religion: 2. difference of country: 3. slavery: 4. assassination or poisoning.

187 1. A Christian, a Jew, or a Mussulman cannot inherit the one from the other. A father and
 his sons, or two brothers, of different religion, cannot transmit to each other their successions.
 The Greeks and the Armenians, Schismatic or Roman, being considered by the law, as
 Christians, cannot succeed to each other.

2. By difference of country, is understood Mussulman country, and country not
 Mussulman. A man charged with a mission by the government, or absent for affairs of trade,
 without an intention of expatriating himself, is not excluded from the right of inheritance.

3. A slave cannot inherit from his master, as long as he is in a state of slavery.

4. A person cannot inherit from his parent whom he may have killed or poisoned,
 although he were absolved of the crime.

198 The Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews form between themselves corporations the chiefs
 of which make a few efforts to put a stop to the extortions of a governor, to cause him to be
 recalled or punished; but too frequently their remonstrances remain without effect, or tend
 only to render their situation still worse.

218 It is to the government alone, founded on an oppressive religion, that we must impute the
 knavery of some, the tyranny of others, the vices of all. The Greeks, the Armenians, and the
 Jews, deprived of the rights of citizenship, excluded from civil employments and from military
 service, strangers to the religion on which every thing rests, obliged to redeem every year their
 head by a disgraceful tax,* threatened incessantly with the loss of their life or their fortune,
 and weak and unprotected, have, from their very infancy, learned to dissemble, to give way to
 the smallest shock, to withdraw themselves from force by address, from violence by
 submission. They have been obliged to be false from habit, cringing and vile from fear,
 cunning and knavish from the necessity of living and existing.

The Mussulmans, vain of their superiority, insolent towards unarmed slaves, proud of
 belonging to a religion which inspires contempt for all those who are not admitted into it;
 fanatic, ferocious, and unjust through the effect of that religion; tolerated in the extortions
 which they exercise towards tributary subjects; emboldened even by a government which
 dreads those whom it oppresses; the Mussulmans, like their ancestors, would possess a
 disposition for greatness, heroism, and robbery, had they preserved their morals, their
 courage, and all their fanaticism. But at this day the sale of all employments and the
 precarious tenure of them makes all private persons avaricious, and converts all the

* The karatch.

depositories of authority into oppressors. Justice is venal, because the Cadis have been laid under contribution; the venality of the judges has produced false witnesses; religious zeal is relaxed, courage is worn out, immorality has crept in everywhere: one may say boldly that it has at the present day reached its highest pitch in the towns.

The law of confiscations has frequently occasioned to be considered as criminal men whom birth, chance, or industry had enriched. That which assigns | to the sultan the property 219 of those who receive from him any pay whatever, must, like the other, necessarily have clogged the operations of commerce, inspired fears, and most contributed to the excessive rate of money.

. . . The French merchants have very frequently lamented to see in all operations of commerce, the Jews and Armenians interposed between them and the Mussulmans; but they do not pay attention that, being vested in the customs and languages of the country, these Jews and these Armenians undertook a detail for which the European merchants were not qualified.

Thomas Whaley—1766-1800

Buck Whaley's Memoirs, Including His Journey to Jerusalem. Written by Himself in 1797 and Now First Published from the Recently Recovered Manuscript.

Edited, with introduction and notes, by Sir Edward Sullivan
London, Alexander Moring Ltd., the De La More Press, 1906

A.D. 1797

143 Jewish women are very expert in the art of favoring the Turkish ladies in their amours. They
144 introduce into | their apartments beautiful young men, under the disguise of female slaves,
carrying various kinds of merchandise. Grecian and Armenian ladies enjoy more liberty; yet
they do not often go out.

146 Their <the Turks'> watchmakers are all Armenians, Jews or Franks.



An Armenian lady at home.

[From W. Goodell's *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire* (New York, 1876).]

John Jackson—d.1807

Journey from India, towards England, in the Year 1797; by a Route Commonly Called Over-land, through Countries not Much Frequented, and Many of them hitherto Unknown to Europeans, Particularly between the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, through Curdistan, Diarbek, Armenia, and Natolia in Asia; and through Romalia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, Transylvania, &c in Europe.
London, printed for T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, 1799

A.D. 1797

The greatest part of the trade of this branch <silver and specie> of the Turkish Empire is in 34
the hands of the Armenians, who, when they have a considerable sum on hand, in order to
prevent the Turks from laying hold of it, (which is sometimes the case) export it to India,
where they often receive 12 per cent interest. The interest is usually remitted back in piece
gold, with which they supply the greatest part of the Turkish Empire.

Mardin, situated at the top of a very lofty and rugged mountain, is a city of considerable 151
size, and very populous. The greater part of the inhabitants are | Armenians, who are very 152
industrious, and carry on several manufactories. The city is surrounded by a strong and lofty
wall built with hewn stone . . .

The streets run east and west, and have steps communicating from one to another. The
inhabitants, who seem to be a hospitable and well-disposed people, enjoy a pure air, have as
fair complexions as the people in England, and in general appear ruddy and healthy. Many of
the women are very beautiful, and expose their persons nearly as much as the ladies in Europe.

We left Mardin . . . and descended the north side of the mountain on which the city is 153
built; of which, though very steep and rocky, every little patch of ground capable of
cultivation bore proofs of the industry of the Armenians, in abundance of grapes, apples,
pears, plums of various sorts, cucumbers, melons, and almost all kinds of European fruits and
vegetables.

The Armenian cathedral <of Diarbekir> is a large and handsome structure, about the 161
length of Westminster-hall, but not so wide. The roof is supported by two rows of pillars,
and the whole of the floor is covered with carpets, for even the Turks on entering it pull off
their shoes. The Armenian mode of worship is nearly similar to that of the Roman Catholics;
they have their crucifixes and burning lamps. In the court before the cathedral is a very
handsome fountain, which throws its water to a considerable height.

The Armenians in this country <Kessereek> make a spirit from the grape which they call 175
rackee, and this they sell privately to the Turks.

179 Description of a spinning machine, used at Kessereek and Germilly, in Armenia, by which one man spins two threads, twists the two threads he has spun before, and turns the wheel at the same time.

a The spinner.

b The wheel.

c The three spindles.

d The two threads spinning.

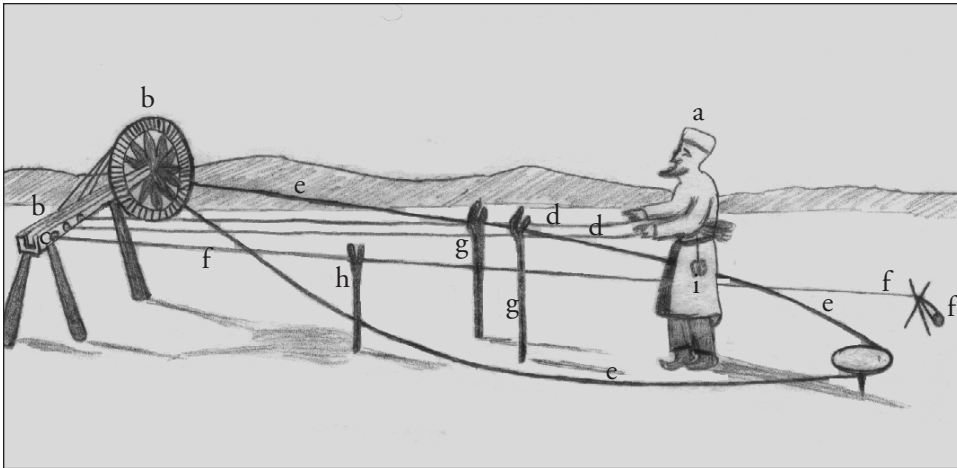
e The strong line with which he turns the wheel fixed to his cumberband, and running in a block fastened to a post behind him.

f His former threads with a plummet thrown over a forked stick behind him.

g Two forked sticks over which he throws his threads while spinning.

h Another forked stick for his former threads.

i The clue on which he winds his work when finished, fastened by a hook to his belt or cumberband.



N.B. The threads may be as long as the spinner chooses, if the ground be suitable. The line which turns the wheel must be twice the length of the ground. He joins his two threads at the end and hooks them to the plummet, then joins his former work, and winds it on his clue as he returns to the wheel; then puts the two threads on the third spindle and begins again.

202 Sivas is a very large populous town, and exceedingly well watered . . .

203 The inhabitants <of Sivas> appear to enjoy much liberty; nor are the women confined, as in some large cities to the eastward. Sivas is nearly as large as Liverpool . . .

206 Tocat is about the size of Sivas, but has much better appearance than any town I had before seen in the Turkish dominions. The houses are all tiled, and chiefly built with wood . . . The Armenians, who are very numerous here, make an excellent red wine, of a flavor something like claret, but much stronger.

James Dallaway—1763–1834

*Constantinople ancient and modern, with excursions to the shores and islands of the archipelago
and to the Troad.*

T. Cadell, junr. & W. Davies, London, 1797

A.D. 1797

In the streets of Constantinople no female appears without her feredjé and mahramah; the 31
former resembles a loose riding coat with a large square cape, covered with quilted silk, and
hanging down low behind, made universally amongst the Turks of green cloth, and amongst
the Greeks and Armenians of brown, or some grave color.

The Armenian, heavy and placid, is roused to animation only by the fight of money, which 76
he cannot withstand.

The Armenians, Jews, and the mechanical Greeks, usually wear blue, which the Turks 77
consider as a dishonorable color, and have their slippers of a dirty red leather . . . The serraffs
or money changers <are> Armenians and Jews.

. . . The festivities of Armenians, a saturnine race, seem to consist chiefly in being 83
intoxicated, and jumping with the preposterous activity of an elephant.

<At Brusa> We then visited the Armenian bishop, who received us with dignity and 176
kindness. It is a tenet of their church, that abstinence in diet and austerity of manners should
increase with preferment; and the life of a prelate is scarcely less rigorous than that of a
primitive anchorite. His convent was pillaged to a great amount, and the church, nearly
rebuilt, burnt, about four months before we saw it, by the Turkish populace, headed by a
woman, and incited by fanaticism. The lower orders amongst the Turks are strangers to
religious toleration, and the government only suffers it by a kind of connivance, as a vehicle
of enormous extortion. As we returned to our lodgings, we were followed by a handsome
present of wine.

The Armenians exist no longer collectively as a nation, once famous for the wealth and 387
luxury of its monarchs; but successively conquered and alternately subject to the Turks and
Persians, they have preserved only their language (even which is disused in Constantinople)
and the remembrance of their ancient kingdom. Dispersed over all Asia, they exert their
natural genius for trade, principally in speculations as money changers; and individuals, who
gain | immense property, prefer living peaceably in Constantinople to returning into their 388
own country. The chief towns of Armenia are Erzeroom, Kars, Trebisonde, and Bayazid; and
the inhabitant of these who carries arms and ranks as soldiers, holds in contempt him of
Constantinople who seldom quits his counter.

Shà Abbas though forcing the Armenians to Ispahan, to avail himself of their industry,

granted them privileges which led them to forget Julfa their original metropolis. They are naturally formed for commerce, cunning among those who they know, reserved with strangers, temperate from economy or avarice, and humble and accommodating for the sake of interest; it may be presumed, that they seldom become bankrupts. Their domestic manners are severe, and their persons, almost without exception, heavy and saturnine. The women, when young, are scarcely inferior in beauty to the Chircassians and Greeks. The precaution, which excludes them from that social intercourse with men . . . prevents their being libertine; but in the capital they participate more of the free manners of the Greeks . . .

Armenia no longer retains any vestige of former splendor, and the inhabitants, miserable at home or exiles from their country, can no longer retrace, even by its shadow, their ancient magnificence. Like the Jews, they suffer under a foreign dominion, and are forced to fly far from their homes and the tombs of their ancestors, to escape a tyranny by which they have been oppressed for more than three centuries.

William Eton—?

*A Survey of the Turkish Empire. In which are considered I. Its government,
II. The state of the provinces, III. The causes of the decline of Turkey,
IV. The British commerce with Turkey. With many other important particulars.*
London, printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1801

<Last decade of the eighteenth century.>

. . . <The Turk> considers himself still more highly elevated as the favorite of heaven, and the 15
greater part of his ferocity as a tyrant is owing to the arrogant and barbarous dictates of his
religion. It is in vain that the panegyrists of Turkey would assure us of the spirit of toleration,
which, according to them, the disciple of the sanguinary Mahomet cherishes in his bosom.

Much has been said in assertion and denial of the despotism of the Turkish government; 17
and arguments the most abstruse and far-fetched have been employed, rather to confound the
meaning of terms, than to establish the authenticity of facts. But if by despotism be meant a
power originating in force, and upheld by the same means to which it owed its establishment;
a power scorning the jurisdiction of reason, and forbidding the temerity of investigation; a
power calculated to crush the growing energies of mind, and annihilating the faculties of man,
in order to insure his dependence, the government of Turkey may be most faithfully
characterized by that name.

Epithets which the Turks apply to those who are not Osmanlis, and which they often use 204
to denominate their nation.

. . . Armenians—t-rd-eaters, dirt eaters, also, pack-carriers (bokchee) . . .

In all the Turkish arts, the traces of superstition are observable. Their architecture does not 215
imitate that of ancient Greece, nor have they corrected one fault, or conceived any idea of
proportion, from the perfect models they have daily before their eyes. In short, they have
never studied architecture; and as to the practice of Europeans, it would be derogatory to the
Muselman dignity to copy infidels. They have taken their notions of general forms from the
Arabs, and have added nothing of their own. The church of St. Sophia, after it became a
mosque, however, is the model by which most of the other mosques in Constantinople have
beet built; and this perhaps was owing to the architects being Greeks or Armenians.

The Armenian jewelers set precious stones, particularly diamonds, to much advantage, 233
with a foil, which, under roses, or half-brilliants, is remarkably beautiful, and is not subject
to tarnish. Their method is as follows: an agate is cut, and highly polished, of the shape
desired; in a block of lead is formed a cavity of about its own size; over this is placed a bit of
tin of the thickness of strong brown paper scraped bright. The agate is then placed on the tin,
over the cavity, and struck with a mallet. The beautiful polish the tin receives is scarcely to be
imagined. This is in general kept a secret . . .

The jewelers, who are mostly Armenians, have a curious method of ornamenting watch cases, and similar things, with diamonds and other stones, by simply gluing them on.

The stone is set in silver or gold, and the lower part of the metal made flat, or to correspond with the part to which it is to be fixed; it is then warmed gently, and the glue applied, which is so very strong that the parts never separate.

This glue . . . may be applied to many purposes, as it will strongly join bits of glass or polished steel . . .

249 Honesty, however, it is said, in some measure distinguishes the Turkish merchant: this may perhaps be true, if we compare him with the crafty Greek, or still more subtle Armenian, who, from the unjust oppressions under which they labor, are induced to retaliate by artifice, on their imperious masters, the source of half the tricking and deception commonly laid to the charge of the lower orders of society.

263 The great causes of this depopulation are, doubtless, the following:

1st. The plague, of which the empire is never entirely free.

2dly. Those terrible disorders which almost always follow it, at least in Asia.

3dly. Epidemic and endemic maladies in Asia, which make as dreadful ravages as the
264 plague itself, and which frequently visit that part of the empire.

4thly. Famine, owing to the want of precaution in the government, when a crop of corn fails, and to the avarice and villainy of the pashas, who generally endeavor to profit by this dreadful calamity.

5th and lastly, the sicknesses which always follow a famine, and which occasion a much greater mortality.

265 . . . <The plague> visits most parts of Asia every ten or twelve years, and carries off an eighth or tenth of the inhabitants, and sometimes a fourth or more. The farther east a country is situated, the less frequently it is visited. It is said, it never goes where the olive tree does not grow.

276 Aleppo (Haleb) is the best built city in the Turkish dominions, and the people are reputed the most polite. The late Dr. Russel (in his Natural History of Aleppo) calculated the number of inhabitants, in his time, at about 230,000; at present there are not above 40 or 50,000. This depopulation has chiefly taken place since 1770.

298 In Armenia Major, and all the neighboring countries, there are whole nations or tribes of
299 independent people, who do not even acknowledge the Porte, or any of its pashas.

William Wittman—?

Travels in Turkey, Asia-Minor, Syria, and across the Desert into Egypt during the Years 1799, 1800, and 1801, in Company with the Turkish Army, and the British Military mission, to which are annexed, observations on the plague, and on the diseases prevalent in Turkey, and a meteorological journal.

London, printed for Richard Philips, 1803

A.D. 1799–1800

To return to Constantinople. Its population, which has been almost always over-rated, 15 certainly does not exceed four hundred thousand souls; and a great part of this population is absorbed by the suburbs; no Frank, or Christian, being allowed to reside in the city, properly so called.

. . . On my return from the barracks, I dined and spent a very agreeable afternoon with 27 Mr. Thornton, an English merchant at Buyukdere. His details relative to the oppression of the ryahs, under which common denomination are comprehended Greeks, Armenians, and indeed every description of Franks or Christians subject to the Turks, were melancholy in the extreme. They are liable to an annual capitation, or poll tax, varying according to their degrees and circumstances, from a guinea and a half to seven shillings and sixpence English money, on the payment of which a certificate is granted them; and this tribute, exacted from them by right of conquest, and considered as the redemption of their heads . . .

In Constantinople, Pera, and the suburbs, there are, it is said, nearly five thousand persons 49 who profess the different branches of the medical art. They are natives of almost every nation, but consist more particularly of Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Italians, and are for the greater part utterly ignorant of the principles either of medicine or of surgery. There are, however, some exceptions to this observation . . .

. . . I walked out with a party, with the intention of crossing over to Constantinople, to 100 make an excursion round the walls. On our reaching Tophana, we witnessed a most daring robbery (committed in the open street, at eleven in the morning, and in the presence of many persons who were passing at the time) by two galangis (seamen) belonging to the Capitan Pacha's fleet. They attacked an Armenian, from whom they took two sequins, and were proceeding to rifle him still further on our coming up. We were armed; and on our manifesting our displeasure at the conduct of these villains, | they suffered the Armenian to 101 depart, but not until they had forced him to kiss one of them, as a token of acknowledgment for their forbearance.

Anonymous

The Costume of Turkey. Illustrated by a series of engravings; with descriptions in English and French.

London, printed for William Miller by William Bulmerand Co., 1804

A.D. 1804?

Plate XXXII—An Armenian

The Turks are not the only nation who live at Constantinople. Its inhabitants consist also of Greeks, Jews, and Armenians, and hence there results a great variety in manners, language, and religion. The Armenians form about one-twelfth part of the population. They reside both in the interior of the city and in the suburbs, particularly in Pera. They are almost all merchants, and some of them to an immense extent, and possess warehouses and correspondents in almost every part of Asia. Their manners are in general very correct, and their engagements may be depended upon, although they are esteemed avaricious. The Armenian is very exact in the performance of every thing relative to religion, and this body of men may be esteemed as containing some of the most useful subjects of the Ottoman empire. These are now almost the only remains of that once powerful and flourishing nation, so noted for the wealth and luxury of its monarchs. The country of Armenia itself no longer retains any vestiges of its former splendor; and the inhabitants, under the pressure of a foreign yoke, are forced to fly far from their native homes, to escape a tyranny they have labored under for more than three hundred years.

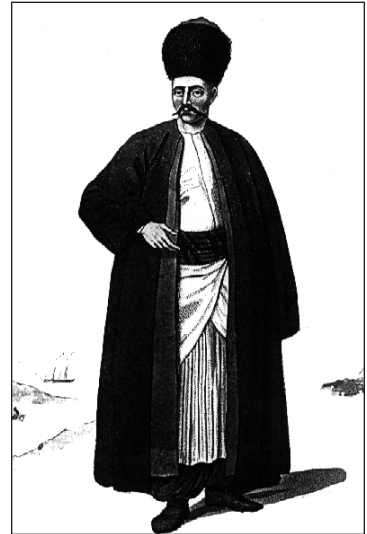
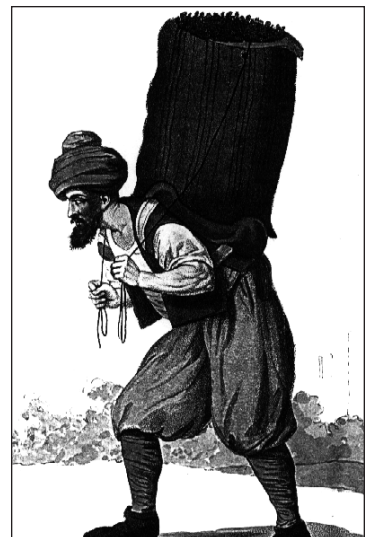


Plate XVII—A Hamal, or common porter

These men are very numerous, particularly at Pera, where they are employed in removing the various goods and merchandise. Those who are of Armenian origin are reckoned the strongest, and carry an immense weight; sixteen of them, (according to Dallaway,) with their arms in some manner interlaced, will frequently carry up the steep declivity from the quay of Galata a cask of wine of such immense weight, suspended by a pole, that each person must support near three hundred pounds. The mode in which they individually carry, is seen in this Plate, and differs from the English, who confine the burden entirely to their shoulders, while the Turks distribute it between the shoulders and the hips.



Adam Neale—d.1832

Travels through some Parts of Germany, Poland, Moldavia, and Turkey.

London, printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, and A. Constable and Co., 1818

A.D. 1805

. . . The Turks and rayahs meet the storm <of plague> undaunted. Greeks, Armenians, and 211
Jews, as being more filthy and intemperate in their diet, and from their commercial habits
fully more exposed, incur as much or even more danger than the Mussulmans themselves. It
is true that whenever the malady reaches a certain height, prayers are publicly offered up in
the imperial mosques; but the bazars and streets continue quite as crowded as before. What
can be done in a country so despotically governed? Should the fear of contagion induce the
inhabitants to put an end to all commercial intercourse, or should the people shut themselves
up with one accord in their own houses, famine would add its ravages to pestilence, and a
public commotion would soon overturn the empire. The Turkish government, like all others
in such a choice of difficulties, prefer the destruction of their subjects to their own overthrow.
Barriers, quarantines, and lazarettoes, have no existence in Turkey, because they are
incompatible with the rigorous habits of despotism; and would require large public granaries,
a wise police, and an hundred collateral establishments, which are never likely to exist in a
Mussulman country. The disease then generally breaks out in Constantinople in spring, and
ceases in autumn, remains dormant during winter, and shows itself again about the same time
in the beginning of the succeeding year.

Now as the fleets from Egypt commonly reach the port of Constantinople with a southerly 212
wind between the latter end of March and the beginning of May, which is also the period of
the Greek Lent, it is then that the plague breaks forth. In its progress, it has been remarked
first to attack the Greeks and Armenians, then the Jews, and lastly the Turks . . .

Consider . . . the fastings and religious observances of the Greeks, a system, perhaps, the 218
most fatal to health that was ever imagined by a nation called civilized. Imagine a race of
people oppressed and plundered, and having only 139 days in the year which are not
absolutely *meager*, while during the remainder their subsistence is putrid salt fish, and other
unhealthy viands. Look at the Armenians; their religious observances are scarcely less severe;
and the filthy abominations of the Jews are too notorious to require any observation. Lastly
the Turks themselves, the most rigid of predestinarians, bigoted to their religion, and quite
ignorant of natural phenomena; is it then matter of astonishment that this uncivilized
assemblage, fasting all day, gorging all night, wallowing in sensuality, or expiring from misery,
clothed constantly in animal substances, generally in a decaying state, without changes of
linen*, and hovering all winter over the effluvia of charcoal | should be the victims of 219
pestilential poison.

* The Turkish, Armenian, and Greek women wear silken chemises, which are seldom washed.

- 236 These protections <of European powers> being most advantageous to rich Armenians, Jews, and Greeks, were always eagerly coveted by the native merchants, bankers, and others, who wished to secure their lives and property from the oppressive grip of Turkish laws.
- 254 The Turkish carpenters were absent on Fridays, the Jewish laborers on Saturdays, and the Armenian masons on Sundays. The Greek plasterer had a holiday on Monday, and the Catholic whitewasher on Tuesday; so that a villa which in England would have been completely finished in a few weeks, occupied in Turkey several years in building. Moreover, ere it was well completed, the luckless owner, if for instance a rich Armenian banker, might have been strangled by order of the Grand Signor, his fortune confiscated, and his Bosphorian villa appropriated as a gift to some greedy Pacha, or as the dowry of a favorite slave from the seraglio. But the swallow will still return to build her nest on the Gothic pinnacle in spite of the ruin occasionally caused by the merciless hurricane . . .
- 256 A short time before my arrival in Turkey, several young men, Christian *rayahs*, had
257 disappeared in a mysterious manner in Pera. Soon afterwards, suspicion happening to fall upon an old Zingani woman, the wife of a Janissary, the police entered their dwelling, and found concealed, in an underground cellar, the body of a lusty young Armenian, recently strangled, and exactly in the situation that the Italian painters are accustomed to portray St. Bartholomew. It then appeared in evidence, that this Turkish "Canidia," had been for a length of time in the habit of preparing a very admirable cosmetic, a sort of "Pommade Divine," which she sold at a high price to the Scheherazades of the seraglio, to preserve their beauty, and the chief ingredient in which was fresh human fat, procured in this diabolical manner. The wretched couple soon after were impaled alive.

J. Griffiths—?

Travels in Europe, Asia Minor, and Arabia.

London, printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies; and Peter Hill, Edinburgh,
by John Brown, Edinburgh, 1805

A.D. 1805?

We had proceeded but a small distance below the castle <near Constantinople> when an 40
Armenian and a Jew broker came on board. They had been frequently employed by the
captain in his previous voyages; and had no sooner heard of what his present cargo was
composed, than they sat down to consult upon the mode of its disposal. It appeared that the
Jew had been authorized to treat for certain articles; and the Armenian, therefore, was
decidedly to act for | the Captain's interest. The scene which ensued was truly comic. They 41
covered their hands with a cotton handkerchief; and the offers for purchase were made by
signs understood only between themselves. Upon any disagreement, the loudest vociferation
and apparent transports of passion took place; nor could any one imagine that they were
seriously engaged in the purchase and sale of a valuable cargo. This ludicrous performance
continued more than half an hour, when each departed in his boat to consult with the
merchants, and promised an early return to the ship.

The Bezesten or exchange is a building of considerable extent, where second-hand goods 84
chiefly are disposed of. And here the *Seroffs* or money-changers keep their banks for the
exchange of all kinds of money and bullion. Jews and Armenians most | commonly act as 85
brokers; but many of the latter are engaged in commercial speculations upon their own
account.—Not only in the Bazars and Bezestens particular parts are appropriated to particular
dealers, but, generally speaking, in all the towns and villages each different trade occupies a
certain street or portion of street, where others of dissimilar avocations do not interfere with
them.

Thomas Macgill—?

*Travels in Turkey, Italy, and Russia during the years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806,
with an account of some of the Greek islands.*

In two volumes. Vol. I, London, printed for John Murray and Archibald Constable and Co.
Edinburgh, 1808

<Smyrna, June, 1804>

86 . . . The population of Smyrna is about 130,000 souls; of these, about 70,000 are Turks, 30,000 Greeks, 15,000 Armenians, 10,000 Jews, and 5,000 strangers and Franks. As the town has not for five years past been visited by the plague, the population is at present greater than usual.

<Constantinople, 1805>

181 Formerly, no persons, but such as were attached to the different missions, could build or reside in Pera; now it has become the abode of most of the Greek and Armenian merchants of respectability, who find they have more liberty here than under the government of Turks, for, in Pera, the inhabitants are judged by the laws of the nation which protects them, or by its ambassador, and the Turks seldom interfere, unless in the event of a disturbance.

182 . . . Thousands of Jews and Christians of every denomination have their houses in the town <of Galata>, which they prefer to Constantinople, as most of the buildings are fire-proof, which is not the case in the city.

187 The Armenians are very quiet and inoffensive; most of them attend the Roman Church. The Turks disturb no one with their religion . . .

256 Indigo is an article in almost universal use in this country from the great number of the blue dresses worn here, particularly by the Greek and Armenian subjects . . .

257 Pepper, though it has not a very extensive sale, has been frequently a profitable branch of
258 trade . . . the | Armenians having brought large quantities to the Levant, the price is hereby considerably reduced . . .

261 Of late, some French and Genoese who have studied the British taste, have done great injury to her trade in jewelry, and the Armenians, who are in general cunning workmen in gold, have now also learned to set enamel with much neatness.

M. Tancoigne—?

A Narrative of Journey into Persia, and Residence at Teheran: Containing a Descriptive Itinerary from Constantinople to the Persian Capital; also a Variety of Anecdotes, Illustrative of the History, Commerce, Religion, Manners, Customs of the Inhabitants, Military Policy of the Government, &c.

From the French of M. Tancoigne
London, Printed for William Wright, 1820

A.D. 1807

Nicomedia is eighteen leagues east of Constantinople, at the extremity of a gulf, to which it has given its name. This city, the residence of a Pacha, contains about twenty thousand inhabitants, Greeks, Armenians, and Turks, the latter forming the chief part of the inhabitants. The Armenians have their houses on a hill which commands the town, and whence some ruins are perceived.

Tournefort estimated the population of Angora at forty thousand Turks, five thousand Armenians, and six hundred Greeks. But it is by no means so great at present; I do not believe it exceeds thirty thousand souls, including the Armenians, whose number surpasses that of the Mussulmen . . .

The women of Angora appeared extremely beautiful: I allude of course to the Armenians, who walk about with their faces uncovered . . .

This town <Neo Cesarea>, whose name has been disfigured as usual by the Turks, is now called Niksar; it is situated on a very steep hill, eleven leagues eastward of Tocat . . . It contains about one thousand inhabitants, of which half are Armenians and Greek Christians.

We terminated our day's march at Ermeni Keui, an Armenian village surrounded with rich pastures: during the night the cattle are put into enclosures near the houses, and guarded by dogs, which are really giants of their species . . .

Ermeni Keui is the first village of the Pachalik of Erzerum.

37

Endres is built in the bottom of a fine plain, and backed by mountains which were then covered with snow: this village is rather large, all its houses are built with pebbles, and terraced. Three fourths of the inhabitants are Armenians.

<Kara Hisar> contains ten thousand inhabitants, amongst whom there are a few Greeks and Armenians. All the houses are terraced, but the streets are badly paved, dirty and narrow. There is a manufactory of sail cloth here, that is sent for sale to the ports of the Black Sea.

On the 18th <of October, 1807>, the caravan halted at Kerkif, a large town of Turks and Armenians, where all the houses are constructed of stone.

43

45 On the 22d, we again forded the above river <Euphrates>, and traveled along its bank during part of the day: we ended our day's march at Achkala, an Armenian town, in which are also some Mussulmen. A detachment of delis, a kind of light cavalry, came to levy contributions on the unfortunate inhabitants: though it was said they had pillaged several caravans on their passage, they offered no violence to our party.

We passed the night at Achkala, two of my traveling companions and myself, in the house of a poor Armenian peasant, where we slept promiscuously on the same carpet with his wife and daughters. This honest villager had little idea of the torments of jealousy, and we took good care not to abuse his confidence.

46 Erzerum, the capital of Turkish Armenia, is, next to Bagdad, the largest city of Turkey in Asia . . .

47 Erzerum is more than three hundred league from Constantinople, and about sixty from the Persian frontiers. It is supposed to contain more than one hundred thousand inhabitants, and is one of the most opulent cities in Asia, from its commerce in copper, furriery, madder, drugs, &c. which attract a great concourse of foreigners, especially Persians. Its bazars are the largest and best furnished of any we have seen since our departure from Constantinople; but, with the exception of a very few, the streets are dirty and badly paved, and the air in the neighborhood of the slaughter houses, must be deadly in times of contagion. The plague carried off as many as four hundred persons each day, previous to our arrival . . .

This city is surrounded with high walls, and deep ditches; the seraglio or palace of the Pacha forms a second fortress in the center of the first. The suburbs without the ramparts are chiefly inhabited by Armenian artisans.

The territory of Erzerum would produce all kinds of grain in abundance, if better cultivated . . .

52 Alvare . . . is an Armenian village, not far from Hassan Kale, a strong town of about five thousand souls, near the borders of the Araxes, four leagues from Erzerum, where there is a spring of hot water . . .

53 The road becomes better, according as you approach Mala Suleiman, a village inhabited by Catholics, who are rather numerous in this part of Armenia.

56 Iandjalu, and all the villages of this plain, were completely pillaged, two days before <on Nov. 1, 1807>, by the Curdes, who infest this unfortunate country. Oppressed, like the Greeks, and like them incapable of opposing the least resistance to the violence of those barbarians, who prohibit them from possessing arms, the Armenians bear patiently, and without daring to utter a complaint, the most revolting outrages.

The Curdes are a wandering people, originally from Arsacia: their usual residence is in Kurdistan, which comprises a part of Armenia Major, Diarbeker, or Mesopotamia, and extends on the east as far as Persia, and on the south to the environs of Bagdad.

58 On the 2d in the morning, and at a short distance from Iandjalu, we met numerous and well armed caravans. Further on, the remains, still smoking, of several villages, would have

been sufficient to inform us of the fresh outrages of the Curdes, had not a crowd of unfortunate Armenian women, flying with their children, told us that a considerable body of these robbers had just murdered their husbands and sons, burnt their dwellings, and pillaged a caravan on the road which we had to pass.

. . . We passed through the village, whose unfortunate inhabitants we had met: it was still in flames; and we saw nothing on all sides but pictures of death and desolation. We afterwards proceeded to the Three Churches, or Utch Kilisia, which we felt some curiosity to see . . .

Utch Kilisia is surrounded with thick walls, and defended by towers, where sentinels watch 59 day and night: on the least alarm, the whole village assembles, and the fire of musquetry, added to that of some small pieces of artillery, is a terror to the Curdes, making them respect this district. In the center of the little fortress is the convent of the Three Churches, also surrounded with walls: its gates are of iron of a prodigious thickness. The monks who inhabit it, are about forty in number, and in their exterior resemble soldiers more than ministers of the gospel. Armed with pistols and long carbines, they also keep watch like the villagers, and are not the worst defenders of the place.

We passed through the court yard of the convent between a double row of these warlike monks, who permitted us to visit their cells and church. The latter, large and well built, is surmounted with a steeple, a rare thing in Turkey. The interior is shabbily decorated: very indifferent pictures, representing various subjects analogous to religion, compose all its ornaments.

Diadin is a large fortified town, inhabited by Turks and Armenians. Its earthen ramparts 60 had not preserved it from an invasion of the Curdes very lately; and our unfortunate Armenian host had lost his wife a few days before, assassinated in an atrocious manner by one of those villains . . .

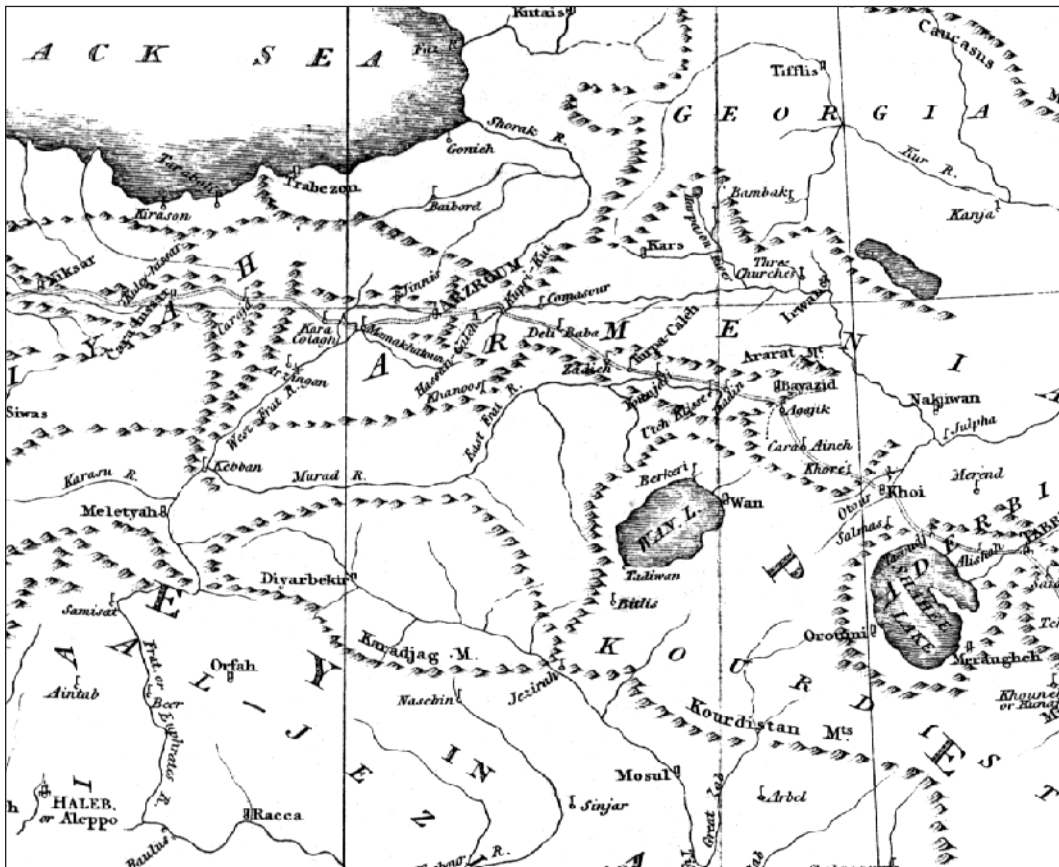
Baiazid is the last town of Turkey, in the Armenian portion of Asia: it is three hundred and 61 sixty leagues from Constantinople, and three from the Persian frontier. Built like an amphitheater, on the declivity of a very steep rock, its position is impregnable, and improper hands could never be taken, except by famine. This town contains from twelve to fifteen thousand inhabitants, of which the greater part are Armenians. All the houses are built of clay, and it is impossible to take a step in the streets without ascending or descending at the risk 62 of your neck.

<1809>

This population <of five hundred thousand of Constantinople> is composed of Turks and 366 raia, or subjects of the Grand Signor (who are not Mussulmen) of various nations . . .

The Armenians are architects, sarras or bankers, goldsmiths, bakers, barbers, tailors, 367 house-painters, etc. They are men of a patient and peaceable disposition, bold speculators, and very industrious; but they love money beyond all expression; their conversation constantly turns on the means of gaining it; their countenances, naturally as serious as those of the Turks, cheer up at the sight of a para, and they are so accustomed to count this small money on the little tables which serve them for counters, that the thumb and fore-finger of their right hand become crooked from it.

The Armenians are otherwise very worthy people, and though rapacious, they are in general reputed to be honest. There is a great number of Catholics amongst the Greeks and Armenians of Constantinople. The latter are fervently devout, and I believe there is but little bigotry in their religious zeal; the most wealthy form pious foundations, and give a great deal to the churches.



A partial reproduction of James Morier's map.

[From James Morier's A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the years 1808 and 1809 (London, 1812).]

James Justinian Morier—1780?–1849

A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the Years 1808 and 1809; in which is Included, some Account of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Mission, under Sir Harford Jones, Bart. K.C. to the Court of the King of Persia.
London, printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1812

A.D. 1808–1809

In Arz-roum there are from four to five thousand families of the Armenian, and about one hundred of the Greek, persuasion: the former have two churches, the latter one. There are perhaps one thousand Persians who live in a caravanserai, and manage by caravans the trade of their own country. Trebisond is the port on the Black Sea, to which the commerce of Constantinople is conveyed. The Turkish inhabitants of Arz-roum are fifty thousand families. This amount of the population I give from the authority of a well-informed Armenian . . . 322

The neighboring district <to Purtun> however, in consequence of the depredations of the Delhis, and the recent incursions of the Courds, was entirely unpeopled; and we learned that the village of Mama Khatoun, at which we intended to take up our quarters for the night, was in the same manner deserted. 327

The popular story of the erection of those different buildings <in Mama Khatoun> is as follows: a wealthy Turk fell in love with an Armenian woman of this village, but as she doubted the extent of his affections, she required as a proof before she yielded her consent to marry him, that he should build a caravanserai, mosque, etc. at the place of her birth. The Turk immediately accepted the conditions; and, proving that his love was equal to his wealth, raised these structures, and called them by her name, Mama Khatoun. 328

At the distance of about twenty miles we came to a large but completely deserted village, called Moss. Its inhabitants had fled the day before to their mountains, from the depredation of the Courds. Near it are very ancient tombs, some placed evidently over the bodies of Christians, for among the ornaments on some of the stones is carved the cross. One has an Armenian inscription. 329

John Galt—1779–1839

Voyages and Travels in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811, Containing Statistical, Commercial, and Miscellaneous Observations on the Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Serigo, and Turkey.

London, printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1812

A.D. 1810

- 266 The Greek and Armenian merchants retire to their private houses before sunset; the Turks generally earlier; and the gates <of the bazars> are closed before dark.
- 275 We <Europeans> may surpass the Armenian chintz-printers in the patterns, but they are fully our masters in other respects. There is a softness in the effect of their blocks, that I think more likely to be admired in competition, than the clear exact lines with which our designs are finished. They wash their printed calicoes in sea water in order to cleanse them . . . They have a method of printing muslins, by tracing them with the pencil over drawings, which produce an effect greatly superior to that of printing. It is chiefly handkerchiefs that they ornament in this way; and they render them a great value . . . The Armenians obtain their best patterns and blocks from France, or from French artists.

John Cam Hobhouse—1786–1869

Travels in Albania and other Provinces of Turkey in 1809 & 1810.

The Right Hon. Lord Broughton

In two volumes. Vol. II, London, John Murray, 1858

A.D. 1809–1810

<In Smyrna> About nine years ago a Venetian killed a Janissary and fled to a vessel in the 33 harbor. The Turks, after various attempts to get at the murderer, set fire to the Frank town; and finding the merchants had escaped to the ships, wreaked their vengeance on the Greeks and Armenians, three hundred of whom they slew in the streets.

The courtesans of the suburbs <of Constantinople> are chiefly Greeks, although there are 232 some Armenians, and a few of the lowest class are Mahometans.

The Armenians are the most respectable of the Christian inhabitants of the Levant. The 269 depopulation of a whole country has often been effected by those monsters to whom the Author of all events has, at different times, delivered the universe; but no great and violent work of tyranny was ever attended with less excess, or has produced more beneficial consequences, than the laying waste of Armenia by Sha Abbas the Great, and the partial deportation of its inhabitants from the frontiers to the interior provinces of Persia. By this decisive measure the monarch prevented the encampment of the Turkish armies on the borders of his dominions, and, by giving a new spirit and employment to the transplanted nation, increased the wealth of his empire, at the same time that he bettered the condition, and I added to the importance, of a large portion of his subjects. 270

The Armenians, who, from being the most warlike of the Asiatics, had, after their subjection by the Persians, become the patient cultivators of the soil, from the period of this forced emigration substituted commerce for agriculture, and gave a striking, and perhaps a solitary example, of the competence of a powerful individual to change the habits and character of a whole people. Some of this nation were to be found in Constantinople in the latter periods of the Greek empire; but the Armenian merchant, now so well known in every quarter of the globe, was created by that prince when he established the great colony of Julfa, in the suburbs of Ispahan; and to the same act the European world is indebted for an increased and perpetual supply of the most precious and costly of all Oriental commodities. The growth of silk increased in every province of Persia, and the new settlers, applying the same prudence and industry to the concerns of commerce as they had before employed upon the labors of agriculture, not only enriched themselves and added to the revenues of the state, but by an intercourse with more civilized nations in their long and painful journeys, and an interchange of their merchandise for the manufactures of Europe, improved the taste, and much increased the comforts, of all their fellow-subjects. Of mild but persevering tempers, sober and patient in all their pursuits, honest although skillful in their dealings, accommodating in their habits and manner without losing their individual character, they did

271 not fail to acquire a reputation in every country to which | they were directed by the enterprise of traffic; and the preference shown for those of their nation in all commercial transactions soon made them settlers in many of the flourishing cities of Asia and Europe. They had not to make any sacrifice of patriotic feelings, for they had no country, and they are now, no less than the Jews, a dispersed people, living in strange lands; and in Turkey, notwithstanding their numbers, they may be considered rather as a sect than a nation.

The above eulogy of the Armenians must be confined to their mercantile character. Living under despotic masters, being of a more saturnine and phlegmatic disposition than the Greeks, and not having, like their fellow-subjects, any interest in the soil, or desire of emancipation, they have the temperament of contented slaves, and their minds display no other activity than what is sufficient to assist them in the pursuit of one only object—the attainment of wealth. Their boasted literal language, which is comparatively a late invention, although understood by only a few of their *Vertabiets*, or Doctors, has not contributed to the advancement of science or any branch of learning. Like the Greeks, they are debased by their subjection not only to the Turks, but to their priests, and by the tyranny of a mean and absurd superstition. “All the world knows,” says Tournefort (to whom the reader, without consulting the work of the Marchese Serpos, may refer for an account of this people), “that the Armenians are Christians, and that they would be very good Christians, were it not for the schism which separates them from us.”* It seems that their principal heresy consists in some misunderstanding of the hypostatic union, a sneaking attachment to the Eutychian doctors Dioscores and Barsuma, and an avowed excommunication of the council of Chalcedon; in a
 272 belief of the lesser gospels, | of the doctrine of Origen relative to the creation of souls at the beginning of the world, of the millennium, and, lastly, in a denial of purgatory and a present paradise.

The practical errors of their church are: a scandalous participation of the communion by infants, an abominable adoration of the elements before consecration, a sacrilegious use of confession, the absurd administration of extreme unction to the dead, and, for the most part, only to priests, and an ordination of persons unprepared for the sacred office. But neither these theological vices, nor the adoption of many Greek and Jewish ceremonies, nor the quarrels of the Patriarchs of Itchmiadzin and Jerusalem for the monopoly of the chrism† (or holy oil) can be so revolting to a Protestant Englishman as the dogma which comprehends all virtue, practical and religious, in a strict attention to the duty of abstinence.

Each Wednesday and Friday are fast-days. Besides the four great Lents, they have four other fasts of eight days each, preparatory to the feasts of Christmas, the Ascension, Annunciation, and St. George’s-day, during the whole of which they eat nothing but roots. The bishops eat flesh and fish but four times a year; the archbishops abstain from both altogether; and as ecclesiastical honors and fasting augment in equal proportions, it may be expected, as Tournefort observes, that the patriarchs must almost die of hunger. There is,
 273 however, a considerable portion of the | Armenians to whom the above charge of heresy

* *Voyage du Levant*, tom. ii. p. 396, lettre xx.

† Formerly the oil could only be manufactured by the Patriarch of Itchmiadzin: Jacob, a bishop of Jerusalem, got himself appointed Patriarch of Jerusalem by the Grand Vizier about 1660, and commenced making the chrism also.

cannot apply. About the year 1320 the labors of Father Bartholomew, a Dominican friar, converted many of this nation to the Catholic faith, and to subjection to Pope John XXII; and since that period the missionaries have proceeded with unequal, but generally increasing, success. A Catholic patriarch has been established at Racsivan, and another at Caminieci, since the union of the Polish Armenians with the church of Rome in 1666. Monasteries of religious of the Dominican order are to be found wherever any of the nation are settled; and in some places they are enabled by their power, as well as inclined by their duty, to brand those of their original church with the name of schismatics. At Constantinople the churches are in possession of the latter, and the Catholics frequent the Roman chapel, although until lately they were more powerful than the other party, the patriarch being a favorer of their persuasion.

The hatred subsisting between the two sects may be easily conceived; it frequently breaks out in violence and persecution. A late patriarch punished a convert from his church to the Catholics with five hundred blows on the soles of the feet; a sentence which he was enabled to inflict, as the holder of the dignity is invested by the Porte with entire authority (except of life and death) over all Armenians. Neither bribery nor intrigues are spared to obtain such power, notwithstanding the accompanying obligation of abstinence; and there have been instances of two rival patriarchs enjoying, or rather dividing, the office between them. In spite of the difference of their creed, the Roman Catholics, for the sake, it is presumed, of conversion, have assimilated themselves to the temper, and have in some measure adopted the severity, of the schismatics, to a degree not required by the Latin church. The first class of the Roman Armenians at Constantinople I assume the manners of the Franks, but in the other 274 orders it is difficult to distinguish between the two sects.

Some of the customs of the Armenians are no less striking to a Frank stranger than those of the Turks. Their women are equally enveloped when abroad, and are to be distinguished from the Mahometan females only by the color of the square capes of the feredjas which hang behind their backs; and their marriage ceremonies are as tedious and fantastical as those of any of the Orientals. These lasting alliances, which are settled between the parents during the infancy, and sometimes before the birth, of the parties, are concluded and consummated before the bridegroom has a view of the face of his spouse; and the disguise is in some instances continued after the marriage; but, unless the honest visitors at Pera are much deceived, the extreme delicacy of the females is reserved only for their husbands. Their constant use of the bath, and other personal habits, together with the little peril of an amour with a Christian compared with a Mahometan intrigue, render them the unsuspected and ready substitutes for the Turkish ladies, in the hands of a class of people which may always be met with in any large City.

Such of the settlers as have attained considerable wealth, although their appearance in Constantinople is that of the honest mechanic, live in much splendor in their villas on the Bosphorus and at Belgrade, and, during the feasts of their church, indulge freely in the pleasures of the table; but a late writer was not a little seduced by the charms of a simile when he declared that "their festivity seems to consist chiefly in being intoxicated, and jumping about with the preposterous activity of an elephant."*

* <J. Dallaway> *Constantinople, Ancient and Modern*, <London, 1797> p. 83.

275 The Armenian cemeteries in the neighborhood of the capital, and especially that behind the walls on the road leading to Selivria, present a specimen of one of the scandalous customs in which, notwithstanding some pretensions to orthodoxy, these people continue to indulge.* At the tombs may be seen the relations of the deceased in all the attitudes of grief, from the torpor of mute despair to the agitation of uncontrolled sorrow. The men stand at the foot of the grave, their arms folded, their heads upon their chests, and the tears rolling down their cheeks; whilst the women are seated on the ground, or prostrate on the flat tombstones, beating their breasts, and lamenting aloud. A solitary mourner is sometimes found weeping and praying amongst the sepulchers; but on stated days the ceremony is general, and the priests attend during the performance, which concludes, somewhat unexpectedly for strangers, with music, dancing, and feasting. The chief Armenians of Constantinople are, as well as the Jews, money-brokers (sarraffs), and they receive a small premium for examining the coin in the many bargains which go through their hands. They also buy the specie when cried down and at a low price, and re-issue it in the loans with which they accommodate the Turks at the exorbitant interest of between twenty and thirty per cent. This is the chief source of their wealth. Many of their corn-merchants are in good circumstances, and also their goldsmiths, as only a few of any other nation exercise that trade. There are Armenian surgeons, physicians, and apothecaries. The greater number of bakers are of their nation. They are the chief house-builders, masons, joiners, turners, braziers, and locksmiths; and as porters 276 they show themselves the most laborious, and, perhaps, the strongest people in the world. Sixteen of them, eight before and eight behind, with their arms extended across on each other's shoulders, will carry a barrel of wine slung on four poles, throwing three hundred weight upon each man.† They march in a quick lock-step, accompanying each pace with the groan of a pavior, and apparently in the last agony of exertion. The Armenians are also water-carriers, sherbet-sellers, boatmen, fishermen, silk-twisters, ribbon-weavers, and tent-makers, and are accounted the best farriers and horse-breakers in the country. As chintz-printers and muslin-painters they surpass most European artists, but the blocks and patterns are French. Previously to figuring their linens or cottons, they polish them with a paste of fine flour, and, as has been noticed by a contemporary traveler, they wash their printed calicoes in sea-water, to cleanse them from the gum used in preparing the colors.‡ On the whole, the Armenians are the most industrious and useful subjects in the Ottoman empire.

* Notwithstanding they have some errors worth to be rejected, and some scandalous customs besides. So you shall see them here and there cry over the graves of their deceased friends, etc. (*Dr. Leonhart Rauwolf's Travels into the Eastern Countries*, part iii. chap. 14, Of the Armenians and their Religion.) The said traveler was of the reformed religion, and a good herbalist, but a believer in Prester John and the Unicorn.

† *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, p. 128.

‡ *Voyages and Travels* by John Galt, p. 275, 4to. Mr. Galt adds that he has seen squares of muslin not worth ten shilling raised in value by the labor of the printer to upwards of a hundred.

Francois Charles Hugues Laurent Pouqueville—1770–1838

Travels in the Morea, Albania, and other Parts of the Ottoman Empire, Comprehending a General Description of those Countries; their Productions; the Manners, Customs, and Commerce of the Inhabitants: a Comparison between the Ancient and Present State of Greece: and an Historical and Geographical Description of the Ancient Epirus.

Translated from the French by Anne Plumptre
London, printed for Henry Colburn, 1813

A.D. 1812?

<In Constantinople> scherbet-venders and silk spinners are Turks, Armenians, and Jews. 288

Druggists, surgeons, tobacco-merchants, and fishermen are Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews.

Physicians are Turks, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and Franks.

Bakers are Turks, Armenians, and Albanians. 289

Perfumers are Armenians and Jews.

Goldsmiths are Armenians, and some Greeks.

Architects and dyers are Armenians and Greeks.

Ribbon-makers are Armenians and Colchians.

Boatmen are Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Colchians.

. . . The mortuary stones of the Armenians, besides inscriptions, have emblematic figures 305
engraved upon them, indicating the situation or profession of the deceased. On the greater
part are to be seen either the rule and compasses, or the gold weights; which proves . . . that
this nation furnishes most of the masons, architects, and changers of gold and silver.

Robert Walpole—1781–1856

Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, and other Countries of the East.

Edited from manuscript journals by Robert Walpole

The second edition, London, printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818

A.D. 1795–1812?

- 6 The territorial wealth of this country is so great, the climate so various, that few parts of the world would enter into competition with European and Asiatic Turkey, if a better direction and a greater encouragement were given to the industry of the inhabitants. The activity of the Greek and Armenian merchants would extend the internal trade, and open new sources of prosperity. But the spirit of enterprise and commercial speculation, is checked by the insecurity of property, and by the defects and abuses of the administration of the affairs of the provinces.
- 19 Turks, Jews, Greeks, and Armenians are associated in many cities or corporations for the purpose of watching over their separate interests; and in this manner they are frequently able to check the Pasha in the dishonest exercise of his power. By their united exertions they have been able to obtain from the government his removal. The hand of violence is always suspended over the rich in this country, as nothing is to be gained from the inferior classes of subjects; pretenses therefore for seizing the wealth of the great are readily admitted; and the governor is removed or obliged to part with some of his ill-gotten treasures.
- 32 *Note, respecting the Massacre of the Mamelukes by the Turks, in the year 1811. Extracted from a letter written by a Gentleman in Cairo to the Hon. Frederic North, on the very day on which the event happened.*

Nothing can be imagined more dreadful than the scene of the murder. The Mamelukes had left the Divan, and were arrived at one of the narrow passages in their way to the gate of the citadel, when a fire from 2,000 Albanians was poured in upon them, from the tops of the walls and in all directions. Unprepared for any thing of the sort, and embarrassed by the want of room, they were capable of scarcely any resistance; a few almost harmless blows were all they attempted, and those who were not killed by the fire, were dragged from their horses, stripped naked; with a handkerchief bound round their heads, and another round their waists, they were led before the Pasha and his sons, and by them ordered to immediate execution. Even there the suffering was aggravated, and instead of being instantly beheaded, many were not at first wounded mortally; they were shot in different parts of their bodies, with pistols, or stuck with daggers; many struggled to break loose from those who held them; some succeeded, and were killed in corners of the citadel, or on the top of the Pasha's harem. Others, quite boys of twelve or fourteen years, cried eagerly for mercy, protesting with very obvious truth that they were innocent of any conspiracy, and offering themselves as slaves to the Pasha: all these, and in short every one, however young, and incapable of guilt, or however old, and tried in his fidelity, the most elevated and the most obscure, were hurried before the

Pasha, who sternly refused them mercy, one by one, impatient until he was assured the destruction was complete. Here, then, is an end of the Mamelukes: and this is the Pasha who piques himself on his clemency. I know nothing in the whole of this miserable scene more distressing than the situation of the wives of the Beys; for to distinguish in every particular this tumult from all others, even the harems have not been respected; and these unfortunate women, driven from their apartments which they thought a kind of sanctuary, and stripped of nearly all their clothes, deprived of every refuge, are still wandering, without a protector, without a home, and even without bread.

They say, six or seven hundred are already killed, and a proclamation has been cried through the town, enjoining every one to deliver up any Mameluke, who may be concealed in his house, under pain of death, and the confiscation of his property.

<1795, from the letter of Professor Carlyle to the Bishop of Durham>

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In European Turkey the Latins and Armenians (except in the town of Constantinople alone, where there are undoubtedly a very large quantity of Armenians,) bear no proportion to the Greeks. The Latins I am informed by the Vicar-General here, do not amount to more than 40,000. The Greeks in Europe certainly out-number the Turks in a ratio of three or four to one. The whole number of them according to the best information I can procure, amounting to about three millions and an half. In Asia, except upon the sea coasts and the islands, the number of the Greeks is very considerable, but the Armenians are found in every town from the confines of Tartary to Egypt, and in their habits and modes of life approach so nearly to those of the Turks that they are not easily at the first view distinguished from them. In Syria there are few persons to be found of either the Latin or the Greek communions, except those who are established in the neighborhood of some convent. The Armenians are much more widely dispersed, and as I was informed by the Patriarch of that nation at Jerusalem, (a most respectable person who died of the plague at Jaffa, only ten days after I left that place,) constitute in Persia a very large part of the inhabitants. The population of the city of Jerusalem I believe I obtained pretty accurately; it consists of 9,000 Mahomedans, 3,000 Jews, 2,000 Greeks, 600 Latins, 300 Armenians, 100 Jacobites or Syrians, and two or three families of Copts and Maronites. Your Lordship will be surprised at the number of the Jews, and I could not gain any satisfactory account how they existed in a place where they do not cultivate the ground, and where they cannot have much commerce, as it requires a guard to go in safety even half a mile from the walls of the town, and I you cannot travel to any distance without a very considerable escort; had it not been for a caravan of Armenian pilgrims, consisting of four or five hundred persons who were going to Jerusalem to celebrate Easter, whom we joined, I should not have been able to have gotten to that city at all.

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The whole of these sects at present seem to have an equal hatred to the Turks and to the French; to the former for their constant oppression; to the latter for their horrid cruelties they committed in their return from Acre. I myself saw under the walls of Jaffa the mangled and half-buried remains of 5,000 Turks, and near 500 Christians whom Buonaparte massacred upon the shore.

John Macdonald Kinneir—1782–1830

*Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan, in the Years 1813 And 1814;
with Remarks on The Marches of Alexander, and Retreat of the Ten Thousand.*

London, John Murray, 1818

A.D. 1813–1814

- 45 Sever Hissar is a casaban, containing fifteen hundred Turks and four hundred Christians . . . There is an Armenian church, a small but ancient edifice . . .
- 64 The population <of Angora> does not exceed twenty thousand souls, of which number one third are said to be Armenians of the Catholic persuasion. The trade, which has declined of late years, is almost entirely in the hands of the latter, who import cloth and colonial produce from Smyrna, and make their returns in a fine camlet of different colors, manufactured by the inhabitants from the hair of a goat peculiar to this province, and which in fineness resembles silk.
- 74 I . . . received a visit from the Armenian bishop, a middle aged man, perfectly well bred, but apparently very ignorant of the affairs of the world. He came to entreat that I would petition the Pasha in favor of an Armenian who had that morning murdered a Turk; but as it turned out, on inquiry, that the Christian had wantonly drawn his poignard and stabbed the deceased (who was employed in the convent), in the groin, for refusing to execute an order the other had no right to give him. I declined all interference. The murderer was immediately apprehended by orders of the Pasha, who sent a message to the bishop, intimating that the life of the criminal might be saved on condition that the Armenians would pay a ransom of fifty thousand piastres, and it was in consequence of this message that the bishop came to entreat my mediation. I learnt soon after his departure that he and all the principal Armenian merchants had been put under restraint in consequence of their refusal or inability to pay the ransom required; that the assassin had been hung up at the city gate fronting the convent, and that the bishop would be compelled to pay a fine of fifteen thousand piastres. I returned his
- 75 I visit in the evening and found him in great tribulation, as he and all his priests were then in close arrest by command of the Pasha, who, in order to extort money, said that the murderer had confessed that he was suborned by the bishop to commit the act. The latter was however given privately to understand that the affair might be accommodated for a present of ten or fourteen purses, and seeing no other way of getting out of the scrape, he had sent to collect the sum, which was to be made up by subscription. Such is the mode of administering justice in Turkey.
- 76 <In Angora> . . . any person desirous of procuring a small quantity of salt or rice could only purchase it at an enormous price from the Pasha's storehouses, or privately from the Armenians, who were fearful of exposing their merchandise for sale in the bazars.

<Cæsarea's> immediate vicinity is principally peopled by Greeks, who have a convent 103 which contains the tomb of St. Basil, formerly bishop of Cæsarea. The Armenians have two churches in the town, and it is a curious circumstance that the numbers of the latter in the Asiatic cities of the Turkish empire greatly exceed those of the former. They generally resort to the larger towns, where they are employed in commercial pursuits, and, if collected together, would form a populous community. Being a timid and industrious race, they do not, like the Greeks, excite the jealousy of their haughty masters; but their ideas are sordid, and they are devoid of honor or principle in their dealings.

<Ofium Kara Hissar> . . . said to contain twelve thousand families, of which number four 230 hundred are Armenians, 1 and hundred and fifty Greeks. The houses are tolerably well built 231 for a Turkish town, but the streets are exceedingly narrow, and in many parts very steep; there are twelve mosques with minarets, (one of which is a handsome structure,) and a great number of smaller ones; five baths, six khans, and two Armenian chapels. The latter were very old and falling to ruin, but could not be repaired, excepting by a ferman from the Porte, which the pasha refused to procure for the proprietors, without a larger sum of money than they could afford to give him.

Kutaiah, the ancient Cotyæum, is the capital of Anadoli; and although not so populous as 236 formerly, it is still said to contain between fifty and sixty thousand souls, of which number ten thousand are Armenians, and five thousand Greeks: the former live in affluence and plenty, but the latter are miserably poor. I have before had occasion to remark that this is the case in most towns in Turkey, and may easily be accounted for. The Armenians, who are almost always employed in commercial speculation, are a quiet and inoffensive people; seldom or never engaged in any plot against the state, and therefore not regarded with much suspicion. The Greeks, on the contrary, are in general a turbulent race, the authors of frequent revolts and conspiracies; and as they are more numerous and less contented, it has always been the policy of the Grand Signior to keep them as much under subjection as possible: they are also more warlike; 1 and, in the territories of the rebel chiefs, I have been frequently escorted 237 by a body of Greek horse, but never by Armenians, who are, proverbially, cowards.

<In Kutaiah> There are . . . four Armenian and one Greek churches . . .

The inhabitants <of Unieh> are a wealthy people, and consist of Turks, Greeks and 318 Armenians, engaged in a considerable trade with Constantinople and Theodosia, the capital of the Crimea . . . the Greeks have two churches and the Armenians one . . . The exports are cotton stuffs from Tocat and Diarbekr, fruits and wine; the imports, corn and oil from the Crimea, and coffee, sugar and European manufactures from Constantinople.

<Kara Hisar> is said to contain seven thousand inhabitants, of which number eleven 349 hundred are Greeks, and seven hundred Armenians. It is embellished with five khans, two baths, four Greek churches, and an Armenian chapel; the houses rise one above another, and are better built than those in most Turkish towns.

The houses of this place <Balahare> were, as they usually are in the mountains of Armenia, 351

built almost entirely under ground; their roofs were overgrown with grass, and goats and sheep were seen grazing upon them. Notwithstanding the coldness of the night, we preferred
 352 sleeping in a large buffalo wagon to the gloomy and filthy interior of these hovels, where air is only admitted through the door, which is seldom left open; and where cows, sheep, and dogs are accommodated in the same room with the family.

353 The natives, in this part <Byaboot/Baiburt> of Armenia are a short, stout, and active race of men, remarkably dark in their complexions; they are brave and hardy, enured to cold and fatigue, and passionately fond of hunting the stag with which the mountains abound. Those who can afford it wear the Turkish dress, and the lower orders a short jacket and wide pair of trousers, made of brown woolen cloth, manufactured at home, and trimmed with black or red lace; a small cap or turban covers the head, and, instead of shoes, they have a wooden sandal bound with untanned leather. We found them invariably civil, and, considering that they had never seen an European before, they regarded us with very little curiosity. The winters are so severe, that all communication is said to be cut off between Byaboot and the
 354 circumjacent villages for four months of the year, in consequence of the depth of the snow. There is no wood nearer than three days' journey, and cow-dung baked in the sun, and collected during the summer months, is the only fuel which the poor can afford to purchase. Instead of walls and bastions, the town is defended by portable towers made of logs of wood. They are musket proof and of a triangular shape, having raised turrets at each angle.

365/6 Erzerroom, known by the name Arze to the Byzantines, is the largest city in Armenia,* situated in a fine plain about four or five miles south of the Elijak branch of the Euphrates. The houses are small and mean, in some places built of stone, and in others of mud and bricks dried in the sun; the windows being pasted with paper instead of glass. The citadel, which stands almost in the center of the town, (or what may perhaps more properly be termed suburbs,) is three or four miles in circumference; the walls are in good repair, built in the old manner with battlements and angular towers and formed of a gray stone, of a very durable quality, dug in the adjoining mountains. The pasha and the greatest proportion of the Turkish population reside within the walls: there are four gates, but none of them merit a particular description. The inhabitants are said to amount to fifteen thousand families of Mahomedans, three thousand seven hundred Armenians, three hundred Armenian Catholics† and three hundred and fifty Greeks. The Armenians have two churches and a metropolitan . . .

373 The houses at this place <Ginnis or Khinis> are built in every way similar to those described by Xenophon, and the inhabitants, who had never seen an European before, seemed to eye us with the utmost surprise and wonder, but took no liberties. They, as well as most of the inhabitants of the adjacent villages, were Armenians; and, if we might judge from their dress and appearance, had to combat the extremes of poverty and wretchedness. Their church

* We had entered Armenia on passing the lofty range of Cop Dag. I have given a short description of this kingdom in my Persian Memoir.

† None of the Armenian Catholics would allow their children to be vaccinated, as they said the pope had issued a bull prohibiting, under pain of excommunication, the use of vaccination.

was surrounded by a number of uncouth tomb stones bearing the shapes of horses, elephants and cows.

The country, through which we had passed, was for the most part fertile, covered with fine 376
verdure and great quantities of wild asparagus. The inhabitants of Karagool, like most of the
Armenians whom we have seen, appeared to be a rude and inhospitable race, so much so
indeed, that it was not till the Tatar had applied his whip to the kia's back, that he would bring
us a few measures of barley for the horses. The valley of the Morad, at the western extremity
of which the village of Karagool is situated, yields the finest pasturage in the world. The soil
is rich and fruitful, and the climate mild, compared with what it is in general on the table-
land of Armenia; but notwithstanding | these advantages, you hardly perceive a single 377
inhabitant or even a cultivated field, these fertile meadows being now entirely abandoned to
any wandering tribe which chooses to take possession of them.

We descended into a cultivated district called Lees'e, and crossing several small streams, all 378
of which seemed to direct their course towards the Morad, reached at the tenth mile <from
Karagool> an Armenian village of this same name. Most of the inhabitants were busily
employed in the fields, ploughing and harrowing, but they | seemed to possess but little 379
knowledge of agriculture. The plough is simple, made entirely of wood and drawn by four
oxen, the handle is a perpendicular staff, about two feet and a half in height, and the person
who guides the plough stands on a small stage projecting behind.

The pashalic of Moush is small, but it contains a great number of rich districts in addition 380
to the towns of Moush, Betlis, and Aklat. Most of the villages are inhabited by Armenian
Christians, and each parish has its church and ecclesiastic subject to the patriarch of
Erzeroom; but the lower classes are in general so poor, that numbers of them . . . emigrate
into distant countries, and, after an absence of many years, return to enjoy their savings
amongst their families. The women are industrious and spent a great part of their time in
spinning cotton and wool. Their dress consists of a loose pair of colored trousers, a cloak
reaching to the knees, a leathern girdle bound by a large clasp in front, and a handkerchief
tied over the head and ears. The Armenians are partly subject to the Turks, and partly to the
Koordish begs, but equally oppressed by both.

The city <Bitlis> contains about thirty mosques, eight churches, four hummams, and 394
several khans, and the population is said to amount to twelve thousand souls, of which
number one half are Mahomedans, and the remainder Christians of the Armenian persuasion.

<Sert> contains three small mosques, a college and Armenian church; and the inhabitants, 409
who amount to about three thousand, are in part Mahomedans, and in part Christians of the
Armenian, Chaldean (Chaldani), and Nestorian (Nestori) sects.

Robert Ker Porter—1777–1842

*Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, etc., etc. during the Years 1817,
1818, 1819, and 1820.*

In two volumes. Vol. II, London, printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822

A.D. 1817–1820

- 650 <In the plain between Kars and Erzeroum> Marks of industry were seen every where; and
innumerable villages studded the ground, to the most distant parts of the landscape. I may
picture the huts of the peasantry under that appellation; for they lie so close to the earth, (in
651 fact, the chief | of the habitations are dug into it,) that little more than their dingy roofs are
seen above the surface. The door is a mere hole, through which the occupier must stoop, if
not crawl, to make his escape. Within, it appears a large gloomy den, lit from the roof by two
or three other holes, and the inhabitants are in harmony with the place; men, women, and
cattle all pigging together; or, if any distinction is to be made, we find the beasts a few feet
below their masters and mistresses, who have raised themselves a sort of shelf above their four-
footed servants, with a fire-place in the corner, and a few dirty carpets on each side; and they
dwell, in plain fact, as happily as any of their distant Turkish lords in their harems.
- 662 Hassan-Kala . . . is considered one of the strongest places in Turkish Armenia, but did not
appear to me, from what I could perceive, to possess a single gun. I wished to examine more
closely, by entering the castle, but was not allowed . . . The population of this once noted
place, does not now exceed 3,000 inhabitants; but one third of them are Christians.
- 668 I remained quietly in my quarters, gathering as much amusement as might be from my
669 numerous visitors, both Turks and Armenians, from | the latter I learned that the population
of the city <of Erzeroum> amounts to about 6,000 Christians and 50,000 Mahomedans.

Louis Nicolas Philippe August de Forbin—1777–1841

Travels in Greece, Turkey, and the Holy Land, in 1817–1818.

London, printed for Sir Richard Phillips and Co., [1820]

[Voyages and Travels, No. 5. Vol. I, 3H]

A.D. 1817–1818

<In Constantinople> Wherever I passed, the Turk elbowed me, the Jew made me an 115
obsequious bow, the Greek smiled on me, the Armenian tried to cheat me . . .

Henry A. S. Dearborn—1783–1851

*A Memoir on the Commerce and Navigation of the Black Sea, and the Trade
and Maritime Geography of Turkey and Egypt.*

In two volumes. Boston, published by Wells and Lilly, 1819

A.D. 1819?

<Vol. I>

135 The population of Asiatic Turkey is estimated at 10,000,000.

This extensive territory comprises the countries, so well known in history, by the name of Asia Minor, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Chaldea and Syria.

172 The Greeks have twenty two churches. The Armenians have an archbishop and three churches <in Adrianople>.

174 Pera is one of the most populous quarters of the city, notwithstanding its distance from the harbor and the center of business. One part is occupied by the wealthy Armenians, who have retired from business to be less exposed to the exactions and insults of the Turks, and to enjoy a little more liberty, under the protection of the Europeans.

181 The trade of Constantinople is chiefly in the hands of the Jews, Armenians, and Greeks.

186 The Turks wear no other shoe leather than morocco; the black and the violet serve for the Jews and Armenians; the Greeks employ more generally the red: this is also the color of the Janizaries and of the common people. The rich Mussulmen, both men and women, all wear yellow shoes. Yellow is strictly prohibited to tributary subjects, such as the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews.

190 <Silk> is in general made by Armenians and is worn all over Turkey.

Indigo is an article very much used, from the immense number of blue dresses worn by the inhabitants, particularly by the Greeks and Armenians.

196 Buyuk-dere, or Bojoukdere, or the Great Valley, is a village situated in the broadest part of the channel, on a sort of gulf, six miles from the Black Sea. The houses stand on the shore, and occupy near a mile in extent; those belonging to most of the ambassadors, built in the European taste, are remarkable for their elegance and the beauty of their gardens. This village is chiefly occupied by Europeans, Greeks, and Armenians. The Armenian women, here as elsewhere, live retired, and do not appear in the streets unveiled . . .

214 Amasia is bounded on the north by the Euxine and river Bathys, east by Armenia . . .

220 The suburbs <of Trebisonde>, which are much more spacious than the city, are chiefly inhabited by Greeks and Armenians, who are allowed the free exercise of their religion.

The inhabitants <of Tokat> computed to consist of twenty thousand Turkish families, four thousand Armenians, about four hundred families of Greeks, and many Jews. The Armenians have seven churches and the Greeks one. It is the see of a metropolitan dependent on the archbishop of Nicsara or Neocæsarea, an ancient city, almost ruined, about two days' journey from Tocat. 221

For thirty or forty miles round Tocat the country is chiefly inhabited by Armenian Christians who work in several branches of mechanical trade, particularly in copper, all manner of vessels, candlesticks, &c. of that metal, being made there and exported to Constantinople and Egypt.

<Vol. II>

<Smyrna> contains 130,000 inhabitants; of these 70,000 are Turks, 30,000 | Greeks, 56/7 15,000 Armenians, 10,000 Jews, and 5,000 strangers and Franks.

. . . That part of the city inhabited by Armenians and Greeks, is built extremely compact. The houses are all of wood, painted in the most fantastic manner; and as they are principally three stories in height, projecting over each other, the upper apartments of opposite buildings nearly meet leaving but a small space for the light to penetrate into crooked streets, about six feet wide.

The Greeks have two churches, and the Armenians one, richly gilded and ornamented with paint. 58

Hagelce, ten miles northeast of the city <Smyrna>, is a small village, principally inhabited by Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. 65

. . . The English, French, Greeks and Armenians have hospitals in the city, where the sick and the poor of their respective countries receive every possible attention.

The customs on imports and exports are farmed to individuals, throughout the Ottoman empire. Foreigners pay from one to three per cent ad valorem, Turks four, and the Greeks and Armenians five or six. 67



A Historic map of the Ottoman Empire by the Professor of the Military School of the Ottoman Empire.
[From Roupen Boghosian's Le Conflit Turco-Armenien (Beirut, 1987).]

James Edward Alexander—1803–1885

Travels from India to England Comprehending a Visit to the Burman Empire, and a Journey through Persia, Asia Minor, European Turkey, &c. in the Years 1825–26. Containing a Chronological Epitome of the Late Military Operations in Ava; an Account of the Proceedings of the Present Mission from the Supreme Government of India to the Court of Tehran, and a Summary of the Causes and Events of the Existing War between Russia and Persia; with Sketches of Natural History, Manners, and Customs.
London, printed for Parbury, Allen, and Co., 1827

A.D. 1825–1826

Crossing the Arpachae river (the ancient Harpasus), we entered the territories of the Grand 221
Seignor, being part of Armenia. We ascended a stony and very tedious pass: the postillions
tied the halters of the rear horses to the tails of those in front, and drove them before them
up the pass. At a late hour, and after having been | exposed to an excessively disagreeable storm 222
of wind and rain, the drops falling like pieces of ice on the face, we reached our stage,
Nukshewan, having marched fourteen fursungs, or fifty-six miles. We were comfortably
lodged in a clean Armenian house; our horses were in the same room with ourselves, separated
from us by a low railing. The Soobashee, or head of the village, a Koord, dressed in the
Turkish costume, with a large turban, round and loose jacket, and enormously wide trousers,
came in to see us and hear the news. Koordistan extends as far up as this, and most of the
heads of the Armenian villages between Hajee Bairamloo and Kars are Koords. They
commonly wear the red turban, which hangs in a bag down the back.

In the morning of the 29th September we found all the hills round us covered with fresh
snow, and the cold during the day's ride was very severe. We passed many Armenian villages,
each having a small stone church, some of them with a sort of low steeple. The rocks,
generally speaking, were a fine white sand-stone. We crossed a tract of snow ankle-deep,
which to me was a great novelty, and in the evening entered the large and populous town of
Kars, distant twelve fursungs. It contains thirty thousand souls. We were taken to a large
house inhabited by Armenians, where it was intended we should sleep; but an old lady, who
was washing linen at the door, was not at all inclined to allow us to enter. She scolded
furiously: and said to our conductors, "If Musselmans come to Kars you bring them here; if
Christians come, you bring them here. I won't open the door, so take yourselves off." After a
delay of half an hour the master of the house appeared, and admitted us, with many excuses
for the incivility of the old woman. He took us to a large and | comfortable upper-room, 223
carpeted and cushioned round three of the sides. There were many more Armenians present,
dressed in loose and long black robes, with a fur jacket and silk vest underneath: on their
heads they wore a black cap, like a hat without the brim. After refreshing with chebooks and
coffee, a low round table was introduced, on which was placed a most excellent trout with the
best sauce I ever tasted, followed by a vegetable stew and fruit. The Armenians are most
excellent cooks: rich Turks have commonly an Armenian servant in that capacity. We spent
the evening very pleasantly.

Next morning the Pacha, who enjoyed the distinction of three tails, requested a visit from us, and sent a horse magnificently caparisoned in white and gold housings. In riding through the narrow streets, with substantial stone houses on each side, the upper stories projecting over the ground floor, and the windows grated with iron, or wood in imitation of iron, I was particularly struck with the great diversity and richness of the Turkish costume. Fierce looking fellows of Janissaries (for these troops were still retained here, it was only in the neighborhood of the capital that the revolution substituted the new disciplined troops) swaggered about in round embroidered jackets, with chebooks in their mouths and a pair of pistols in their belts. We crossed, by a good bridge, the river dividing the Armenian suburb from the city, which is walled, and overlooked by a castle built on a rock, which the Russians vainly endeavored to take.

225 I was particularly struck with the contrast afforded by the courteousness and civility of the Persians, and the *hauteur* of the Turks. The former are affable, polite, and anxious to please; the latter are morose and surly, and display a sovereign contempt towards the kaffirs, or infidels, as they term Europeans. Had the Persians enjoyed the same advantages as the Turks, especially in respect to intercourse with Europe, they would have been a much more polished and powerful nation than their neighbors.

We rode that afternoon to the village of Ben Ahmud, three saut, or hours, from Kars. The Turkish mode of reckoning the distance is the space traversed by a camel in an hour, or saut. Now some travelers call the saut three miles, others four. He must be a very slow camel indeed which is not able to accomplish three miles and a half in an hour: I think the general length of a saut is four miles. We slept in a house under ground. The whole of the houses of the village were subterranean; the chimneys only being seen, to which were shutters to close, after the flame of the fire was extinguished and the live embers only remained, so as to throw the heat into the room. The severe cold obliges the inhabitants to construct their houses in this manner. On the roof was built a stack of fuel, consisting of dried cow-dung made into large
226 cakes. The church stood | outside the village, a square stone edifice. We were unable to march farther than this village, as we were obliged to wait for a guard of Turkish Delibash (horse-soldiers), to escort us to Azeroom, through a forest infested with Koordish banditti, as this is the season when they leave their summer encampments for their winter quarters.

227 On the 2d we marched to the city of Azeroom, distant eighteen saut, or seventy-two miles, passing a very ancient-looking town (with a citadel on a rock surrounded with three walls), called Hussun Kella. We refreshed here with milk, honeycomb, and fruit. We entered Azeroom through a large burial-ground, the graves of the men distinguished by a turban, cut
228 in stone, like that which they wore when | alive: each rank and profession has a peculiar turban.

229 Next morning I was awoke out of a sound sleep by the smell of a rich cheese near me, and by the noise of two men talking French. One was an intelligent-looking person dressed in the Turkish costume, who informed us he was Doctor Bekey, *premier medecin de cour*; the other was an Armenian merchant from Constantinople, who brought us a present of cheese and biscuits. The Pacha and Siraskier of Azeroom (Siraskier means general; as he is commandant of all the troops in the provinces of Kars, Van, Moosh, Akhiska, and Beiazee, the pachas of these are also subordinate to him) sent requesting to see us; but my companion said he was indisposed with the fatiguing journey.

The lower orders of Turks have a great contempt for Christians of all nations: to Europeans, they are not insolently rude; they merely give a reluctant *khoosh geldee*, “you are welcome,” and I am not at all attentive to their comforts. I have frequently been awoken by a fellow who had lifted the covering off my face, and was scrutinizing my features with a lamp in his hand. This night I was aroused by a rascal throwing wet cloaks upon me to get at his own, which was underneath. He thought, I suppose, that I would tamely submit to this, like a pusillanimous Armenian; but I soon showed him the contrary, and he took himself off in double quick time.

On the 4th we marched to Karakulukh, sixty-four miles . . .

We rode for several miles along the banks of the Euphrates, which winded gracefully through a small valley covered with willows. It rained in torrents the whole day . . .

After riding half the stage we came to a caravanserai, where was a guard to protect travelers in passing that place of ill fame, Sheitan Dura (Devil’s valley). The guard mounted, and galloped at a tremendous rate to the valley of dread, which runs up from the river at right angles: it is a deep dell, in the bottom of which, amongst white sand-stone rocks, fringed with brushwood, brawls a mountain torrent. We were slowly descending the side of the glen, when two wild-looking men, armed with long guns, dashed out from under a rock: I clapped my hand to the butt of a pistol, but they ran down before us to guide us in the proper path. Some distance from Sheitan Dura we passed a tract of bluish tuffa, which was rent and torn in every direction by a recent earthquake: huge rocks had slid from their beds, and the shrubs and stones were lying in confused heaps. We passed considerable flocks of sheep of the Cape breed, browsing on verdant hills, covered with trees of the *juniperus communis*, and yews growing in a moist loamy soil.

Great numbers of deer are found in this district, principally the *cervus elaphus*; black bears are frequent in the woods, and the ibex and wild sheep are met with among the hills.

Drenched with rain, we arrived at a very clean post-house, but in which we could not keep ourselves warm the whole night. I was beginning to doubt whether this chilly cleanness was preferable to the close and dirty hovels we had hitherto met with.

The wooded districts through which we passed in the next day’s ride appeared like rich carpets. It was the most beautiful season of the year, that preceding the fall of the leaf, when the forests were variegated with autumnal tints of every hue. The dark green firs, junipers, and yews, formed the ground, on which were scattered the diversified tints of wild apple and pear trees, loaded with fruit, and oaks with deeply indented leaves: the latter were the *quercus cirris*, the native of Asia Minor, from the Bosphorus to Syria, and from the shores of the Archipelago to the frontiers of Persia, producing the gall-nuts of commerce, with which the shoots of the young branches were thickly covered. The houses of the villages were all built of logs, the interstices stopped up with mud: the roofs were flat; the minarets were of plank. The country was picturesque in the extreme, and like a well-cultivated garden; to me, so long accustomed to the sterile and forbidding plains of Persia, it appeared delightful. The Turks are to be envied the possession of such a country as this.

The country became more beautiful as we advanced. We left now the pachalick of Azeroom, and entered that of Trebison. The sides of the road were lined with apple and pear trees, under which the fruit was thickly scattered, greedily devoured by fine large buffaloes. Red and black barberries were seen at every step. Numerous magpies were the only birds

observed. In Asia Minor there seems to be an unaccountable scarcity of wild animal life: the woods are silent, uncheered by a single feathered songster; even the passing hum of an insect
235 is seldom heard. I cannot explain this: perhaps the severity of the winter is the reason. | We spent five very pleasant days at Constantinople. One day I crossed over and walked about the city, visited the hippodrome, the mosques, serai, &c. In the streets which were lately destroyed by fire they were busy in repairing the damages. The Armenians seemed to have been great sufferers.

James Webster—1802–1828

Travels through the Crimea, Turkey, and Egypt; Performed during the Years 1825–1828: Including Particulars of the Last Illness and Death of the Emperor Alexander, and of the Russian Conspiracy in 1825.

In two volumes. Vol. I, London, Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830

A.D.1825–1827

On Sunday, the 18th <November 1827>, we went to the Armenian church, where mass was celebrating in the Catholic style, with wafer, chalice, &c. Four-fifths of the women were veiled in the Turkish fashion, and many of them sat down squat, like the oriental people. The men had their heads close-shaven like Turks, that is, leaving only the crown of the head with hair. Some were shaven entirely. One man we observed praying just as we had seen the Tartars do in the Crimea—that is, he sat squat, and stretched out his hands, holding in one his beads, and, leaning his head on one side, see-sawed slowly from side to side. He was dressed as a Turk, and was one of those whose heads were all shaved but the lock on the crown. Had not the masses around denoted a Christian chapel, this man's manner would have led us to suppose the church one of the mosques in the Crimea. 132

. . . Pera is very full of Europeans, particularly where the captains of vessels, pilots, and other naval people meet. They all go dressed in the costume of their several countries, no Europeans, unless in the service of the Porte, being allowed to wear the Turkish dress. By the Turks, this medley of nations is called by the common name of Franks; and often, in reference to their religious distinction, *giaours*, or infidels. The application of this latter term is so usual as to be scarcely considered an insult. The Armenians are by far the most numerous body of Christians settled in Constantinople. They are also widely spread over the Asiatic portion of the empire, and live in great freedom, both personally and with respect to religious privileges. Upon the latter point, one general remark may be made, which is, that the Mohammedan has been, on the whole, the most tolerant of all religions, as regards religious liberty, though the most intolerant as regards civil freedom. A capitation tax is the only punishment enjoined by the Koran against those who do not profess its doctrines. It prohibits the persecution of infidels, and only prescribes the imposition of a tax, which amounts to about four or five crowns of our money per head, according to the means and religion of the person taxed. The Roman Catholics and Jews pay more than the Greeks. After payment of this annual tax, every subject, Roman Catholic, Jew, or Greek, enjoys full liberty of conscience, and the undisturbed exercise of all the rites connected with his religious belief. This rule has always been observed by Mohammedan governments. For ages they put in practice the principles of toleration, while the heads of another religion knew no other treatment for their fellow professors, differing only in details, but the dungeon, the torture, and the stake. If the follower of Mohammed can not attain the elevated charity of the true Christian, he is also a stranger to the horrors of the Inquisition, and other modes of religious persecution. But while the Christians of these and other sects have lived unmolested in their religious concerns, they have been deprived of all civil privileges. They can fill no post; they are held in no consideration; 133

and it is said that their properties have often been confiscated on slight grounds. In times of political excitement, they have always suffered severely. The late Greek Revolution affords a striking instance of this. Neither property nor life was then respected. Still the Armenians, who took no part in that revolution, were not molested; and even the Greeks, when the period of anarchy had passed, lived undisturbed, except for crimes and suspicions of a political nature. The rule of religious toleration has not been altered by political changes. Every species of barbarity has been exercised, but conscience has throughout been left at liberty. After the Armenians, the most numerous class of Christians is that belonging to the Greek church.

James Silk Buckingham—1786–1855

Travels In Mesopotamia. Including a Journey from Aleppo, across the Euphrates to Orfah, (the Ur of the Chaldees,) through the Plains of the Turcomans, to Diarbekr, in Asia Minor; from thence to Mardin, on the Borders of the Great Desert, by the Tigris to Mousul and Bagdad: with Researches on the Ruins of Babylon, Nineveh, Arbela, Ctesiphon, and Seleucia.
London, Henry Colburn, 1827

A.D. 1827

The population <of Mardin> is thought to amount to twenty thousand, of which, two-thirds 191
at least are Mohammedans, the remainder are composed of Christians and Jews. Of the
Syrians, there are | reckoned two thousand houses, of the Armenians five hundred, of the 192
Armenian Catholics one thousand, of the Chaldeans or Nestorians three hundred, and of the
Jews four hundred. Each of these have their respective churches and priests, and the Syrians
have two churches in town, and two convents a little way out of it, beside many churches in
the neighboring villages.

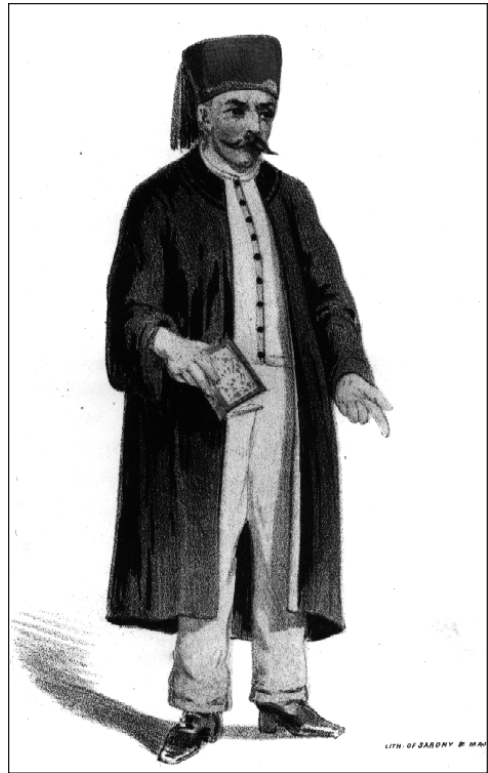
There are four gates now open in the city <of Diarbekr>, and these are called by the names 211
of the respective quarters of the country to and from which they lead. The first, which is on
the south-west, is called Bab el Mardin, or Mardin Kaupusee: the second, on the west, is
called Bab el Roum, or Oroum Kaupusee: the third, on the north, is called Bab el Jebel, or
Daugh Kaupusee; and the fourth, on the east, is called Bab el Jedeed, or Yenghi Kaupusee.
The first leads to Mardin, the second to Asia Minor, or Roumelia, the third to the mountains
of Armenia and Koordistan, and the fourth, which is a new one, to the river.

. . . On the north are seen the lofty mountains of Moosh Dag, over which the road leads
into Armenia and to Erzeroum, the mountains themselves being distant about twenty miles
east, and stretching from west to east, as if a continuation of the chain of Taurus.

The population <of Diarbekr> is estimated at an extravagant rate, by the people of the 213
country themselves; but it may be safely asserted, that at the present moment there are about
fifty thousand inhabitants. The great mass of these are Osmanli Turks, as soldiers, government
officers, merchants, and mechanics. Besides these, the Armenians, who, next to the Turks, are
the most numerous, are thought to have a thousand families. The Arab, Turkish, and
Armenian followers of the Catholic communion, have five hundred families.

Of the mosques seen from the citadel, there are fifteen with minarets, nine of these having 214
circular shafts and galleries in the Mohammedan style, and the remaining six having square
towers after the manner of Christian churches, which it is generally thought these edifices
once were. There are five other mosques, with domes or cupolas only, and several smaller ones
without any distinguishing mark, making, altogether, about twenty-five Mohammedan places
of worship. Of the Christian churches, the Armenians have two, one of which is large and
richly decorated, and the other is smaller, but more tastefully adorned.

- 221 The Turks of Diarbekr are conceived to be more fanatic in their hatred of Christians than
in other parts of the empire: I had no opportunity of witnessing this, though it was confirmed
by the report of those resident here. It was at this place that I first noticed the Armenian
222 calpac, a sort of high and heavy cap of cloth, | which is worn by the Armenians of
Constantinople, Smyrna, and the north of Asia Minor, but extends no farther south than this;
for in Aleppo, Orfah, Mardin, and all Syria and Egypt, as well as Mousul and Bagdad, as we
were told, these are always replaced by turbans of the Arabic form.



*The traditional and Europeanized costumes of Constantinopolitan Armenians.
[From W. Goodell's Forty Years in the Ottoman Empire (New York, 1876).]*

Robert Walsh—1772–1852

Narrative of a Journey from Constantinople to England.

London, Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1827

A.D. 1827?

The Turks call the different people who reside under them by names indicative of the 8
estimation in which they hold them. The Greeks Yeshir, or slaves, as they were considered to
have forfeited their life at the taking of Constantinople, and hold it ever since on sufferance;
the Armenians Rayas, or subjects, as they were never a conquered people, but merged
insensibly into the population of the empire; but the Jews they call Mousaphir, or visitors,
because they sought an asylum among them. They treat them, therefore, as visitors, with
kindness and hospitality. I give you this as the original and accurate distinction, though all
the subjects of Turkey, who are not Turks, are loosely called Rayas.

The treasures which Halet had amassed were immense. As the property of all who are 61
executed, and indeed of all men in public situations, merges in the State at their death;
precautions are generally taken to secure it in the hands of a Saraf, or banker, who is for the
most part either an Armenian or a Jew. The deposit is merely one of honor, and there is
nothing to prevent the banker from appropriating it to his own use, but | then he runs 62
horrible risks even in holding the deposit. The first thing always done on the execution of a
public man, is to seal up his house, and the next to seize on his banker; and if any doubt arises
as to the real value of the effects, he is immediately put to the torture to extort confession.
This was the case of the Armenian banker of Rhagib, as mentioned by Baron de Tott . . .

Richard Robert Madden—1798–1886

Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine, in 1824, 1825, 1826, and 1827.

In two volumes. Vol. I, London, Henry Colburn, 1829

A.D. 1824–1827

- 22 The Greek is every where accounted a rogue; the Armenian a designing knave; the Copt a cheat; and the Jew an extortioner. In the language of the country, it requires one Copt, two Greeks, and three Jews to defraud an Armenian; he is as wily as the serpent, yet his cunning is but the supersubtle wisdom of a slave, who defeats rapacity by finesse, and violence by craft.
- 32 The Jew and the Armenian absorb no small share of the riches of the state, as bankers and money-brokers.
- 40 In whatever part of the empire I have been, I invariably found the rules rapacious, the magistrates corrupt, and the people wretched: the miserable Rayahs oppressed, plundered, and debased . . .
- 54 There are about fifty medical practitioners in Constantinople, principally Franks . . . and a few Ionian Greeks, Armenians, and Copts.
- 93 The population <of Constantinople> has been decreasing for many years; it now, probably, does not exceed eight hundred thousand souls.*

* . . . One hundred thousand Greeks, eighty thousand Armenians, fifty thousand Jews, and two thousand Franks.

Charles Colville Frankland—1797–1876

Travels to and from Constantinople, in the Years 1827 and 1828: or Personal Narrative of a Journey from Vienna, through Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, Bulgaria, and Roumelia, to Constantinople; and from that City to the Capital of Austria, by the Dardanelles, Tenedos, the Plains of Troy, Smyrna, Napoli di Romania, Athens, Egina, Poros, Cyprus, Syria, Alexandria, Malta, Sicily, Italy, Istrla, Carniolia, and Styria.

In two volumes. Vol. 1, London, Henry Colburn, 1829

A.D. 1827–1828

How describe . . . the grave but respectful Armenian, with his calpac of black felt, swelling 95
like a balloon upon his head; he too wears the long robe of the Turk, but in his girdle the silver
ink-horn supplies the place of the handjar, and his feet are clothed in the crimson slipper or
boot.

. . . In the shade and cool breezes of the lofty cypresses, upon the marble tombs of their 96
countrymen and relatives, sit the quiet and unobtrusive females of Armenia, whose forms,
enveloped in the feridjee of the Turkish women, betray but little of their Oriental symmetry,
and whose fine expressive black eyes, long lashes, and arched brows, bespeak the beauty of
their souls, and give promise of the lovely countenance which the jealousy of their males, and
the never changing manners of the East, forbid them to unveil to the gaze of the world, but
of which from time to time the watchful observer obtains a glimpse, as they unpin the corner 97
of the muslin which covers the lower part of the countenance, (yachmack), to enable them
to indulge in their favorite habit of eating sweetmeats and smoking the long chibouk or pipe
of the Turks.

As we walked along, we heard a female voice applying very liberally the terms of “Giaour 98
and Chopect” to us; and, turning round, caught a glimpse of a female figure retreating from
behind her closely latticed window. When we walked on, she returned to the charge, and
continued to lavish all the abusive epithets of the Turkish language (as our interpreter
informed us) upon our unlucky heads, until we were out of hearing.

Charles Mac Farlane—1799–1858

Constantinople in 1828. A Residence of Sixteen Months in the Turkish Capital and Provinces: with an Account of the Present State of the Naval and Military Power, and of the Resources of the Ottoman Empire.

Second edition, to which is added an appendix, containing remarks and observations to the autumn of 1829. In two volumes. London, Saunders and Otley, 1829

A.D. 1828–1829

<Vol. I>

- 22 The poor rayahs, the Greeks and Armenians, (the Jews live on the Turkish side, and almost as high up the hill as their masters,) can hardly be supposed to do any thing which would betray a spirit of enterprise and improvement and the possession of money, each sufficient to awaken persecution. But might not the five thousand Franks, that live in the style of Smyrna, do something to purify it, by treating with the local government, and taking the insignificant undertaking into their own hands? Surely they should look to it. For these last six years, the fever, which begins with the great heats, has been increasing in extent and danger, and now threatens to depopulate Christian Smyrna.
- 64 An important item in the imports of cotton goods, is the cotton twist or yarn, made by our machinery, and exclusively furnished by Great Britain. This is used by the people of the country in their finer cotton manufacturers, but the greatest quantity is consumed at Brusa (in Bithynia) and its neighborhood, the first manufacturing district in the Ottoman Empire, where it is worked up with silk, which the country produces in great abundance. I have seen specimens of these mixed stuffs of great strength and beauty, and with more taste in the designs than might be imagined: they are made by the Greeks and Armenians, a Turk rarely putting his hand to the loom.*
- 65 All the transactions between the Mahometan grower or merchant, and the European
66 merchant, are conducted through the medium of Jewish or Armenian brokers,—a medium by no means calculated to improve the honesty and good faith which seem natural to most of the poor Turks.
- 67 The Armenians, who have been praised for their honesty by travelers who knew nothing
of them, receive a very different character from the resident merchants, who have had dealings
with them for years. “They are a gross, dull, thick-headed set,” said a gentleman to me, who
was complaining of the frequency of their failures; “with just talent enough to be rogues in
68 business, and to cheat in a cowardly manner.” They are now in possession of a great part of
the retail business; there are, however, many Turkish magazines in the bazaars, mixed with
theirs.

* The Turkey carpets imported in England are manufactured in the interior of Asia Minor—they are far inferior to the Persian carpets.

Of the Armenian society of Smyrna I shall say little here, as it differs scarcely at all from 109 what I observed in other parts of the country, and at Constantinople. They are, *en masse*, interested, sordid and dastardly, (to a degree equal to the Jews,) and so coarse, and graceless, that the meanest Turkish hamal seems a gentleman in manners compared with them. I never saw their broad, vulgar faces, shining under their flame-red calpacs, without an involuntary feeling of disgust. Their mode of living is thoroughly *a la Turque*—they eat the same messes, and in the same manner; squatted on the ground at a low pewter or copper tray—with their brawny arms laid bare to the shoulders, and their filthy fingers diving into the dish, and tearing and dividing, (each helping himself,) in utter contempt of the cleanly invention of knives and forks. The women are kept perhaps even more secluded, and subjected to more domestic degradation than among the Turks. Their dress (except the color of the boots and slippers) is the same; and they also are debarred the pleasure of showing their faces, which 110 when they go abroad, are | muffled up in folds of white linen, that only allow sight of a pair of eyes—immensely large—of a peculiar long shape, jet black, but heavy. (I could always tell an Armenian woman, by the shape and character of her eyes, without reference to her chaussure.*) At home they are drudges: they stand behind their lord while at dinner, wipe his greasy mouth, and afterwards hold the basin for him to wash his hands present his chibook, (lit, and drawn by their own mouth,) prepare his cup of coffee, and then hold themselves ready with the *masha*† until the clapping of his hands warns them that he wants to light another pipe. The Armenians, like the Turks, never take their women out with them in their parties of pleasure: these are composed exclusively of the privileged sex, and *amusing* things they are! They get their heavy bodies carried to some open spot in the country, by horses or asses; there they cross their legs and sit down, and gorge in unsociable silence. When their | meal is over, they take their cup of coffee, and light their eternal pipes, which they keep 111 smoking until it is time to return home. All their amusement concentrate in this—they have no idea of pleasure beyond smoking; and the only variety they know is occasionally to substitute the *narghilé* (or Persian pipe) for the usual chibook.

I have often observed these *keff*‡ parties of Armenians at a pretty piece of water near Smyrna, (called by the Franks Diana's Bath,) and watching their dull heavy countenances, never irradiated by a smile, and the clouds of smoke, which in lieu of words issued from their mouths, have wondered at so extraordinary a conception of mirth and enjoyment.

The Armenians are grossly ignorant, and affect to despise what they never knew ought of—the charms of literature and the elegancies of art; yet they possess a degree of dexterity in the mechanical professions which . . . leaves them in possession of the trades of jewelers, enamellers, dyers, weavers, smiths, &c | &c. They have renounced their ancient language for 112 the idiom of their masters, the Turks, which they use in their intercourse with one another.

* There is another portion of the Caput Armenii which no less distinguishes them, *i.e.*, their ears. These are covered in the women, but you may distinguish the men by them at a distance. They stick out from the edges of their red calpacs like the ears of asses, and are of a length, breadth, and thickness, I never saw equalled in any other race. In a horse, nothing shows bad breeding more than this.

† Small iron tongs.

‡ Keff, a Turkish word, in use by the classes of Levantines—it signifies, what in my school-boy days, we used to term a “jollification.” It applies admirably in this sense to the Armenian parties!

Many of them know no other language but Turkish, and few of them can write or read the good Armenian which is used in their churches or even understand it when it is read to them. The meanness, the obsequiousness, the utter prostration of these people before the Mussulmans, must be seen ere it can be conceived. It, however, answers their purpose, and reflections on the degradation of the character of man are not likely to disturb the repose its practice ensures them. The Turks, who have nothing to apprehend from a set of men that have scarcely courage enough to fire off a pistol, hold them as a sort of favorites, and to characterize their softness, patience, and obedience, call them *men-camels*! There are other qualities than those mentioned belonging to the quadruped, which could not well be esteemed, flattering as objects of comparison with a human being, but they might be applied with justice to the Armenian biped.

These people have supplanted the Jews; as serafs or bankers to the ministers of the Porte, and to pashas or other governors. It is questionable, however, whether the Turks have gained
 113 | much by the change, and whether the Armenians have not in reality lost a great deal; that is, considering their safety and tranquillity as matters of calculation. Eminent posts are eminent dangers in Turkey; and all the Turk's affection for the "camels" has not prevented his hanging several since their advancement,

The Armenians are unequally divided into two sects, the Eutycheans, or followers of the ancient Armenian Church, and the Roman Catholics, who hate each other with all the fervor of sectarian hate, without knowing the essential points of belief in which their creeds differ.
 114 | . . . The hatred, intolerance, and persecution, one of the effects of which is here stated, have always existed between the two religious sects, who have severally and repeatedly had recourse to intrigues and bribery, with an infidel—a Mahometan government, (in whose eyes they were all Christians alike—alike odious, yet all tolerated,) to work the ruin of each other.

492 | When I landed on the vast Christian suburbs of Constantinople, though I had been prepared by previous information, I was astonished at the melancholy, depopulated aspect of the place—the consequences of the dead stop that political events had put to trade, and of the subtraction of the numerous and industrious class of Catholic Armenians, eight or ten thousand of whom (by a capricious and still inexplicable act of tyranny on the part of the sultan) had been exiled into Asia, the month of January, 1828, whilst from two to three
 493 | thousand, who had found more | mercy, had been relegated in villages in the neighborhood of the capital.

On passing through Galata . . . I observed that nearly every third door had been newly painted red. "Those," I was told, "were the houses of the exiled Catholic Armenians; they have been sold by the government, who permitted none but Turks to become purchasers; to the Turks, therefore, they have been ceded for not a twentieth part of their real value, and the present proprietors have changed the color of the doors to show whom they belong to; red being the hue affected by the Turks, which no rayah, or Christian dare imitate on the exterior of his dwelling."

<Vol. II>

143 | The Dooz-Oglus were a wealthy Armenian family, who held the offices of master of the mint, and seraffs or bankers to the court and other grandees. It is probable the Armenians have not

always been able to resist the temptations to finesse or positive dishonesty, which so often proved fatal to their predecessors in office, the Jews; and that a portion, at least, of the Dooz-Oglus' wealth had been unfairly | obtained. But this cannot justify the fate that befell them. 144 When they were considered fattened sufficiently for sacrifice, and the sultan had need of their coffers, without any accusation being laid against them, without any form of justice, or a moment's warning, the three unfortunate men were barbarously executed, and not a part, but the whole of their property seized by Mahmood. The Dooz-Oglus had been at the Porte only the day before, and there, according to the infernal treachery and mockery universally adopted by the government towards its victims, they had been treated with extraordinary kindness and respect, and had found nothing to warn them of their approaching end. Their death produced an appalling sensation; and my friend W—, who was very intimate with them, has often described the horror he felt, when on ascending the Bosphorus one afternoon, he saw the Dooz-Oglus, whom he had left a few days before the richest, and to all appearance, the most favored rayahs of the sultan, suspended by their necks on the outside of their residence, with a crowd of Turks gathered round, wondering at the workings of destiny.

Eminent posts are imminent dangers in Turkey, as I have before had occasion to remark; | and yet with a clear knowledge of this, and innumerable, and even recent instances before 145 their eyes, there are never wanting ambitious fools to step into the “deadly breach,” or to intrigue for the perilous places. To secure their post, “these men will resort to the most nefarious means against their brethren who may occupy the employments in the gift of government, or may be candidates with them; they will pursue them ‘even unto death,’ though by so doing, they establish another precedent in the eyes of the Turks, for their own destruction, when they in their turn shall be ripe for the sickle. This insidious system of bribery and intrigue results from the vices of the government, the indolence of the Turks, and the venality of men in power . . .”

. . . The family that had intrigued against the Dooz-Oglus, was another Armenian family (of the Catholic church) by name Tinghir-Oglu, related to my friend Madame S—. The Tinghir-Oglus stepped into the places of the head of the mint, &c., that had been vacated in such an atrocious manner, and were assiduous in the heaping up of wealth, which was equivalent to the hastening on of their own destruction. Their crisis arrived a short time after my arrival in the Levant, in the summer of 1827.

Without any stated complaint or examination of parties and of accounts, their immense wealth was suddenly seized for the imperial *hazné*, and a receipt in full was given to them, not however by a rope (for the sultan had in this instance improved his practice so far as not to add murder to robbery), but by perpetual banishment into the interior of Asia Minor . . .

The Armenians are afraid of contact with Europeans, lest it should excite the jealousies of 274 their masters, the Turks. Their modes of life and of thought are also at variance with ours, and I could not promise myself much gratification from an intercourse with an ignorant, gross, and sordid race. My curiosity would, however, have induced me to seek an occasional ingress into their generally impenetrable domestic circles . . . I never saw the interior of an Armenian domicile but twice—once in the course of an expedition to | purchase painted muslin 275 handkerchiefs, in which they have great skill; and once in the unobserved retreat of the island of Prinkipo, where the handmaidens of the house appeared before me with unveiled faces.

. . . The prevalence of abstract principle over personal interest, the sacrifice of our worldly good for the sake of ideas which regard a future and superior state of existence, a martyrdom for religious opinion, whether sealed with blood, or merely by the sacrifice of wealth, of ease, and of comfort, must ever be entitled to our respect; but this feeling was detracted from in my breast, when I saw that the Armenians had submitted to privation and exile from a blind reverence of what they knew absolutely nothing.

276 I was much amused by the recent conversion of an Armenian to Islamism. This was a sturdy fellow (as they generally are), but possessed of a spirit that their caste seems destitute of. A turbulent Turk his neighbor, and the terror of all the district, was wont to insult the robust Caprile whenever he met him. He bore this for a long time. What could he do?
 277 Though I confident in his bodily strength, as a Christian, as a rayah, he could not fail getting the worst of it, should he in the midst of the Turks attempt to retaliate, or even to defend himself. At last he could bear it no longer. "I embrace the Kiblè of Islamism!" cried he one morning in the streets of Stamboul, as his persecutor was about renewing his usual treatment; "I am a Mahometan, an Osmanli: I call all the by-standers to witness"; he attacked and broke the bones of the astonished ruffian, to the delight of all present, and a Turk of course he became—to the great scandal of his patient and devout brethren.

There was another Armenian conversion of less recent date, and originating in what I consider less excusable motives, related to me with all its particulars. A banker, or a merchant, committed the double sin of a violent assault and atrocious forgery; he was condemned to condign punishment, but escaped by embracing the faith of Mahomet. He was more fortunate than renegadoes generally are, and had become grand customer of tobacco, or receiver of the duties of that most important article of consumption. As an Armenian, whose
 278 life is in every thing else precisely that of a Turk, he had nothing to change, but the outward semblance of an hostile faith. I met him several times, and was once invited with Dr. M. C. to eat a roast lamb with him at his kiosk near the village of San-Stefano. He was thorough Turk; but his turban, his flowing bright robes, the invidious distinction of the yellow slippers, and his wealth and consequence, had not enabled him to correct the inherent grossness of his caste, or to assume the gracefulness and dignity of manners which, as far as exteriors go, and seldom farther, pretty generally distinguish the Turkish gentleman.

321 If we turn to other provinces of the empire, we see similar vicious causes producing the same pernicious effects, and that even in Asia, their *own* continent—the home of Islamism—the power of the Turks is shaking to its very foundation. The line of operations of General Paskevitch has brought him into contact with the Armenian rayahs of the Ottoman empire, and as he has advanced, those people, oppressed by a yoke too heavy to be borne; have everywhere evinced their sympathy for his successes; and now, emboldened by the rapidly succeeding reverses of their former tyrants, are joining his standard, and taking an active part in the warfare, The Armenians, who abound in the Pashalik of Erzerum and the upper
 322 Turkish provinces of Asia Minor, like those subjected to Persia, and in or near to the regions which once formed their own powerful kingdom, differ from the meek, submissive, cowardly Armenians, whom I have correctly described, at Constantinople and at Smyrna. They are characterized as prudent and persevering; by no means devoid of fire and courage; and all the

Armenians are physically (as far as bone and muscle go) a fine race, exceedingly robust, and capable of bearing immense fatigue. In the Armenian districts, which Russia has rescinded from Persia, troops have been raised equal to any that march under the banner of the northern eagle, and the materials now reverting to the conquerors will be similar in quality. The co-operation of the Armenians has led to, or has hastened the capture of, Van; and the value of that acquisition to the Russians is not more enhanced by the great strength and military importance of the place, than by the holy reverence attached to it by the Armenians. The city of Van may be styled one of the capitals of the Eutychean, or real Armenian church; it is the residence of a Patriarch, and | of a numerous and organized hierarchy. The expulsion of the 323 Infidel crescent from such a revered place cannot but be agreeable and tend to raise the spirits of the Armenians—religious enthusiasm may prove an important ally to the Christian invaders, and that enthusiasm has now a rallying point and a place of strength. In the regions on the Asiatic side of the Black Sea, through which the Russians are advancing, they will also find a very considerable Greek population, the scattered remnants of the ancient colonies, and of the lingering last Greek kingdom of Trebizond; and of their dereliction from the Turks no doubt can be entertained.

Thomas Alcock—?

Travels in Russia, Persia, Turkey, and Greece, in 1828–9.

London, printed by E. Clark and Son, 1831

A.D. 1828–1829

- 115 According to the doctrine inculcated by Mahomet, the women in Persia are not only excluded from all society, but go about so little that a traveler might pass through the whole country and not see a female face; as the Persians are, perhaps, even more jealous than the Turks. The Armenian, and other Christian women living amongst them, are obliged to conform to Mahometan law in this respect, and cover their faces, and wrap up their figures in a large sort of domino or feradgee, in the same manner as the native women, or they would be insulted. So naturalized are the Christians to this custom, that it was the cause of a great disappointment to us upon one occasion. An Italian doctor, who had been lately married to an Armenian, was polite enough to endeavor to induce his bride to uncover her face for our curiosity and amusement, but his best efforts to persuade her it would not be improper were in vain: the lady even smoked a kaliaun (the Persian hookah) whilst we were in company with her, but kept it under her veil; it was altogether a most ludicrous scene.
- 119 At Wan we entered the first town of any importance in the empire of the chief of the faithful, although it may be observed that both Hoshab and Wan are geographically in Armenia. The usually placid tone of the Ottoman bore, at that time, a character of excitement, the result of the momentous perils which seemed to threaten the existence of Turkey. Menaced on one side by a powerful enemy, its former subjects in rebellion, and protected by some of the most distinguished nations of Europe, and the representatives of those countries having recently withdrawn themselves from Constantinople, all conspired to make this period of no ordinary interest to the traveler. Wan has the distinction of having been one of the residences of Queen Semiramis; indeed it is remarkable on leaving Persia, where the traditions and even the names of the Assyrian kings seemed buried in oblivion, to find that here the mountains and streams frequently bring to mind the recollection of those ancient dynasties. A small stream to the south of Wan is called Semiramis; and on the
- 120 mountains to the south of Hoshab are still shown the remains of a hunting palace, said to have been built by the same queen. The range of hills about Bitlis are called the hills of Nimrod; and a rock to the northward of Bitlis the seat of Ninus. The antiquity of Wan is fully established by the testimony of the Armenian historians; and in the neighborhood there are some rocks so remarkable for ancient inscriptions in the arrow-headed character, that they are to this day the resorts of pilgrims. There is also a specimen of the same character on the side of the rock on which the citadel is built, in the center of the town: the figure of this character is like the point of an arrow, varying in position, and length and size, but not in form. It was at this place we had our first audience of a Pasha: these formal ceremonies have been so often described, and are so well known, that it is unnecessary to mention more than that ours was quite *en règle*, coffee and pipes, hundreds of servants, and the usual trifling questions . . .

The appearance of Wan is striking, much so than any town I had seen in Persia; it stands on a lake of the same name, whose waters are only moderately salt, and differ in that respect from the lake Ouroumea, by the side of which we had traveled | on our return to Tabreez 121 from Koordistan. The population is about fifty thousand, of which nearly two-thirds are Armenians; their Chief had lately been suddenly sent for by the Seraskier of Arzroom, on suspicion of having been in secret communication with the Russians. During an interview with the Pasha we expressed a wish to be allowed to see an Armenian church on the island in the lake, as we had heard it was one of the finest in the East; but our wish was not gratified, for the Armenians were too much suspected for the Pasha to give them any opportunity of expressing their grievances, and exciting the compassion of Christians; to this cause, at least, we ascribed the refusal.

The general appearance of the buildings in Turkish towns is much superior to the Persian; the latter being constructed of mud, and having only a ground floor, and a flat roof covered with earth; whereas the Turkish houses are lofty, and bear quite an European character. They are several stories high frequently, and have regular staircases and rooms, with wooden floors, and seats all round (divans). The Turks use also little tables about a foot high at their meals, and pretend to be, in various ways, much more civilized than their more eastern neighbors. I soon perceived this feeling of superiority, for on one occasion, when I had drawn a comparison between the Persians and Turks, and praised the | comfort of the houses of the 122 latter as compared to those of the country we had just quitted, it was not taken as any compliment, for they treat their fellow Mussulmans with utter contempt.

We were detained two or three days at Wan, for the Turks, finding us very passive, abused our mildness, and threw impediments in our way; and it was not without much difficulty we were finally enabled to quit. Our route to Arzroom lay over a wild and mountainous country, and we passed through many villages composed exclusively of Christians, who complained bitterly of the savage conduct of the Koords in destroying all their cattle. We had, indeed, abundant proof of the havoc that had been committed by plunderers, or by a murrain, for the air was literally infected by the putrefaction of carcasses; but we were by no means satisfied as to the truth of the statement of the Armenians, for those wretched people are so driven to all the practices of deceit and falsehood, that it is impossible to believe scarcely any thing they say. One cannot fail, however, to commiserate their life under Mussulmans; nor can it be wondered that they look forward with the greatest anxiety to the approach of the Russians, for a deliverance from their unhappy condition. Upon one occasion, on entering a chapel where they were at prayers, we could not resist the conviction that their devotions were offered up for the conquest of | Turkey by the Russians, rather than any more remote object, 123 and the interest we felt for them under such impressions was irresistible.

Christians and Mahometans can never be happy under one government, as well might it be attempted to mix oil and water together as to unite two people of such opposite persuasions, manners, and customs.

We were eight days on our way from Wan to Arzroom; about midway between these two places, at Latarr, we fell in with a strong body of irregular troops, for none of the disciplined troops had, at this time, been sent to the Asiatic frontiers of Turkey. They were principally Koords, under the command, however, of Turkish officers apparently, they examined us with great suspicion and doubt, and seemed as if they were ready to sacrifice our lives to their

inveteracy of the Russians, if they could have found the slightest plea for doubting the correctness of our story. They asked a thousand questions, and would scarcely believe we were not Russians, and that our language was not the same. Upon these occasions of difficulty, which, indeed, occurred too frequently, we made it a rule to tell the plain and undisguised truth invariably; for if by denying, for instance, that we had been in Russia, or that our
 124 interpreter understood that language, we | had given them reason to doubt the account we gave of ourselves, we might have been destroyed in an instant, upon the supposition that we were spies, and not altogether without some ostensible reason. The Tartar in charge of us, was fortunately a very prudent and sensible fellow, and we were well received by the officer in command of the detachment, who ordered breakfast for us, and we proceeded; but whilst we were daily and momentarily in the habit of meeting small parties of military, who were marching towards the seat of war, we were extremely on the *qui vive*, to prevent being seen without our own Tartar, for we had already had abundant proof of the hazard of being taken by surprise.

Arzroom is one of the ancient capitals of Armenia, possessing about sixty thousand inhabitants; it was formerly fortified, but cannot be considered so at present, as the citadel, in the center of the town, is totally dilapidated. The Seraskier (a pasha of very superior degree) used every art a Turk is capable of to learn the nature of the dispatches we carried; but we already understood the Turkish character sufficiently to let him have his labor in vain. The cunning interrogatories he put to us in order to extract knowledge from us as to Russia, and her state of preparation for the campaign then about to commence, were very amusing. He
 125 asked | what reinforcements General Paskevitch had obtained since the last year's campaign, and what could be considered their effective force in the field. I told him that at the end of the last campaign he had not more than twelve thousand, but that they were supposed to have added about fifteen thousand men since that time: he then asked me if I had not heard a much larger amount mentioned; I replied thirty thousand had been given out by the Russians themselves, as their increased force; but added, that he (the Seraskier) had asked me what I thought was the additional force, and not what the Russians had put forth as such, and that I never believed above one-third, or at most the half, of Russian accounts; for that I had had frequent opportunities of judging of their proverbial inaccuracies; at Odessa, for instance, I found that the army employed had never exceeded one hundred and twenty or thirty thousand troops, and yet the vague reports in England and elsewhere would have led to the supposition that there had been three hundred thousand.

After a long conversation he at length politely dismissed us, ordering a Tartar and firman, and all that was necessary for our journey, and enabled us to quit the following day, when we commenced traveling post effectually, for the relays between Wan and Arzroom were so far
 126 distant, that the | traveling was scarcely worthy the name of *chupper* (to gallop), the term used for riding *en courier*.

Arzroom stands on very elevated ground; the height, indeed, is evident from the circumstance of two fine rivers, the Euphrates and Aras, taking their source in the neighborhood, and flowing in opposite directions. All the country towards Akhalstic (the present boundary of Russia) and Kars, is extremely mountainous, and difficult on every account for an army, and although it was the month of May the tops of the mountains were still covered with snow . . .

The distance from Arzroom to Constantinople is about eight hundred miles; even if we had not been desirous to profit as much as we could by the more speedy traveling on the great line of route from Asia to Europe, we should have had no inducement to delay on the road, as the suspicious Turks would offer every obstacle, if not danger, to the inquiring traveler, whose only excuse in their eyes for riding through the Ottoman dominions, is that he is traveling for his sovereign; and they differ in this respect extremely from the polite though false Persians. 127

The Turks consider Mahomet as the head of orthodox Mahometans, but the Persians believe his cousin Ali, who married Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, to have succeeded to the caliphate on the death of the Arabian prophet: this is the chief distinction; the minor points of washing and praying five times a day, whilst the Persians perform this ceremony only three times, and many other trifling differences, serve only as a ground-work for an irreconcilable animosity. 129

The followers of Ali are called Sheahs, whilst the Turks are called Sonnites. The Sheah sect had long existed; but the Persians did not proclaim themselves as opposed to the Turks until three centuries ago, and then vowed eternal hatred to the Sonnites. An equally bad spirit is found to exist between the Armenian Catholics and those of the Armenian church; the former never speak of the others but with an angry feeling, and contempt for the heretics.

Arzroom appeared to be in great preparation for the enemy: the boasting of the Turks, the exposition of all the paraphernalia of war, as if to inspire themselves with courage and the enemy with fear, made a bad contrast to their wretched conduct when the din of war actually sounded in their ears, and served to show how much better mild behavior and humility would have become them. 130

We are now going post haste to Constantinople; the journey was rapid; so must be my observations. If I have already incurred the censure of touching too slightly on all subjects, and all parts, it from a desire to compress, as much as possible, hastily digested opinions formed in a long tour; much has not been mentioned that might have filled pages, had that been my object; it has been my wish, however, to confine my remarks to what appeared most novel, and had been least touched on by others.

We now began to look with some anxiety, as well as with intense interest, to the Turkish capital, for our ambassador not being there we had some doubt how we might be received; but when free from apprehension, we regarded it as a spot where all the interest of the world seemed concentrated.

At Nicksar, about two hundred miles from Arzroom, we suddenly left winter and its snow, for the spring and ripe cherries, and continued to enjoy the same season of the year all the way to Constantinople, for we had now passed the mountainous country. We were so fatigued on dismounting at Tokat, having been on our saddles for twenty-three hours, with the intermission only of an hour for dinner, that we were not sorry to profit by the hospitable invitation of a rich Armenian merchant to pass the day with him; whilst, at the same time, the opportunity was afforded us of visiting the monument, in the Armenian burying-ground, to the memory of the Rev. Mr. Martyn, who died at this place of a fever brought on by the fatigue of traveling. We had a good night's rest in a comfortable room, and were recruited: for 131

132 | although we usually laid down in the coffee-room of the post-house, where smoking and drinking coffee is going on almost all night, yet the sleep under such circumstances is little refreshing. The insects that infest these places, the dirt, the curiosity of the people to watch the habits of Franks, all conspire to render rest little more than nominal; and, excepting at Tokat, we had no opportunity of taking off our clothes during the whole sixteen days from Arzroom to Constantinople.

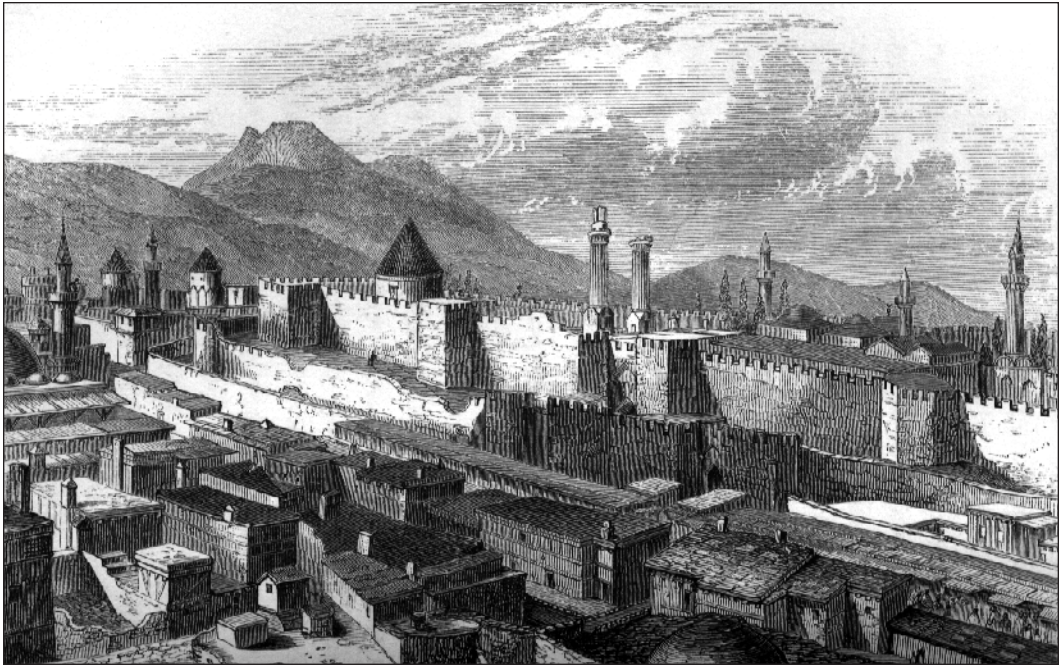
During the course of this journey we constantly met on the road large troops of Armenian families, who had been ordered from the capital by the Sultan to remote parts of the empire, on account of the scarcity of provisions, of which we had, indeed, early proof; for bread became eight times as high in price in the course of three days journey, and for the last seventy miles there was none at all; the wheat from the interior being shipped at Isnik, and carried over the sea of Marmara to Constantinople.

137 Scarcely any intercourse is kept up between the Greeks, the Armenians, and other Christians living under the Turkish government, and the Europeans who reside under the protection of the different ambassadors: perhaps the principal reason is, that an intimacy would be looked upon with jealousy by the Turks, who would suspect that some intrigue against their government was carrying on. Marriages between them are prohibited; and although there are a few instances of Englishmen and other Franks married to Christian subjects of Turkey, it is very unfrequent, and only by special license from the authorities, or after elopements.

138 In speaking of the Greeks and Armenians as we have found them, and of their situation under the | Turks, it is but due to the former to separate them most distinctly, as regards general information, and natural intelligence of character; for although the Greeks of Constantinople, even the best, are adepts at every species of art and intrigue, still they are superior to the Armenians, who, almost as destitute of all principle, have not the same talents or improvable qualities.

155 Constantinople, in the possession of any civilized power, would be, perhaps, nearly invincible: the Bosphorus and Dardanelles might easily be made impregnable, and a natural line of defense on the land side, running from Silivria to Media, might be regularly fortified. The Turks owed all their successful opposition to the advantages of the natural fortification of the Balkan, and to the bad management of the enemy at the outset of the expedition. Few people are, perhaps, aware of the danger Constantinople was exposed to, when the Russians were at Adrianople: there can be little doubt if their army had advanced beyond that city, the Turkish capital would have been in an insurrection. The Janisaries, and those opposed to the recent reforms, would have simultaneously risen, as well as the hundred thousand Christians, who must always be considered natural enemies of Turkey, and who form a fourth part of |
156 the population of Constantinople; for the present estimate is less by three hundred thousand than that in 1810, when it was computed at seven hundred thousand; such have been the ravages by plague, and the destruction and expulsion of the Janisaries. It may be fancied that the Christians are reduced to implicit submission by a slavery of nearly four hundred years; but, as I shall remark, in speaking of the Morea, it is only necessity that has given the Greeks an air of meekness; and the feelings of the other *Rayas* may soon be roused against their weak

masters. In this state of anarchy the Sultan would have fled for his life to Bagdad, or perhaps Aleppo, and it is doubtful if another Mussulman would have ever reigned at Constantinople.



Erzurum, as it looked from the house of the British commissioners.

[From Curzon's Armenia: a year at Erzeroum, and on the frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia (London, 1854).]

George Thomas Keppel—1799–1891

Narrative of a Journey across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi; also of a Visit to Azani, and other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor, in the Years 1829–30.

In two volumes. Vol. II, London, Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831

A.D. 1829–1830

- 392 I had been furnished with a letter, by Mr. Whittall's Armenian broker, to one of the Tinghiroglou family, one of the most affluent and respected of the Armenian Catholics. As soon as I had taken my bath, I called on this gentleman. He received me in the most respectful manner, paid me every possible attention, and insisted upon my occupying the best room in his house. His wife and daughters, dressed out in jewels and Brocades, each in turn knelt, as they almost forcibly kissed my hand; and were always before me, with either coffee, sweetmeats, or pipes . . .
- 393 I made acquaintance in the evening with Menas, a banished Catholic Armenian, an exceedingly intelligent and well informed man. He spoke excellent French and Italian; and showed me some sketches of his daughter's—very fair specimens of proficiency in the art of drawing. We had a long conversation on the subject of his brethren in exile. "Education," said he, "is making rapid progress amongst us. Deprived of our business, we have little else to do. This diffusion of knowledge is producing the natural consequences,—a hatred of the Turkish government, and a conviction of its desperate condition. Before this cruel *khatty sherif* was issued against us, there was no class of subjects better disposed than ourselves towards the Ottoman rule. No charge could be more false than that we intended to conspire against the sultan. We had previously been the most favored of his subjects: we must have lost by any change."

Eli Smith—1801–1857

*Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H. G. O. Dwight in Armenia:
Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia,
with a Visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas.*
In two volumes. Vol. I, Boston, published by Crocker and Brewster, 1833

A.D. 1830

The Armenians of Smyrna are estimated at 8,000, including those who are gone over to the 45
papal church, and are known chiefly as thrifty merchants and active brokers. They have but
one church. In this twelve priests officiate in turn, at the head of whom is a bishop. The
present occupant of the see is Gabriel, patriarch of Jerusalem. Being too inefficient to manage
the intrigues of the monks, and to avert the extortions of the Turks, he was obliged, some time
ago, to leave that city, and is now enjoying his ease in this quiet flock, while a more able spirit
is endeavoring to extricate his convent from its multiplied embarrassments. The priests are
uneducated, with the exception of one, who was then at the head of the Armenian academy,
but is since dead.

The Armenian academy is an interesting object. It has been in operation about thirty
years, and is the only school in the place for the Armenians; the few taught by the priests
being hardly of sufficient importance to be named. The building, which was erected about
five years ago, is situated in the church-yard, and is a specimen of Armenian taste and
neatness. The establishment is said to be possessed of ample funds, chiefly the result of
legacies; and it being a free school, any Armenian who chooses can send his children. The
number of scholars was about two hundred.

Report assign to the present city <of Magnesia> a population of 80,000; but in answer to 48
a passing inquiry we were told that the Turkish families are but 8,000, the Armenians 400,
and the Greeks 800; there are also 100 or 150 of Jews. The Armenians have two churches,
and are none of them papists.

Ak-hisar occupies an eminence elevated but little above the surrounding alluvial and 49
marshy plain; and having been reduced to ashes a year or two ago, its houses were now mostly
of one story and built of boards. Its population can amount to but little more than 1,000
families, of which 300 may be Greek, and 25 or 30 Armenian.

Bali-kesr . . . contains about 2,000 Turkish, and 200 Armenian families . . . 50

<Isnikmid or Nicomedia> contains about 25,000 inhabitants, divided in the proportions 76
of 4,000 Turkish, 500 Armenian, and 500 Greek and Jewish houses.

<Sabanjah> is a common village, on the margin of a lake of fresh water . . . and contains 77
150 Turkish, with 25 Armenian and 15 Greek houses.

81 Boly represents the ancient Hadrianopolis, which was celebrated for its warm baths. They still exist, but are several miles distant. It contains about 800 Turkish houses, and a distinct suburb is inhabited by about 40 families of Armenians.

90 <Marsovan> Although not pretending to the dignity of a city, and having the form of only a village, we were credibly informed that it contains 5,000 houses, of which 1,000 are Armenian and the rest Turkish. From hence a post route branches off to Trebizond, probably by way of Samsoun, which cannot be very distant.

91 An excellent bridge connects the two divisions <of Amasia> into which it is separated by the river. It contains 4,000 Turkish, 600 Armenian, and 125 Greek houses.

99 According to our informant, a respectable Armenian merchant, the present population of Tokat is 4,000 Turkish, 1,350 Armenian, 500 or 600 Greek, and 70 Jewish houses. A priest, whom we met in the church of St. Sarkis, and who appeared to be a sensible man, informed us that the Armenians have seven churches in the city, and thirty priests, besides a vartabéd who is the bishop's wekeel and preaches. The bishop himself lives in the convent of St. Anna, about an hour distant, where he has five vartabéds.

100 While at Tokat, we had the melancholy pleasure of visiting the tomb of the Rev. Henry Martyn, who died at this place in the year 1812, when on his way from Persia to England. His remains lie buried in the extensive cemetery of the Armenian church of Karasoon
101 Manoog, and are covered by a monument, erected by Claudius James Rich, Esq. late English resident at Bagdad. An appropriate Latin inscription is all that distinguishes his tomb from the tombs of the Armenians who sleep by his side.

The name of the place where the lamented Martyn closed his short but distinguished career of earthly usefulness, is already familiar to the friends of missions, and that melancholy event has thrown around it no small degree of interest. In recommending it therefore as the best spot for a missionary station which we visited in Armenia Minor, we have not to introduce to notice a place entirely new. Besides its own Armenian population, which is not small, it has a convenient situation in reference to several other places that contain many of the same people. On the west are Marsovan and Amasiah, on the northeast Niksar, and on the southeast Sivas; embracing, together with Tokat itself, not far from 24,000 Armenians, within a circle extending in the farthest direction not more than eighty miles from this center, without reckoning any that may be scattered in villages. Whether there are many thus located, we did not ascertain by inquiry; but we should expect to find them, in this their adopted country, not merely in the migratory and alien character of merchants and mechanics in cities, but in that of peasants cultivating the soil as if it was their nation's home. In a word, Tokat is the spot to be chosen as a center of operations for the Armenians of Second Armenia, as Cesarea is, probably, for those of the First and Third Armenia, and Tarsus for those of Cilicia.

102/3 <Sivas> regarded by the Armenians as the capital of Second Armenia . . . lies eighteen hours southeast of Tokat, and contains about 1,800 Armenian families, among whom are no papists.

Kara-hisar is situated on high ground, at the foot of a dark precipitous rock crowned with a ruined fortress. In the town, according to one informant, there are 1,000 Turkish, 550 Armenian, and 30 Greek houses, and in a village an hour distant 500 Armenian and 70 Turkish houses; but another reserved the number of Turkish and Armenian houses in town, declared that there were no Greeks, and made the village consist of 500 Armenian and 50 Greek houses. They all, both houses and inhabitants, seemed miserably poor, and many of the streets were filled with dunghills. 108

On the other side of the mountain <Chiman-dagh> is Erzengan, 12 hours from Germery. It was an important town of ancient Armenia proper, situated on the western bank of the Euphrates, at the confluence of the Kail with that river. Now it is the capital of a sanjak of the same name, belonging to the pashalik of Erzroom. The pasha of Erzroom fled thither when the Russians took his capital, and was still there when we passed, having never been disturbed by the enemy. 113

In the little green valleys below us were a few black tents of Kurds, pasturing their flocks and herds. While hardly a traveler has preceded us without encountering Turkmans or Kurds throughout Asia Minor, these, at the very extremity of that country, are almost the first nomads of any kind we have seen encamped. Descending into one of these valleys, we stopped an hour, and dined upon a roasted lamb, in the open air, under a shower of rain. As re-advanced, the valley opened into a broad plain, covered with luxuriant pasturage, except that here and there a few villagers were ploughing small fields of grain. In the midst of it, about eight hours from Germery, the large village of Lori, the only one we saw, appeared upon it at some distance to the left, and we crossed a considerable stream running in that direction. It passes Balboort, and empties into the Black sea, and is, without doubt, the main branch of the Jorokh. So that the ridge which we had just crossed, separates the waters of the Iris and the Akampsis; and we may now consider ourselves within the boundary of Armenia proper. The scenery around is thoroughly Armenian; a mixture of fertility and bleakness; plains and hills clothed alike with the greenest sward, but not a tree or a shrub to adorn them. A green ridge, called Otluk-bely, with now and then a snow drift by the side of our path, succeeded. Here, directly in the road and by the side of it, were several mineral springs issuing large quantities of gas, and depositing much yellow stony matter. One of them, in the valley of a little tributary of the Euphrates that rises here, had apparently raised a mound by; its deposits nearly twenty-five feet in height. The water of all was without scent, and tasted much like the celebrated waters of Saratoga. 114

We stopped at Kara-koolak, twelve hours from Germery. At the first village in Armenia, it was very appropriate to be first introduced to almost the only accommodations the traveler finds in that country. We slept in a stable. Kara-koolak contains 40 or 50 houses, some 8 or 10 of which are inhabited by Armenians. In the neighboring villages the Armenians are numerous, and in some there are no Turks.

Two hours after starting we left the valley of Kara-koolak, and ascended a naked ridge, that afforded us a bleak and wintry prospect down upon an extensive mass of dark snowy mountains to the southeast. They were on the farther side of the Euphrates, in the district of Terjan, an ancient canton of Armenia, and now a sanjak of the pashalik of Erzroom. Its capital, we were told, is Keghe; and it contains two or three thousand Armenian families. 115

120 We passed four villages during the day, averaging 50 or 60 houses each, one of which was inhabited by Armenians; and at twelve o'clock at night, forded a broad swollen stream that entered the bodies of our carts. On its farther bank, we stopped at the village of Erganmazar. Besides 20 Turkish houses, it contained 40 inhabited by Armenians, who had one church and one priest, but no school. The villages in the vicinity were also without schools; a few boys, we were told, are taught by the priests in the winter, but in the summer forget what they have learned.—The departure of the Armenians for Georgia engrossed the conversation of every body yesterday and today. The Russians, wherever they have been, have taken a census of the Christian population, and now are carrying the greater part along with them into their own territories. The Armenians of this and a neighboring village decided to go while we were here; being unwilling, as they said, to be left behind alone, and having some apprehension of revenge from the Turks, after the Russians should have gone.

121 June 12. We entered, immediately after starting, upon the western extremity of the plain of Erzroom. Its surface was here undulating and soil dry; and the uncertainty of war and the presence of a hostile army, together with the removal of the Armenians, having discouraged agriculture, it was almost entirely uncultivated. Only here and there a small field appeared sown with wheat or barley, which was even now but just above the ground. The mountains around were, with the exception of frequent stripes of snow some of which reached almost down to the plain, green with grass to their very summits; but being destitute entirely of tree or shrub, their aspect had no charms for us. The plain too was equally without trees; not a garden was to be seen, and built, as the villages were, under ground, very few of them appeared.

We changed cattle and dined at a Moslem village near the Euphrates, and noticed the process of preparing the fuel of this woodless region. In the villages of yesterday the cow-dung was merely thrown from the stables, and by heaps and mire rendered the streets almost impassable. Here it was spread upon the dry ground, and stamped hard in a layer three or four inches deep. Being left in this state until it becomes thoroughly dried in the sun, it is then cut into cakes of a convenient size, and is fit for the fire. This, with the exception of a few districts where here are trees, is the fuel of all these cold and wintry regions. With it ovens are heated and food is cooked; and a pipe lighted with ignited cow-dung relishes as well to a native, as if it derived its fire from the purest coal.

We found the villagers yesterday unwilling to fix any price to the food we ate; and here our host absolutely refused to take any thing, under the fair pretense that what he had given us was an act of hospitality, intimating, however, that we might give his son some little memento of us if we chose.

126/7 The population of Erzroom, before the severe ravages of the plague a few years ago, was estimated at 100,000. At the time of the Russian invasion it contained, we were told upon the authority of the collector of taxes at our second visit, 11,733 Turkish, and 4,645 Christian houses; making a population of about 80,000 souls. Of the Christian inhabitants, 50 houses were Greeks, and 645 papal Armenians, leaving 3,950 houses, or about 19,000 souls, belonging to, the proper Armenian church.

Nearly all the Christian population had left before we arrived, and the city was so unsettled that I can do little more than give you a brief account of it as it was, reserving a description

of its present state till our return. The Armenians were under the spiritual government of a bishop, whose diocese embraced the whole pashalik. His previous departure prevented our seeing him, but we received from others an interesting account of his character. He had a seminary for the education of candidates for the ministry, and would ordain none who had not enjoyed its advantages. It was probably small, and the studies not of a high order; but the attempt, however humble, was of the highest importance. We had no opportunity of personal observation, as recent events had destroyed it. In all our inquiries, no other school of any kind designed specially for the education of the Armenian clergy, has come to our knowledge. Though the Armenians were so numerous, and their city the largest in Armenia, it is a curious fact that they had but two churches. One of them was very small, and the other so irregular, dark and mean, as to resemble a stable almost as much as an edifice for divine worship. The priests, however, were sufficiently numerous; they amounted to 32. Not far from the city, are four Armenian convents, each of which was inhabited by three or four vartabéds, and had funds enough for its support; but all of them are now deserted.

In the extensive cemetery of the largest church, we first | observed specimens of the singular monuments, which distinguish most of the old burial places throughout Armenia. 128 They are of stone, rudely carved in the form of a ram. The Armenians generally, even in Smyrna and Constantinople, are fond of engraving upon their tomb stones symbols of the profession or trade of the deceased. A plough shows that he was a husbandman; a pair of shears that he was a tailor; an anvil and hammer indicate a blacksmith; and a hammer, knife, and the sole of a shoe are the insignia of a shoemaker. Upon these there was a curious addition to such hieroglyphics. Most of them were marked with a table, a bottle, and a cup, and on one was a fiddle added to the group. I know not the design either of the shape of the monument, or of these highly incongruous symbols; but probably in a pastoral country the one may have been as indicative of rank, as a mounted horseman among a war-like people, and the other may be intended to tell posterity merely that the dust beneath once possessed in abundance the good things of this life. They were evidently ancient, and we searched for inscriptions to determine by what nation they were erected. There were letters on only one, and they belonged to the Armenian alphabet. Noticing the ground under the belly of another worn smooth, we inquired the reason, and were told, that if a child lives to a certain age without beginning to talk, it is passed between the legs of this monumental ram, and his tongue is loosed.

Owing to the patronage of the bishop, perhaps, the Armenian grammar school of Erzroom was unusually large and flourishing. Its principal was a layman, who had 5 or 6 assistants; and it contained 500 or 600 scholars, divided into different departments, and studying all the common branches up to grammar and logic. To obtain a correct estimate of the number of persons in so large a city population that can read, is extremely difficult. It was stated to us as high as one half of the males. But, although the | Armenians of Erzroom were doubtless more 129 intelligent than those of any other part of Turkish Armenia, this proportion is evidently too large. We did not learn that the Armenian females of the city were ever blessed with a school; yet some of them, we were assured, could read.

The 100 Armenian families which it <Hassan-Kullah> formerly contained had gone, and 140 the Turks had shut up their few shops, and were sitting as if to muse upon the desolation

around them. It could hardly contain more than 400 or 500 houses. It is six hours distant from Erzroom.

Seven or eight miles beyond, the plain narrows to a valley that continues to follow the course of the river. Its whole length must be twenty miles, and its average breadth five or six. This morning it was crowded with Armenian emigrants. If, in some respects, their departure hindered us from obtaining the information we wished, in others, it was favorable; for we passed such numbers between Erzroom and the Georgian boundary, that it was as if the whole Christian peasantry of the country were exhibited in review before us. These were from the villages on the plain of Erzroom. And deeply affecting it was, to see the inhabitants of a whole province thus deserting the home of their fathers, and bearing in all their appearance such evident marks of the oppression from which they were fleeing.

142 The road to Tebriz, by Bayezed and Khoy, here <at Kopry-koy> separated from ours, and crossed the bridge to the right side of the river. We continued along its left bank, and at three P.M. reached the village at which we had intended to stop. Its inhabitants had their goods already packed in carts for their departure. The mud and dung were so deep that we could with difficulty walk from house to house. Most of the terraces were broken in, and would not defend us from the rain that was falling. The only spot upon which we could have possibly slept was the ground of a stable, and no food, not even a bit of bread, could be obtained. We were glad to be relieved from the necessity of taking up with such accommodations, by learning of a place beyond, not far from the road, where some inhabitants were still remaining. How many villages around were left like this, so dilapidated that the storms of a few winters will wash them even with the ground, and leave not a trace of the people who once inhabited them! By a similar process have the regions of Western Asia been desolated, and the traces of thousands of its cities, been erased, from the earliest wars and captivities of sacred history, to the present time.

. . . The whole number of carts that we passed to-day was 260. We conversed with many as we went along, and in the last company, a man more respectably dressed than the others, mounted on a horse, and armed with a brace of pistols in his girdle, rode up and entered into
143 conversation. | He showed himself at once to be a sensible man, and we at last discovered that he was the priest of a village near Erzroom. He assured us there were no schools in the villages around that city, any farther than that the parish priest generally taught a sufficient number to read, to have the singers in the church which the Armenian service requires. He once attempted to establish a more regular school in his own village but did not succeed. Those who wished their children to be educated sent them to Erzroom. In some villages of 15 or 20 houses not one could read, but in his, which contained 50, there were 15. His statements express the result of what we learned from other sources, and to avoid repetition, I gave them as such. In a word the Armenian villagers of Erzroom were entirely without schools.

. . . They were fleeing, he said, from oppression. Their taxes had been heavier than they could bear. The Turks individually had maltreated them. He [the priest] had himself not infrequently been obliged to entertain ten and fifteen horsemen, and endure their scoffs at himself and his religion. The last two had made him hold a candle for them all night, and otherwise treated him so shamefully, that he swore he would leave the country. He was now
144 conducting his family and his flock to Georgia, where they would at least be on a level | with

Russian citizens, and no longer hear their religion cursed. Others, whose feelings resembled the priest's, told us that they had no charge to bring against their sovereign, but Erzroom being distant from his capital, and inhabited by the worst people in the world, his orders were little regarded. They loved their country, and were ignorant of that to which they were going; but their oppressions had been great, and they feared they would be greater if they remained, for the expenses of the war would probably be drawn from them. Turkish travelers often used them shamefully; instead of paying their host for their food, they would take from him some article of value, would curse his religion, and abuse his children.

Let me add a word of explanation to these complaints. All subjects of Turkey, not Mohammedan, pay an annual *kharaj*, or capitation tax, as the price of their head; it being the only condition upon which the Koran allows the toleration of their existence. Other taxes, also, are often so unequally apportioned that they bear the burden of them. And so universally venial and partial is justice, that they are not infrequently, on the merest pretense, dripped of every cent. Their money, in fact, commonly flows, through one channel or another, into the treasury of the government or the pockets of its officers, about as fast as they can earn it. Their name, *rayah*, literally means a flock; it is pastured for the sake of its fleece. A war generally increases their burdens, for they are made to pay for it. That any recent improvement in the Sultan's government would in this case benefit them, no security was given which they could trust. The Turks of Erzroom resisted all innovations before the war

The villages of Turkish Armenia have no khans; or public houses of any kind, but the *kakhia*, as the assessor of the taxes, and official and responsible head of a village is called, 145 quarters travelers upon private families. When the entertainer, in these circumstances, is a despised Christian, and the guest a lordly Turk, abuse cannot but be frequent. The evidence of it has worked itself into the very dialect of the country. Almost the only terms we heard used by the Turks of Armenia for Christians, Christian gentlemen, and bishops were *giaoor*, *chorbajy*, and *kara-bash*, meaning, infidel, soup-maker, and black-head; and they seemed to have become so common as no longer to be esteemed contemptuous by either party.

The plain of Hassan-kulaah, which we entered three hours from Erzroom . . . is the 146 commencement of the district of Pasin. Of course, the hills we had previously passed, separate the ancient provinces of High Armenia and Ararad; for Pasin was the most westerly canton of the latter. Pasin is now divided into two sanjaks dependent upon Erzroom, and called Upper Pasin and Lower Pasin. Hassan-kulaah is the capital of the former, and Khorasan of the latter. Khorasan lies on the Aras, an hour from Azab, and is a mere village, containing 50 Armenian and 40 Turkish houses. In both sanjaks there were about 1,000 Armenian families, of which 300 or 400 were in Lower Pasin. The Turks were much less numerous. There were a few papal Armenians in Hassan-kulaah, and four other villages.

It is to be hoped that geographers will no longer adhere to the old error of calling Armenia, 152 Turcomania. That name is never applied to it in Turkey itself, and there is not the shadow of a reason why foreigners should use it.

The extent of the country whose inhabitants emigrated is the same with that of the 166 Russian conquests mentioned in the beginning of the preceding letter; except that the troops

remained so short a time in Gumish-khaneh and Baiboort, that few had time to leave those places; and from Terjan, we were told, only forty or fifty families left, although all had the offer. The real number of emigrants was stated to us by an intelligent bishop, who was with the army and said he had his information directly from Gen. Pankratieff, at 7,000 families from the pashalik of Erzroom, 4,000 from that of Kars, and 4,000 from that of Bayezed, making in all 15,000 families, or about 75,000 souls. When we were at Erzroom the second time, however, a young man in the service of the collector of taxes assured us, on the authority of his master, that 97,000 souls left that pashalik alone. They are all located in the part of the pashalik of Akhaltsikhe which was retained by the Russians, and in the adjacent parts of Georgia; except those from Bayezed, who settled not far from the lake of Sevan.

The Armenians of Kars had one church, which was on the same hill as the citadel, but outside of its walls. Our first visit to it was at evening prayer. Its interior resembled that of the church of Erzroom in dirt and darkness, except that a profusion of old silver lamps were suspended from the roof, and a silver cross thickly set with jewels adorned an altar covered with a cloth glittering with spangles. Three priests, who were present, estimated the Armenian population of the city at 600 houses; said they had seventeen priests and two vartabéds, with a bishop at their head whose jurisdiction extended over the whole pashalik; and that there were three vartabéds more in the convent of St. John, nine hours distant towards Erivan.

James Ellsworth De Kay—1792–1885

Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832.

An American

New York, printed and published by J. & J. Harper, 1833

A.D. 1832–1832

<In the bazars of Constantinople> The floor of the stall is raised two feet from the ground; 80 and upon a small rug, spread out on this floor, sits the cross-legged Turkish or Armenian shopkeeper. A small door behind him opens into a little recess or apartment, where those articles are kept which cannot be conveniently exposed in the stall. In making purchases, it is necessary to be on your guard, if you would avoid the grossest imposition. The Armenian, Greek, Persian, and Jewish shopkeepers do not hesitate to ask, at first, double the price which they mean eventually to take, and the Turk is fast falling into the same practice. After I had visited these bazars several times, I inquired of a Turk, from whom I had made several purchases, why he had adopted the unfair practices of his neighbors? He replied, that they had informed him, that Franks were so much in the habit of beating down the price, that if they named immediately the lowest sum they would never be able to dispose of this goods; and that finding this to be really the case, he had, of course, adopted the practice. In general, however, it is safest to deal with the Turk.

Another cause of the frequency of fires is to be found in the private habits, not only of the 88 Turks, but of their imitators the Greeks and Armenians. We allude to their charcoal fires, which are carelessly carried about the house in every direction, and to their constant practice of smoking. Carpenters, cabinet-makers, &c. may be seen daily smoking in their workshops, and knocking out the fire with the utmost nonchalance among the shavings and other combustible materials with which they are surrounded.

The difficulties presented by the Turkish characters have led many to write the language 148 in the letters used by the Armenians, which form a very simple and elegant alphabet. The great bulk of the Armenians are not acquainted with their own language, but all speak Turkish from their cradle, and are accustomed to read that language, written in their own characters, and this forms what is erroneously called Armeno-Turkish. Almost all the religious tracts hitherto published for distribution among the Turks, are printed in this way. I have seen Goldsmith's History of Rome, Young's Night Thoughts, the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Sale of Joseph, the Passion of Christ, and other similar works translated into Turkish, with Armenian characters. These were chiefly printed at Venice, under the auspices of the Metacharistan <Mekhitarian> Society.¹¹

It may be added, that few Turks are acquainted with the Armenian characters, and hence the religious Armeno-Turkish tracts are of no use to them.

We crossed over to the Armenian burying-ground, which is of a much more light and 159/60

cheerful character, as it is shaded by the pretty turpentine-tree (*P. terebinthus*). This tree attains a considerable size, and the resin which exudes from its trunk has an agreeable odor, which may be perceived at some distance. Strange as it may appear, this burying-ground is, or at least was before the destruction of Pera, the fashionable lounge, and is now a common resort for all the idlers of both sexes among the Franks, Greeks, and Armenians. Its elevated and airy situation, the agreeable shade, and the convenience of comfortable seats, afforded by the flat tombstones, conspire to render it a pleasant promenade. I will not pretend to deny that the charms of the Armenian ladies who frequently come hither to visit the tombs of their relatives may not add to this attractions.

The tombstones are flat marble slabs, with the manner and virtues of the deceased cut in Armenian characters, but generally in the Turkish language. Many of the decorations, such as flowers, foliage, &c., are chiseled with rare delicacy and beauty, and the letters are carved with an elegance which I have never seen surpassed in Europe or America.

The implements of the former trade or occupation of the deceased occupy a conspicuous place on the stone, and hence we see a sculptured inkstand denoting a lawyer or scribe, an adze a carpenter, an anvil a blacksmith, and a lancet a barber or surgeon. In some instances, where the defunct has made his exit by violence, the manner of his death is faithfully depicted on his tomb. Thus, on one stone after mentioning the name and date of his death, the deceased is represented on his knees with his head in his hands, while jets of blood spout from his neck in stiff curves, like those issuing from a beer-bottle on a tavern sign. On another the deceased is represented as swinging gracefully from a tree, to denote that he had perished by strangulation. I was at a loss at first to understand why such unseemly | mementos should have been preserved, as they are usually regarded as records of infamy and crime. It was explained to me that the Armenians, in common with the Turks, have heretofore often been subjected to the application of "the second section," whenever their wealth has been sufficiently great to excite the cupidity of the reigning power.

. . . There is one little circumstance connected with these tombstones which displays an amiable trait of character. On the upper corner of each stone are two small cavities, which are usually filled with water. The intention of this is to supply a drink to the thirsty birds, and indeed to invite them to take up their residence in the neighborhood, and by their song to give additional cheerfulness to the spot. It is not, however, exclusively an Armenian practice, for the Turks and other orientals have the same custom.

163 The entire ignorance which prevails on all subjects connected to domestic architecture, or rather, the carelessness which pervades every branch of the mechanic arts, is truly surprising. I do not think that I ever saw a straight wall, a level floor, or a true perpendicular, in any house during my residence in Turkey. The chief architects are Armenians, who build usually by contract, and employ chiefly the wretched Bulgarians as day-laborers.

172 To the city <Constantinople> proper I should be disposed to attribute a population of 250,000, and of these nearly 100,000 are Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. An intelligent Hebrew gentleman informs me that there are 12,000 Jewish families in and about Constantinople, which gives a population of 70,000. This statement may be depended upon, as it was taken from the books of his nation, and of this number 30,000 reside in the capital.

The number of Armenians is about the same, so that the population of Constantinople alone may be thus estimated:

Turks	160,000
Greeks	30,000
Armenians	30,000
Jews	30,000
Total	250,000

An Armenian physician, who is known here under the name of the plague doctor, and is in the service of government, has made an official visit, and his declaration that it is plague in its worst form leaves no room for skepticism. 174

. . . The government derives no inconsiderable sum from the heratch, or capitation-tax, which is levied upon all its rayahs, or subjects, not Mussulmans. This includes Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and, if we are not misinformed, Bulgarians. They pay an annual sum, varying from one to three dollars per head. If, as Hassel intimates, there are six millions of rayahs in European Turkey alone, the revenue from this source must be very great. Independent of this tax, which is said to be one of protection, the rayahs, on account of their being exempted from the operation of the Turkish law with regard to tithes, pay a sort of income tax, which is very onerous, and must, from its nature, be very arbitrary. It amounts to nearly ten per cent upon their earnings, or what is supposed to be the amount of their earnings, in trade or commerce. In one of the pachaliks I was informed, by a Jew, that his nation alone, in a single town, paid 100,000 piastres annually for this tax, besides other exactions dependent upon the whim and caprice of the local authorities. For instance, upon the arrival of a new merigee, or governor, his nation were admitted to the high honor of feasting and entertaining, for three days, his excellency, and this usually cost them about 25,000 piastres. The Greeks and Armenians take their turn in entertaining and paying, in the same manner. I was told, by a person who had the best right to be informed on the subject, that in one of the provincial towns permission had been granted by the governor to a rayah to dock out and build upon the water, exacting, of course, a valuable consideration for this permission. Shortly after the captain pacha, or his agent, entered the port, and inquired by what authority encroachments were made on his domain,—for he is understood to exercise all dominion and power over every spot washed by the sea,—when the unfortunate rayah, to save his property, was again compelled to pay a handsome fee to the captain pacha. These are not solitary cases of oppression exercised over the rayahs, and it is really marvelous that they can exist under it; but exist they do, and appear to be quite as prosperous as their torpid Turkish masters. I have frequently asked these Greeks, Armenians, and Jews why they would persist in remaining in a country where the fruits of their industry were so severely, and often capriciously, taxed. The usual answer was, that they would be compelled to pay taxes anywhere, and that, after all, there was no such country on the face of the globe as their own. They are, it seems, willing slaves, and it is only when smarting under the recent infliction of a tax that they think of murmuring against their masters. 208

It was stated that the government have labored zealously, for the last few years, to lighten the burdens upon the rayahs, and to correct the many errors which arise from the unjust and 210

impolitic mode of collecting the revenue. This measure is, of course, vehemently opposed by the pachas and other high officers, and it requires the most vigorous and decided measures to carry it into execution.

301 We were invited a few evenings since to the house of a friend, where we were informed that several Armenian ladies would be present, and where we should have an opportunity of seeing in perfection the exact costume of the higher classes of Turkish ladies, as they appear upon occasions of ceremony when male visitors are excluded. The Armenians in fact resemble the Turks more than any other people. Like them, they are of oriental origin, and in manner, customs, modes of thinking, and every thing but religion, may be considered as the same people. The Armenian party consisted of four ladies, accompanied by their husbands, brothers, and father. They were, indeed, dressed out in a marvelous manner, and one in particular was so splendidly attired, that albeit unused to describe the fancy work of milliners, we must in compliment to our fair readers attempt at least a sketch of her appearance.

A small scarlet cap with a purple tassel just fitted the top of her head, and round this was gracefully wound an ample turban of silver tissue, with a superb sprig of the most costly
302 diamonds in front. The hair, which was fancifully | intermingled with silk of various hues, hung down in graceful curls over the back and shoulders. A dark velvet jacket with large variegated silken sleeves, embroidered with gold in the most expensive style, fitted tight to the body above, and hung down about her feet in divers strange and fantastical scollops and appendages, which it is utterly impossible to describe. An open under dress of black crepe, and beneath this the prettiest Turkish drawers in the world, of gold and silver tissue, with tiny yellow terleeks, or boots, completed the most splendid and certainly the most costly dress we ever witnessed. In the dazzling effect produced by this gorgeous and becoming dress, and its connection with a lovely face, we certainly never should have dreamed of its pecuniary value, had it not been whispered to us that the little gypsy actually wore on her person at that moment articles costing not less than five thousand dollars. The splendid diamond ring on her finger was a present from her husband when they were first betrothed and the brilliant sprig or plume in her turban was another present when she first unveiled and permitted her husband to see her face. Although the general effect of the dress was magnificent and imposing in a high degree, yet as she entered the room all the Americans present were ready to pronounce her to be one of our own red women of the forest. The comparison was heightened by the similarity in the complexion of the Armenian ladies, which, let it be said in a whisper, borders, if not exactly upon the tawny, at least upon something approaching to it. They entered the room with the ease of well-bred women, and after the usual salutation, which consists in placing the right hand in rapid succession to the breast, mouth, and forehead, they proceeded to take their seats. This, however, is no easy task without much previous practice, owing to their flowing robes and the manner in which it is necessary to dispose of them previous to sitting down. The external slippers or papooshes are first shuffled
303 off, and left on the carpet near | the divan or low sofa with which every house in Turkey is provided. They step upon the divan, and turning round lower themselves down in a way which it would be difficult to describe. It is not exactly cross-legged, although apparently something like it, and is varied occasionally by resting on their knees for a change of posture. One of the young ladies was a near relative of the heroine of M'Farlane's clever novel entitled

The Armenians.¹² The story is founded upon an event of real life which occurred at Constantinople a few months before our arrival. Veronica Tinghir Oglou was pointed out to us one day from the window of her father's house on the Bosphorus. The young Greek is still alive at Jassy, and, very unhero-like, boasts of the sums of money which he expended in obtaining the fair Veronica.

The Armenians form no inconsiderable part, and by far the most respectable portion of the Christian population of the East. Their closely shorn heads, their immense balloon hats, flowing robes, and solemn air impress a stranger at first sight very disagreeably, but this wears off upon a further acquaintance. Strange as it may appear to those who only know them under their present aspect, which is that of a patient, money-getting, prudent, and timid race, they were formerly a brave and warlike people. Originally inhabiting Armenia, they bravely and desperately contended the Persians in many a bloody field, but were finally subdued, and their martial propensities so thoroughly quenched, that we hear nothing of them for many succeeding generations, except as a great and flourishing agricultural people. They had so completely abandoned the sword for the ploughshare, that, like our own Quakers, they submitted to insult and injury rather than attempt even a show of resistance. As skillful and patient cultivators of the soil, their labors were blessed by plentiful harvests, which but too often they were not permitted to reap. In the wars between Persia and Turkey their now rich and fertile country became a convenient granary, from whence the Turkish armies derived 304 their supplies when they made their inroads upon Persia. At length Shah Abbas the Great (as he is designated in history) determined from motives of state policy to lay waste the whole country, and remove the peaceable and unresisting inhabitants into the interior of his own empire. By this decisive but cruel measure he prevented the encampment of Turkish armies on the frontiers of his dominions, at the expense, however, of the lives of thousands of an inoffensive race. Its effects were nevertheless advantageous to his country, for by incorporating such a patient and laborious people among his own subjects he gave a new spirit of activity and industry, which greatly increased the wealth and resources of his empire.

After this forced emigration, the Armenians could not in their new situation cultivate the soil, and were therefore compelled to substitute commerce for agriculture. In their new pursuits they displayed the same unwearied patience, industry, and prudence, and were soon distinguished as enterprising, intelligent, and upright merchants throughout Europe and Asia. It is difficult, nay almost impossible, as we have already frequently had occasion to mention, to ascertain the actual Armenian population; and hence it can be but mere conjecture which estimates the number of Armenians in the Turkish empire at 2,000,000. In Constantinople and its suburbs they are supposed to exceed 120,000, and exercise all the trades and occupations required in a large city. The most wealthy are bankers and brokers. They buy up specie and loan it to the Turks at the rate of twenty and thirty per cent. They allow twelve per cent on all deposits, and are proudly distinguished for their punctuality and integrity. There are Armenian surgeons, physicians, and apothecaries. They are the chief housebuilders, masons, cabinet-makers; and as farriers and horse-breakers are said to be the best in the country. They also form a large portion of the water-carriers of the metropolis, transporting 305 this important fluid in large leathern bags upon their shoulders. Indeed they exercise all the mechanic arts, and from their activity, industry, and ingenuity, have been termed the Yankees of the East. This, however, seems hardly applicable, for they are not partial to innovations, are

grave, taciturn, docile, and meek under injuries. From their docility, endurance of fatigue, and patience, the Turks with more propriety term them *men camels*.

They are divided into two great sects. One is termed Catholic, and the other heretic, schismatic, or gross Armenians. As the religious belief of these two sects varies only in a few unimportant particulars, they of course hold each other in utter detestation. The schismatic Armenians do not acknowledge the supremacy of the pope; but to compensate for this, observe their fasts with scrupulous severity. On their fast days they avoid with horror the use of meat, fish, butter, milk, and cheese, and during Lent abstain likewise from caviar, oil, oysters, mussels, and clams. Their priests marry, and their patriarch, who resides at Jerusalem, is called Etchmiadzin Aratch Nortuk. The most obnoxious article of their faith is their belief in certain saints and martyrs, who are regarded by the other sect as entirely apocryphal.

The Catholic Armenians are few in number when compared with the schismatics, but by various means had contrived to occupy all the most lucrative offices and situations within their reach. This of course did not fail to increase the rancor already existing between them. It is impossible to say what grounds existed for the charge that the Catholic Armenians were spies in the interest and pay of the European powers. It is, however, well known that many of them were in the employ of foreigners, and enjoyed foreign protection in the capital; and when the Russians occupied Adrianople they were of material service to the enemy. Whatever
 306 may have been the foundation for the charge, it was urged so successfully by the schismatics, aided by the timely application of the omnipotent *bakshish*, that a decree of banishment was issued against them. By this decree, which took place in 1827, ten thousand Catholic Armenians were banished from Constantinople, and ordered to leave within twelve days. A nunnery containing twenty or thirty enthusiasts was ordered to be abolished; and to fill up the cup of their misery to the brim, another measure was adopted which gave a farcical character to the otherwise harsh decree. The daughters of some of the wealthiest Catholics, who had long sighed in utter hopelessness for young heretic Armenians, were ordered to marry them immediately. To the daughters this was of course an agreeable mandate, but it was gall and wormwood to their bigoted parents. They were allowed to sell their moveable property, but their houses were taken possession of by the government. To alleviate in some degree the rigor of their exile, they were permitted to return to the places from whence they originally came, and they accordingly selected Angora, Brusa, and Adrianople, for their future abodes.

At the expiration of two years and a half they were all recalled, chiefly, it is said, through the instrumentality of the French ambassador, Guilleminot, who succeeded in convincing the Turkish government that the decree was equally cruel, impolitic, and unjust. The exertions of this benevolent gentleman were the more praiseworthy, as he had not the sympathy of a coreligionist to induce him to use his influence in their favor. He was a decided Protestant.

At the time of their exile, a commission had been appointed to sell the houses and lands of the Catholic Armenians. They were necessarily sold very low, and in many instances entirely sacrificed. As a necessary accompaniment to the act of justice which produced their
 307 recall, they were permitted to take possession of their houses, but were required to refund to the actual holders the sums for which they had been originally sacrificed. This bore very hard upon the Turkish proprietors, who had in most cases spent large sums of money in decorations and improvements, all of which were of course entirely lost. The Turks, aided, it

is said, by the schismatic Armenians, put all manner of impediments in their way, and succeeded in obtaining an order from the Nazir, or superintendent of buildings, that all houses which were painted red should not be restored, as this color denoted Turkish occupancy.

An amusing scene ensued. All was bustle, hurry, and confusion during the night succeeding the publication of this absurd decree; and on the following morning it was scarcely possible to recognize the same neighborhood, for it was discovered that whole streets had assumed the same uniform orthodox color. The order of the Nazir was rescinded, and he was punished for his impertinent presumption. The secretary of the sultan, Mustapha Effendi, gave the first example, by surrendering up without any remuneration several magnificent houses which he had acquired at the public sales, and his example found numerous imitators. The effect of this rapid succession of owners gave rise to several curious occurrences. Among others, we were informed of a Frank physician who had been rewarded for his professional services by the present of a house, valued at five thousand dollars. It was a noble fee, and the physician spent a large sum in various alterations to render it more commodious and worthy of the generous donor. The patient died, but the substantial fee remained; and the worthy doctor was snugly established in his comfortable mansion, waiting patiently for a new subject, when the decree of the sultan was promulgated. The original proprietor appeared, and was received with great courtesy by the doctor, who prescribed immediately for some chronic disease of which the Armenian complained. The sum of \$500 was put into his hands with great formality by the pseudo patient, and he stopped the grateful doctor's thanks immediately, by informing him that this sum was not a fee, but an equivalent for the original purchase-money of his house, which he civilly requested him to evacuate as soon as possible. The matter was not adjusted when we left Constantinople, owing to one of parties being a European; but the doctor's professional brethren, who of course sympathize deeply on such occasions, said it was the bitterest dose the doctor had ever prescribed or tasted. 308

We have hinted at the fact of the Armenians having sided with the Russian army when they occupied Adrianople. Upon the withdrawal of that army, conscious how far they had committed themselves, they fled the country by thousands, and taking refuge on the frontiers, abandoned their houses, farms, and property of every description. From mixed motives of policy and humanity the sultan issued a decree shortly after the conclusion of the war, in which we find these remarkable words: "It is my imperial will that you (the governors, &c.) gain their confidence, and induce them to return to their occupations. I wish you to employ all the means in your power to conciliate and gain their good-will." All inquiries into their past conduct were forbidden, and a due tribute of praise was accorded to their valuable qualities as citizens. We were informed that many thousands returned under the protection of this decree, which they found to be an ample safeguard, and very different from those atrocious documents issued by the government of Spain and Austria under the name of amnesty, by which they inveigle their victims under false pretenses within their grasp, and then securely glut their vengeance.

The Armenians are more addicted to letters than the Turks, and we have seen many book-shops in Constantinople groaning under their productions in various departments of literature. Unlike their oriental brethren, they devote much attention to the literature of Europe, and the accuracy with which they write and speak foreign languages is truly 309

surprising. An Armenian, Joseph Asker Oglu, a ripe and a good scholar, who now acts as second dragoman to the American mission, we may adduce as a remarkable instance of the facility with which our difficult and abnormal pronunciation may be conquered. In the course of a fortnight this gentleman was enabled, with little instruction, to read a chapter from the Bible with the perfect accuracy of a well-educated American. The greater part of their literature, it must be confessed, is wasted upon the barren and unprofitable field of sectarian polemics; but they have also authors in their own language worthy of any country. D'Ohsson,¹³ an Armenian, has written, according to the testimony of competent judges, the very best history and description of the Turkish institutions that has yet appeared.

383 <In Brusa> The business of unwinding these cocoons is chiefly in the hands of Jews and
Armenians.

400 . . . Even at the present day Greeks and Armenians, who live in Turkish quarters or
districts, feel themselves obliged to adopt the yashmak, to avoid the reputation of being
401 indecent or impudent among their veiled neighbors. This, however, is rapidly passing away.

David Porter—1780–1843

Constantinople and its Environs in a Series of Letters. Exhibiting the actual state of manners, customs, and habits of the Turks, Armenians, Jews, and Greeks, and modified by the policy of Sultan Mahmoud.

An American,¹⁴ long resident at Constantinople

In two volumes. New York, published by Harper & Brothers, 1835

A.D. 1831 <Buyucderè, Sept. 9>

<Vol. I>

The villages on each side the Bosphorus are Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Jewish.

22

The Turkish houses are painted fancifully and tastily; the Greek and Jewish of a lead color; the Armenians red. They do not mingle with one another except in business; live in separate and distinct societies in villages apart from one another, each having their own priests and churches, and | exercising their respective religions uninterrupted. I have been in the interior 23 of one of the Turkish palaces on the Bosphorus. In point of splendor and luxury it exceeded all I had ever seen before.— It had been built by a rich Armenian, who had his head taken off. The house was given to a favorite of the Sultan, who was altering a little the paint work, and fitting it up for his harem. These Armenians have immense wealth. To see them in the streets with their humble look, black lamb-skin cap, and coarse long black coat, or frock, you would suppose them beggars. The moment they enter their own doors, humility is thrown aside, and you would suppose them princes. I sent for one the other day to bring me some jewelry to look at; he was introduced—a humble, beggarly looking fellow; he unloaded his various packets of \$25,000 worth of snuff boxes covered with diamonds, and informed me that if I wished to see more he would bring me a million or two of dollars worth.

The Armenian women in their houses dress much as ours do, or something between the Greek costume and ours; but when in the street, they conceal their faces all but the eyes, and muffle themselves up much like the Turkish women, between the dresses of whom there is little difference, except in the color of their slippers: the Turkish women wear yellow and the Armenian red or black.

<Buyucderè, Sep. 26, 1831>

. . . They <the Armenians> are queer things; the major of those I had to deal with is the 35 queerest of all. An old stout man, head and face shaved all over, except a pair of milk-white mustaches a little burnt at the end. A face like a tiger-cat, long ears, and a black cap resembling a narrow-mouthed iron pot turned upside down on his head. A long silk striped gown to his ankles, girded around the loins, and over all a black woolen cloak with sleeves, lined with ermine; red boots, and red slippers over them. Breast stuffed with handkerchiefs, memorandums, | and account books, inkstand, and all the other implements of brokerage and 36 roguery. These fellows are generally very rich, and are here what the Jews are in Barbary.

All money business is transacted by them. Buying and selling bills of exchange and merchandise, and in fact brokerage of every description. They are in the run of business, meek and humble in their exterior appearance, and the more rich the greater their apparent poverty. I have seen the inside of an Armenian house built for his own residence, and of course that

of his family; but as he was too rich to live, his head was taken off, and his body exposed in the street. You will find in a kind of Novel called “the Armenians,” an account of him, and a translation of the Turkish label pinned to his breast. It is impossible for us to conceive, without having seen it, what oriental luxury is; I shall not therefore attempt to describe the house I visited . . .

I have seen also many of the splendid gardens belonging to Armenians, which are laid out and ornamented in the highest style of elegance and luxury. The exterior of their harems is in appearance corresponding with their persons, but nothing can exceed the wealth within. I am
 37 told that the moment they touch their threshold, good bye ! humility, good bye black iron pot and cloak; good bye red slippers, and *enter Prince!*

A few days ago I had the pleasure of a visit from two young Armenian ladies who came to witness the christening of an American child, the son of a Mr. Goodell, a missionary from the United States. They came with their mother; one was about eighteen, the other about twenty years of age. I had never before seen them in their national costume, without the broad cloth cloak and veil; for the dress of the Turkish and Armenian women is in every respect precisely the same, except the turban and the red slippers, which are worn by the latter, and the turban gives a finish and beauty to the figure, worn as it is by them, which it is very difficult to describe. You must not form an idea of what an Armenian turban is by the things called turbans worn by the ladies of the United States. The manner of putting them on, and their composition I shall not attempt to describe; but their richness from the exquisite beauty of the materials and coloring, intertwined with their long and glossy black hair, and decorated with costly diamond ornaments and pearls, displaying a large and beautiful aigrette in front, the brilliancy of which was heightened by the presence of a single black feather (I believe a heron’s feather) of a few inches in length, was exquisite. A transparent white veil hung from
 it loosely down over the right shoulder, and was a perfect finish to the head gear.

38 When they entered the room, which they did ! without notice, I was struck with astonishment at the truly oriental richness they displayed. Their faces, which were of a rare beauty, expressed wonder at every thing they saw, for they were not aware of the concourse which had assembled. It appeared as though this was the first time they had ever been in public. Their figures were beautiful, and their robes, which were magnificently rich, hung in folds before and behind, about eighteen inches on the floor, and were slit up on each side a little below the knee, showing the full loose Turkish trousers, which gather around the ankle, and are of the finest texture, as white as the driven snow.

Nothing could be more brilliant than their fine dark eyes, set off by black arched eyebrows, almost meeting over the nose, and the slight black tinge which art had given to the edges of the eyelid, heightened greatly their expression. I had read of the richness of dress and of the beauty of the oriental females, but never before had a correct idea before. I have hardly given a sketch of them, for I was so surprised at their unexpected appearance, so much like a vision, that I was somewhat bewildered, and so is my description. I imagined confusedly something about Lallah Rookh, pride of the harem, or some such sort of things, and could hardly believe their presence real, as they stood before me; and this was chiefly the effect produced by dress, for these were the daughters of the humble, degraded race I have before described, with skins
 39 (I mean ! their fathers) as brown as sole leather and as thick too, with ears as long as a Jackass.

I have noticed that the children of the Armenians, both male and female are beautiful; I have never seen one otherwise. But the old men, and old women are, without exception, horribly ugly. The face of a miser every body can imagine, and from every pair of Armenian shoulders, after the age of thirty, sprouts up a miser's head. This is the effect of habit and education, which we all know, do change the human countenance, and I am inclined to believe have lengthened the ears of the Armenians, as they scarcely ever speak above their breath, and it requires the nicest organs of hearing to detect the sound of their voices when in conversation together, either in the house or the street. It is always in a whisper lest some words be detected that might involve them in difficulty.

<Buyucderè, Nov. 7, 1831>

The top of the mountain <Olympus, where the "Giant's Grave" is> is flat, and from 65 appearance I have no doubt was leveled by the hand of man. The trees were also planted there, and afford pleasant shades to the numerous visitors who frequent the mountain to enjoy the splendid view, and to spend the day in pic-nics, of which Turkish women are very fond; they call it spending a day of *keff*, that is, a jollification. The men very seldom or ever accompany them. The Armenians and the Greeks are equally fond of these merry-makings . . .

During all this period of Ramazan, Carnival and Bairam, the Armenian preserved 127 undisturbed his imperturbable gravity; always the man of business, the eternal counter of gains, and incapable of any lively enjoyments, his heart and soul seem buried among his daily accumulating piastres and paras. The Armenian is never happy, and never miserable, at least in appearance. Among the multitudes of various nations which inhabit this modern Babel, he is called the "*man camel*," from his capacity | for endurance, his indefatigability, his patience, 128 and his utility.

Give the Armenian an opportunity to wear the yellow slippers, and to cheat the Sultan, and he enjoys the *summum bonum* of all earthly happiness, although he feels at every instant that he dare not blow his nose, for fear his head may fall from his shoulders. The Armenians are, it is true, fond of pomp and display of wealth; this, after obtaining it, is their ruling passion, their besetting sin, and often their ruin.

You have heard of the Greek <Armenian> seraf or banker, Dooz Ouglou. Some five or six years since, he was head of the mint. He of course cheated the Sultan. He built splendid palaces on the Bosphorus, laid out magnificent gardens, gave large festivals (Kefs) to his numerous connections, thirty or forty boat loads at a time. Without previous notice given, he was found one morning suspended at the lintel of his own door, with the following yafta or label pinned to his breast. "By the negligence and misconduct of the persons in the imperial mint for the last three or four years, the person hereafter named, taking advantage of the perfidy which is innate in their characters, has with them, defrauded the Treasury of more than 20,000 purses (each purse is 500 piastres) of money, to which amount they have become debtors; and they have expended this sum in building palaces on the Bosphorus and in the city, as well as in other objects of luxury and ostentation, to the great injury of the Ottoman community. Besides | all this, they have built private chapels in the houses of persons of their 129 nation, where they employed Catholic priests, and have had the audacity to exercise the false religion even in the capital of the empire.

“It is one of these Dooz Ouglous (children of Dooz), named Kircher, who has been punished with death, as he merited, for his treachery; and this is his miserable carcass.”

The body was the same day cut down, and after decapitation was exposed in the streets; his splendid palace was burnt to ashes, the whole of the property of this numerous family was seized upon and confiscated, and every member of it sent into exile.

Within the last three years they have been permitted to return to the capital; many of them have become the bankers of the Sultan and his nobles, and one of them holds the dangerous post of his relative and predecessor, the Dooz Ouglou Kircher. This man does not deny that he derives from the mint an honest revenue of a million of piastres per annum, and it is well known (as many say here), that he cheats the Sultan of double the amount. Yet this man says that he is “certain of dying with his head on his shoulders.”

I have been all through the mint. It gives employment to about a thousand persons. The plates of metal of which the money is made, are all hammered out; and the power applied for the purpose of cutting and stamping, is that of the lever and screw. Manual labor alone is
 130 employed, and the number of men is increased or diminished in proportion to the force required. To stamp a ten piastre piece, five men would be applied to the powerful horizontal levers heavily loaded with lead at the ends, which work the screws. The ten piastre piece is nearly of the size of a dollar, and of harder metal. To stamp the para, the fortieth part of a piastre, a boy will suffice. Considering this clumsy contrivance they are struck off with vast rapidity. The daily emission from the mint, chiefly in small coin, is at present \$150,000; but it can be increased to double the amount. The mint is a very fine building, and occupies a considerable space within the seraglio walls. It is managed altogether by Armenians; the laborers are chiefly Greeks, and the system of management appears to be admirable. No two branches interfere in the slightest degree with each other. Every workman is confined to his own department, of whom there are about twenty, including weighers, die-sinkers, blacksmiths, whitesmiths, &c. The head of the mint was not there when I visited it, but having heard of my intention, he had given orders that every thing should be shown to me, which were faithfully obeyed.

The revenue derived from the mint must be great, and it might be augmented to double, were machinery substituted for manual labor, particularly in rolling out the plates, and cutting and stamping the coin. The money of the empire is all base, from the twenty piastre
 131 gold washed piece, down to the para, said to be silver washed, but scarcely washed at all. The Turks call them gold and silver coin, but all depends on the christening. All, are made of the same metal. Gild a twenty para piece, and it immediately becomes twenty piastres; gild a para, and it is instantly a rubick or three piastres. To give you a better idea of the coin of the country, I send you a half-piastre, which is twenty paras; a quarter of a piastre which is ten paras, and a para, seven hundred and twenty of which make a dollar. There are, below the para, two imaginary coins, one is called the arpar, the other, I think, the manga; the value of neither of which is worth knowing, though I believe the first bears about the same relative value to the para, as the para does to the quarter piastre; and the same maybe said of the manga, with respect to the arpar. No mint could afford to coin either, and if they were coined, it would require a microscope to find them.

<Buyucderè, March 22, 1832>

I have often spoken to you about the Armenians, but my observations, so far as I recollect 132 them, have been chiefly confined to their customs and manners. I have said little about them as an important class in the empire, and of the extraordinary privileges they enjoy, such as are not enjoyed even by the Turks themselves.

To give you some ideas on this subject, I now send you a translation such as it is, of a Berah, or paper of privileges, permitted by Hatty Scheriff, (imperial order) to be enjoyed by them. You will see by this, that they are a government, (a religious one) within a government, over which none but the Sultan has a control. The poor Greeks, alas! have lost, since the revolution, nearly all their privileges, which were many. They exercise that however of being gay, and *appearing* happy; of being devoted to their priests, religion and saints, and for the sake | of a frolic, keeping the festivals of all sects, be they those of the Turk, Armenian, Jew, 133 or their own . . .

The Armenians, as I believe I before informed you, are fond of “Keff” (jollification), so are the Turks. Of these latter, the Greeks are a little shy, | but they no sooner espy two or three 134 families of Armenians getting their kaicks (boats) ready, and preparing their chibouks (pipes), and narghiles (East India hookahs), than there is a general inquiry, “what are they at?—where are they going?” “For keff,” is the reply, and “they are going to such or such a place.” The Greeks follow in their wake, and while the one party with their female companions, enjoy the luxuries of silence and smoking, the other is employed in dancing their favorite *Romaic* and *Albanaire* which require the full power of every muscle, and the very highest pitch of the voice to accompany and to excite the action. Nothing can exceed the gravity and strict decorum of the one, and nothing exceed the hilarity and frivolity of the other. If the Greek can make you laugh, he cares not how ridiculous he makes himself. All he asks is, that you will laugh at his folly, and in this he is made happy.

I have been frequently in the houses of both Armenians and Greeks, and in those of both have received great kindness and hospitality. On your entrance to that of the Armenian you are met and welcomed by all the females of the family—mother, sisters, daughters and maid-servants. The salutation is, to touch the forehead with the finger, then the chin, and this is repeated two or three times. You are then ushered into the best room, and seated on the divan. This custom is perfectly Turkish, I mean having the divan. The handsomest female always brings you a cup of coffee; the sisters and | daughters in a string, in succession bring you first, 135 sweetmeats, then sherbet; and rose-water with which they sprinkle you, and afterward a towel. If you stay long, this is repeated. Every thing in the house is offered you; nothing is too good for you; they want to kiss your foot, and actually kiss your hand. When you depart, it is “like ice falling on their hearts;” I speak now of an *Elché Bey*, minister or charge. They all follow to the head of the stairs, all pouring out compliments on the honor done to their house. “They are all slaves to your will. They all feel their own inworthiness, and the memory of the visit, and their gratitude is for ever engraven on their hearts.” You offer your hand for a parting shake—it is seized, kissed, and placed on their foreheads. They follow you down stairs—you beg of them to retire, but “they must see you to the last step”—again you beg of them to retire—“they must see you out of the house,” and in fine, they follow you through the courtyard to the gate, where the whole ceremony of taking leave is to be gone over again. There is a kind of impressive politeness in the houses of the Armenians, which leaves on the mind in

spite of all prejudice, a most favorable recollection of the kindness of their nature. Rank, it is true, they reverence; but on many occasions, I have, in a playful humor, induced them to forget rank. I have accommodated myself to my company, and entered into their amusements. I have made every man, woman and girl, change their dresses half a dozen times
 136 of an evening. The Armenians are ostentatious, and in nothing more so than in their dress. That which is worn in the street, places all alike, rich and poor, on an equality: there is no difference. I sent you a picture of an Armenian that will do for the whole nation. It is impossible to detect wealth or poverty under such a garb. But see them in their houses, get them in the humor (and it is not difficult to do so), of dressing themselves, and the gold and silver, diamonds, and precious pearls and stones; then richly embroidered pelisses of the most costly furs are produced, and you are struck with surprise and astonishment at the expense lavished on personal ornaments, which they dare wear only in private.

The old ones will display their bridal dresses, and show with delight their marriage presents. The marriageable, will dress themselves in the manner in which they intend to be dressed when married. The young men will retire and decorate themselves with habiliments of the richest fashions, which have never been seen in public, and their pride of dress extends so far, as to induce them to importune you to decorate yourself with their clothing, that they may have the gratification of admiring on another, what they cannot so well see on themselves. I have never met in any part of the world, with a people who were so fond of personal decoration as the Armenians, and yet, prudence forbids the exposure of it in the streets. There is but one beauty that is allowed to be exposed abroad, and that is the eye and
 137 its appurtenances. The lashes and the brows, you know well that art has been employed in the embellishment of but you confess that nature never made any thing half so beautiful. The eye of the Armenian female is naturally fine, of a bright and piercing black. The eye-lashes are long, and the eye-brows are full and also long. When covered with the yarkmark, the eye-brows, eyes and lashes, the upper part of the nose, about half an inch of the forehead, and the upper part of the peach-colored rounding of the cheek, are all that are seen. The rest is all broad-cloth and linen, mesters and papouches, (boots and slippers.) Hence these visible parts of the women are decorated and cultivated with the utmost care, leaving it to the imagination to fancy the rest.

The eye-brows, by means and assistance of the tweezers and surm, a black coloring matter, are made to assume a crescent-like form drawn with so much delicacy and art, that you are persuaded that nature alone could have made them what they are; the termination on each side of the forehead forming a delicate point, as though drawn with a camel's hair pencil by the hand of the most skillful artist, and of a jet black. The middle over the eyes and nose has a most graceful swell and breadth, and examine them as you will, you discover nothing but nature. The lids of the eyes, and the long and silken lashes have also had their share of the labor of the toilet, and the forehead and cheeks have not been neglected. Perhaps there cannot
 138 be any thing more charming than so much of the face of a Turkish or Armenian lady as I have described. Of the two, however, that of the Armenian has, in my estimation, the preference. The Armenian ladies take more exercise, are more in the habit of associating with male society, are more intellectual, and by a little playful coquetry manage to make their eyes sparkle more brightly, and appear to greater advantage.

The dress of the Turkish woman, in the street, differs from the Armenian principally in color. The outer garments of the latter are of a grave and dark color; the mesters and papoutches of red morocco. She also wears her turban under her yarkmark, which is the thin, delicate, and almost transparent muslin that covers her head and face, except the parts disclosed. The outer garments of the Turkish ladies depend on fancy; sometimes of a bright scarlet, but generally of a dove color, light blue, olive, or some other indefinite, fanciful, and delicate tint. They never wear turbans, and their mesters and papoutches are of yellow morocco.

Many of the Armenians, however, have, ever since I have been here (both male and female), thrown off their national costume, and adopted the French dress, except the turban, which the females continue to wear, it being too beautiful to be discarded. The young men also, in every other respect, dress in the height of the London and Parisian fashions, and wear the red bonnet of the Turk, with the rich blue fringe hanging down behind; for they have not yet had time for their hair to grow out, and consequently cannot wear the hat. The Armenian men shave their heads. The little girls and boys are dressed much as ours are. The former wear short, pretty coats and trousers; the latter full trousers buttoned over their short jackets. The hair of both, which grows with Greek luxuriance, hangs down in plaits behind. 139

The Armenian women believe that they are defective in the height of their figures, and for that reason wear a kind a galoshoe, or cob-cob, as they are sometimes called, which they slip on when they go into the street, let the ground be wet or dry, and which they leave at the door on going into a house. They are certainly, in general, not tall; but according to my ideas of beauty, do not fall short of what I conceive to be the standard, and many are above it. I never yet have seen a full-grown Armenian lady I thought too small. This passion for artificial height, by means of cob-cobs, gives them an awkward gait, as the feet must be kept parallel with one another, and placed flat on the ground. When without the cob-cobs, their walk is graceful and majestic . . .

<Kadi Kieuy, April 26, 1832>

A few days since, I determined to visit the Seven Towers and make the circuit of Constantinople, as there are various opinions as to its extent. 167

I commenced at the point of the seraglio, not far from the Golden Gate, and from the time we were rowing the distance, as well as from my judgment of space over the water, acquired by long habit and experience, I should suppose from thence to the Seven Towers to be five miles. We had a most interesting row along shore, and at the landing places wherever there were breaks in the wall, we found this part of the city equally as populous as the rest we had seen.

We found in this quarter several extensive landing places for the fixing of the colors of painted cottons, and a species of painted handkerchief called Kalemkar, worn by the Turkish, Greek and Armenian women in different forms on the head. The two latter put them on with vast taste, puffed out so as to resemble a light and graceful turban, sometimes decorated with golden ornaments and precious stones. The Turkish women merely tie them round their heads, and the heads of their children, for they never wear turbans, as it is generally supposed they do. When they go out of their houses, which they do in great multitudes at this season of the year, for the purpose of enjoying the fresh air of the country, they merely throw over 168

their heads a pure white muslin; very fine, and over the mouth and chin they throw the yackmack, which is a pure white and light transparent piece of the finest cambric. These, with a pair of sparkling black eyes, finely arched eye-brows and handsome nose, the Feridje, or cloak, a pair of yellow mesters, or boots, and a pair of yellow papouches, or slippers, are all that is generally to be seen of the outward Turkish woman. The Armenians affect, when abroad, the dress and manners of the Turkish women, except that they wear under their linen head gear, their full and beautiful kalemkars and the *red* slipper, which is the badge of their race.

<Kadi Kieuy, May 1, 1832>

- 189 There are also two grand divisions among the Armenians, those who use the miron from the foot of Mount Ararat, and those who use the miron from Jerusalem. The miron, is the holy oil used in the last unction, and on other religious occasions. The Patriarch of Ararat, or Upper Armenia, once had the exclusive privilege of manufacturing and disposing of it in Armenia, Persia and Turkey, where immense quantities of it are used. The Bishop of Jerusalem, however, obtained from the Porte, the privilege of manufacturing it for the use of the Armenians in Turkey. This occasioned a terrible schism among them, for all communication has ceased to exist between those who use the miron of Ararat, and those who use that of the holy city. The miron is made of olive oil; into which are thrown various odorific herbs and drugs. It is boiled with holy things which have been used in the churches, such as old statues of saints, church ornaments, old and sacred books; to which are added the bones of persons who have been venerated among the people. The boiling takes place between
190 Palm Sunday and Holy Thursday, during which | time, the patriarch, bishops and priests, are incessantly employed in blessing it.

The manner of manufacturing the oil in both places is precisely the same; but the true Armenian holds that none but what comes from the convent of Echesniazin, at the foot of Ararat, is effectual. The Armenian who has none of it within his household, is lost beyond redemption.

<Kadi Kieuy, June 1, 1832>

- 212 In this place <Nicomedia>, there are two Armenian churches and one Greek; and two or three miles distant, there is an Armenian convent. The churches we visited. In the convent, are half a dozen or more Jews, who a few years since turned Christians, and who were banished by the Sultan, at the earnest desire of the Jewish priesthood, for so doing, as was also the Armenian Bishop, who baptized and who is now with them. The Jews would certainly have murdered them, if they had remained in Constantinople; therefore, to save their lives, it was necessary that they should be banished, and thus protected. Great interest is now being
213 made by the Armenians, to obtain permission for them to | return. As there is nothing done here without "Bacsth Tasch," the Sultan finds his account in deciding on such matters.

- 216 At length, in apparently somewhat descending, we discovered about two miles to the left of our road, a Turkish village, which may always be known by the cypress trees and burying-ground; and soon after this, an Armenian village, which may be known by the neat cultivation, the fine shady trees, the mill-race, and an air of primitive patriarchal sort of

comfort, which seems to be thrown over it. You can once in a while, at a distance, see something like a petticoat moving about; herds of cattle; flocks of sheep, goats, &c. none of which are visible on your approach to a Turkish town, where all is still and gloomy.

Shop keepers you will find sitting cross-legged, | waiting for their customers, too lazy and 217 indolent to rise for the purpose of taking down an article for inspection. What is curious, the Turks are always sellers; the Greeks and Armenians are sometimes sellers, but always buyers. It is a truth, that I have never seen a Turk buy any thing since I have been in the country. They are absolutely too indolent to buy. Neither have I ever seen a Turk work, if there was a possibility of his being idle. I have never seen one stand, if by any possibility he could be seated . . .

We passed to the Armenian village, which lay a quarter of a mile to our right. We found 220 the streets filled with women and children. There were few men among them, as they were at work in the fields and attending their flocks. Their clothing did not differ from that of the Turks, excepting that the turbans of the men were of blue cotton, and that the faces of the women were not covered. There were many pretty faces among them, but all were quite brown from exposure to the sun. They were very kind, easy, and affable in their manners, and by no means shy. We were evidently objects of great curiosity to them, and probably the first they had ever seen in the Frank dress. The chief man of the village, an old Armenian, attended to all our wants, procuring for us coffee, pipes, and “yaourt,” and afterward showing us a considerable distance on our road. Mustapha, at parting, condescendingly presented to him two piastres, about twelve and a half cents, for which the old man reverentially kissed his hand, and placed it on his forehead. I here, for the first time, saw a party engaged in a game, which is a sort of compound of checkers and chess. The game seemed to excite great interest among the lookers-on.

They gave me here a drink which was extremely refreshing; and thirsty, and fatigued as I then was, the most gratifying thing I ever tasted. It was milk curdled with rennet, or by the thistle, a little | sour, and mixed with cold spring water. The taste was much like that of 221 buttermilk, but more agreeable.

The mills of this country are very small, generally running one, but sometimes two pair of stones. They are constructed on the plan of the little old fashioned tub-mills, which might, many years ago, be found in some of the thinly settled parts of our country.

I had an opportunity of seeing a singular kind of contrivance which not long since appears to have been in common use among these people, as the only means of preparing their grain to make into bread, not by grinding, but by crushing. It was a circular platform of masonry of four feet high, and four and a half feet in diameter, erected under a large spreading tree. The upper surface of the platform was concave and smooth, resembling somewhat in shape, the concavity of a saucer. In this was placed, standing on its side, a circular stone, of about two and a half feet diameter, one foot thick, and slightly conical. Through the center of this stone was a hole, in which was inserted a stick, by means of which it was made to revolve round and within the concave surface, crushing in its progress the grain, which, from time to time, was strewed under it. This description of mill however, appears, since the establishment of the tub-mill, which is evidently a modern refinement among them, no longer in use. I have observed also in every village, through which I have passed, a very large and strong stone

222 mortar, | for the purpose of pounding grain, and which appears to be the property, and for the use of the whole community. Instead of a pestle, a long handle is fixed to a hard and heavy piece of wood, and the blow is given, as with a mallet, with great force.

240 Mustapha . . . took the wrong road, and after traversing a steep and ugly mountain in a heavy rain, about sun-down found that to reach the village, we must return over the same ridge, nearly back to the plain we had left. But never was joy greater, than when we heard that we were on the right road to the village, and the shout of welcome from these simple-minded primitive Christians and kind-hearted people, greeted our ear.

Mustapha had formed a plan here, for profiting the party by his importance; but before it was matured, our horses were unladen and disposed of. We were accommodated in an open and outer porch, and he was lodged, with his pipe and his coffee provided for him, in one of the best rooms, of one of the best houses in the village. It was at this place that they took him for an aga, and treated him according to his supposed rank.

Yaourt, bread, chickens, onions and salt, were soon provided of which we ate. The chief of the village and family ate what remained. A pipe, a glass of warm toddy and half an hour's amusement, in displaying to the wondering eyes of the natives who crowded our quarters, the surprising effects of percussion caps and phosphoric bottles, ended this eventful day.

241 We went to bed on the floor, slept soundly by a rousing fire, made at a partly closed end of the porch, where there was a chimney. We got up in the morning refreshed, and highly grateful for the rustic | kindness we had experienced from these guileless people. Imagine to yourself a village of sixty houses, and to show its antiquity, a grave-yard, containing the bodies of six thousand times its present population. It has existed time out of mind; no one knows the date of its origin.

Retired from the main road, retired from and unknown to, and ignorant of the rest of the world, they attend to no concerns but their own, are happy in their ignorance, and the little comforts they have about them. They feel no apprehensions or annoyance, except from the inhabitants of the village who refused us shelter, and who plague them occasionally, by their presence and impositions, which they bear with patience and humility, from a knowledge of the utter impossibility of obtaining redress from any quarter.

This little community exists under a patriarchal government, and is situated between two declivities of the hills, which form a kind of valley near the ridge of the mountain. It is surrounded with gardens, plantations of mulberries for the use of the silk worm, wheat-fields, vineyards and fruit trees. There is an air of comfort about it, and indeed of abundance, but like all places in this country, there is a great want of cleanliness. The streets are filled with the filth and drainings of the manure hills. Children swarm in them, but they are not tidy. The women are not well dressed, nor the men comfortably clad, but dirty. It is true, it was a working day, and every one capable was at work.

242 Their cattle and flocks of sheep appear to be numerous, and every thing sufficiently thriving, but they only produce for themselves,—except it be the silk, which they do not wear, and which I should think they cultivated in considerable quantities, from the number of baskets which crowded the interior rooms of every house, and which were filled with leaves and branches of the young mulberry, covered with young silk worms.

They use neither tea, sugar, coffee, wine, nor spirits. I saw no shops whatever in the town, and am under the impression that except on extraordinary occasions, nothing is worn by them, but what is grown and manufactured among themselves. From the joy that was manifested, and the happy countenances of our host and hostess, when a few piastres were given them, in return for their kindness, I should think that money was a scarce article among them.

They have a small church and free school adjoining it. The expense is paid by the community, and the boys have made a little progress.

They have heard of the New World as a place from whence coffee is obtained, but they have no idea of where it is, its distance, or whether it is approachable by land or water. They also know of Constantinople as a place of wondrous magnitude, but I could not learn that any one had been there.

We had lighted a spermaceti candle, and asked them if they knew what it was made of. One said, mutton, another beef, another pork, another butter, I and another honey, meaning 243 wax. We told them it was made from the fat of the same sort of fish that swallowed Jonas, and which they must have read of in Scripture. The old chief near, asked how big the fish was. We told him that the head alone was as long and as wide as the porch, and the body five times as long. He said he had heard the priest tell something about a very big fish, but he would inquire about it. The next morning, happily for our characters for truth, the priest confirmed our story, which it was very evident had begun to be doubted. There is not a single person residing in this village besides Armenians. There does not appear to be one in better circumstances than an other. The old man appears to have a control over all their concerns, and carries in the cap of his turban, the *teskera*, showing who of the inhabitants have paid into the imperial treasury, the "*Karatsh*," or head-money.

The dress of the women is somewhat like that of the poorer orders of farmers' wives in our own country,—a kind of striped or check linsey woolsey. That of the men partakes of the Turkish and Greek. The dark colored turban, coarse dark brown jacket and vest, and full pantaloons or breeches hanging in a bag, and terminating at the knee. They are not allowed the use of fire-arms; and are indebted to their neighbors of the Turkish village for the wild boars and other game which abound in their woods, and which greatly annoy them. The Turks do not eat pork of any kind, but I they kill the wild boar, and sell it to the Armenians 244 at their own prices.

For the better information of travelers, should these lines ever fall into the hands of such, 245 I must say, that the newly christened "*Hog Town*," is called in the Turkish language "*Chardagh*;" and that the hospitable Armenian village is called *Marmarjick Kieuey*. At this latter place the school master received four hundred piastres per annum, and his food. Four hundred piastres are equal to twenty-two dollars and twenty-three cents. They were greatly in want of paper for the scholars; and we made a small contribution to enable the master to procure some.

Let it suffice at once to say, that during our stay at *Broussa*, we were well lodged and 251 attended; that I we were visited by all the principal Greek and Armenian inhabitants, and by 252 the clergy; and that every civility that we could have wished, was shown to us by them. Also, that they accompanied us to their churches and their schools. The school of the Greeks is on

the Lancasterian plan, and that of the Armenians is about to be formed on the same model. The Greek school contains two hundred scholars, boys and girls, whose education is paid for by the community. That of the Armenians comprises not quite so many, and its expenses are defrayed by the parents and guardians.

Broussa contains fifteen hundred Armenian and one thousand Greek houses; also, a Jewish quarter. We visited their synagogue, and attended a chaunting of the Scriptures, by a young priest, accompanied by a number of boys. The chaunting was accompanied by a singular nasal twang and swinging of the body. We afterward heard a sermon in a mixture of Spanish and Hebrew, against the precepts of Christianity; and as the Spanish predominated, I was able to keep the thread of the discourse.

- 254 The Greeks, Armenians and Jews, are employed in commerce, and in the manufacture of silk, which is the principal product of Broussa. The dress of the Greeks and Armenians does not differ; both wear the calpack. The dress of the Jews here, is similar to that of this people in Constantinople, which I have described on a former occasion. And now I take my leave for the present, of Greeks, Armenians and Jews, for the purpose of devoting my attention to Broussa, its antiquities, its baths, &c.

<Vol. II>

<Pera, November 1, 1832>

- 33 There are plague hospitals for every different nation; one for Greeks, one for Franks, another for Armenians, a fourth for Jews, and a fifth, sixth, and seventh, for Turks, for it is a mistaken notion that they take no precautions against the plague. There are many of the respectable Turks who use every means to preserve themselves and families from it, as the Christians do. I may mention the Reis Effendi (the Secretary of State) as one instance. He will, during the prevalence of the plague, permit no one to approach him, before he has been put into a box, made for the purpose, and which has been thoroughly smoked. The box is high enough for a man to stand erect in, and is something like a centry box, with a hole in the side to put the face through; | the bottom is perforated, and under it, is a drawer, where the materials for purifying by smoke are placed. In every Armenian house, and indeed in almost every house, of persons who are in the habit of visiting the Bazars, and other crowded places, there is a similar box, and every one of the inmates of the house, when they return from their business, before they have any communication with the family, are subjected to the process of smoking.
- 34
- 70 On returning to the city <Adrianople> and descending towards the harbor, we see an Armenian church with iron doors of German manufacture. The dresses of the figures in bas relief, and the passages of Scripture with which they are covered, fully prove the church to belong to that nation. I believe it is at this church, that they show you a round stone, with a hole in it, through which they cause women to pass who have the fever, as a means of curing them. A hospital for the insane makes a part of the establishment of this church.
- The quarter which we have now to pass, is called by the Turks, Balata, and is one of the most filthy of the whole city. Let it suffice to say, that it is the quarter of the Jews; they are every where the same throughout the East.

It is customary also, for both Greeks and Armenians to assemble here <Baloukli> on 78
certain days of every year, to offer a prayer on the tomb of St. Comidas, | who was decapitated 79
by the Turks in the last century, in consequence of his religion, and was interred in the
Armenian cemetery.

The cemeteries which surround this holy place are almost daily filled with crowds of men,
women and children, who come here to weep and pray over the graves of their relatives for
the repose of their souls, and after this pious duty is performed, they spread their repasts on
the same tombs, which they partake of in the utmost gaiety of their hearts, making the air
resound with their songs and laughter. So familiar is the idea of death in this country, that
even the tombs with which they are every where surrounded, cannot inspire them with
thoughts of a gloomy nature.

Returning towards the sea, near the gate of Psamatia, we find some ancient buildings, and 82
two handsome churches; one Greek, the other Armenian. These churches were built not many
years | since, during the reign of Sultan Selim. If ever there was a tolerant prince, Selim was 83
one. A proof of this is, the number of Christian churches that were built in every part of the
city during his time.

The Armenians at Constantinople*

The genius of the Armenian is essentially mercantile, but many of them having a 131
mechanical talent, are employed as jewelers, gold and silver smiths, and the various other
trades called for by the luxuries and the necessities of a great capital; and being of strong
frames, the lower or poorer classes are employed almost exclusively as *hamals*, or porters, for
the purpose of transporting the heaviest burthens through the steep and narrow streets of
Constantinople, Galata, Pera, and the neighboring towns. Where money is to be gained,
Armenians are to be found employed. There is no financial occupation, however exalted, that
is beyond the reach of their mercenary ambition; and none too vile or base for their
acceptance, where money is their object;—from the superintendence of the mint, to the filthy
and | contemptible employment of cleansers of common sewers; and all the intermediate
gradations of employment, are sought by the strong built, industrious, avaricious Armenians.

The Turks, in their application of a term which they conceive suitable to the Armenian
caste in general, call them *Bakji Bokji* a phrase indicative of the most filthy of all their 132
employments.

But commerce in all its various and extended branches, is most congenial to the
Armenians, in pursuit of which they brave the frosts of Russia, the deserted regions of Asia
Minor, where fever lurks in every vale;—the heats of Syria, and the Simooms and droughts of
the Arabian desert;—disease in every shape; the dysentery; the cholera, and the plague. The
rapine of professional robbers, and the rapacity of pachas, and governors, through whose
territories these roads lay, all are encountered in the hope of gain, and when the Armenian has
arrived at the uttermost limits of the Ottoman empire, he appears but to have reached the
place, from whence to start in fresh pursuit of his object, until India and Japan furnish the
merchandise destined to be vended in the khans and bazaars of Constantinople. Endowed

* The article has appeared in the *New-York Monthly Magazine*.

with great personal strength and passive courage, the Armenian undertakes these dangerous journeys, with a forethought of the risks and difficulties he has to encounter, and occupies his mind on his journey, in calculating as every danger is past, and every loss sustained, the
 133 additional percentage necessary to be charged on what remains of his merchandise, to enable him to make good the losses which he has suffered, from accident, rapacity or whatever other cause.

Thus, patient as the camel he bestrides, and enduring as his pack-saddle, months are spent in making those tedious and dangerous journeys; and while a being less mercantile, would reap intellectual stores from observations on men and customs, the only *stores* he thinks of are those within his *bales*, and the *stores* of *paras* he will receive for them, while comfortably seated in his little shop at the bazaar.

Industry is the inheritance of the Armenian, and in Turkey resolves itself into four principal branches; to wit,—banking, and the administration of public and private estates for the Turks; the coining of money; the manufacturing of muslins and stamped cloths; goldsmith's work and jewelry, and the greater part of the mechanical arts, and other occupations before alluded to. Whatever may be his occupation, during the hours devoted to it, he never suffers his mind to be drawn off by any circumstance whatever; he almost forgets his own family, in the thoughts of *paras*, and calculations of gain, while waiting the appearance of customers, and it is only on feast days that he abstains from indulging in almost the only food of his mind, to partake with his family in the festivities of the occasion.

With literature and science he has little to do, and is an entire stranger, even to the name
 134 of the fine arts; hence his education is limited to the calls of his religion, and the necessities of the trade or profession to which he may be destined.

To read and write Armenian, to learn as much arithmetic as is necessary to keep accounts, and to pick up a knowledge of the Turkish sufficient for the intercourse, which he is destined to have with that nation, are sufficient for all his worldly purposes.

But more particular attention is paid to that part of his education which relates to his religion; for example, psalmody in the choirs, accompanying their spiritual songs with movements of the hands, body and head, in a manner that it would be difficult to explain, but which however is calculated to excite laughter among strangers, as they are thereby forcibly reminded of the motion of puppets. It is in this manner that the precious hours of the Armenian youth are wasted.

The Armenian priests generally superintend this miserable education. Schools, they can scarcely be said to have any; they are afraid to trust their children to the tuition of masters out of the family, lest they might be taught something not in every respect conformable to the dogmas of their sect. Latterly, however, the Armenian missionaries for the establishment of schools, have had sufficient influence among them to induce them to establish schools on the Lancasterian principle, and with books published in their language, under their direction, and submitted to the inspection of the patriarch, whose approbation they have obtained, there
 135 is a fair prospect of education becoming more extended among them; as Armenians having the confidence of the community are instructed in the system by the missionaries, and placed at the head of these establishments, in the villages along the European side of the Bosphorus. These schools are placed on the footing of free schools; part of the expense of them is paid by the wealthy Armenians, and the deficiency is made up by the missionaries, who have in their

efforts to get these schools established, manifested a wonderful degree of praiseworthy zeal, and a perseverance and sound direction, that have conquered the opposition of the Armenian clergy, and broken down the prejudices of the more intelligent part of the nation. Especial care however is taken, that these school books contain nothing whatever, that can interfere in the slightest degree with the dogmas or the ritual of their church. The Armenian press at Orta Kieuy, (the present residence of the Rev. Messrs. Goodell and Dwight and their families, and the Rev. Mr. Schaeffer), is engaged in printing the translations for the schools now in operation, and about being established. Formerly, the Armenian presses were employed only in the multiplication of books of devotion and the alphabet. Books of this kind were the only ones calculated to captivate the minds of a nation, in which all their religious traditions amount to articles of faith.

The books now in course of publication, besides precepts of Christianity, biblical and other history, I treat on learning and science in general, and are calculated to awaken the minds of the young Armenians, and excite to farther pursuits of knowledge. That they do not want for solid talents is proved by the progress in learning of the society of St. Lazaro, near Venice, and also by the learning spread among some of the clergy of the nation, who have received an education in Italy. There is no difference between them and well instructed men of other nations; a sufficient proof that the general ignorance which prevails among the Armenians, is not owing to natural defects in the construction of their minds, but to that blind submission to the will of their ignorant pastors, who know not how, nor are willing, to spread open to their view the book of knowledge. Minds, thus shackled and locked up in darkness, find employment in the sordid pursuit of wealth, and their thoughts become divided, between their badly conceived idea of the attributes of the Sovereign Ruler of the universe, and their well conceived estimate of the value of *paras*, the only things which their education is calculated to aid them in acquiring. However, civilization, and instruction, are creeping in among them, and not only have many of the young men thrown off the hideous *calpac*, and black pelisse, and adopted the coat and hat of the Frank, but they have shaken off their *shack-sheers* and kicked off their red *capouches*, and substituted for them the pantaloons and boots of civilized Europe. The young Armenian ladies also have in some instances had the boldness, in defiance I of all the remonstrances and prejudices of the elderly members of the nation, to lay aside the *yackmac*, which concealed their really lovely faces, and to cast off their ill fashioned loose national attire which placed all shapes on an equality, and to adopt the fashion of the Franks, displaying as beautiful and as graceful forms as the world can boast. The Armenians share with the Georgians and Circassians that reputation for beauty, for which the two latter are so celebrated. 136

The men of Armenia, in their native climate, are hardy, bold, and industrious. In Turkey they become sordid and base, the natural effect of the desire of accumulation, which has destroyed the noble and manly countenance which distinguishes the one, and given to the other, the anxious careworn and cowardly look, by which he may be known from all the rest of the human race.

The Armenian on his native soil, still retains the love of arms; and from inclination he seeks service among the troops of the Sophi of Persia here he makes the best of soldiers, and is proud of the terror which his name spreads among the Russians.

The Armenian of Turkey meddles not with *cold steel*, none has ever been known even to

defend himself when attacked; none has ever been known to bear a weapon about his person, or to have one of any description under his roof, not so much even as a fowling-piece. From inclination his submission is the most abject; it is the acquirement of the precious metals
 138 alone which absorbs all his faculties. Arms are his utmost aversion, his utmost horror. Slave and coward are written in every lineament of his countenance, and manifested by every act and gesture. Yet this nation furnishes the men of wealth, the men of business, and the men of trust, to this portion of the Ottoman empire.

I have divided the Armenians into four classes, to wit, the banker, the coiner, the manufacturer of cloths, &c., the goldsmith, jeweler, and other mechanical artisans, including the laborers. The merchants, large and small, are absorbed among these four great classes.

The bankers are known by the name of *seraff*, and may be looked on as the farmer-generals of the empire, as well as the intendants or men of business to those high in office in the service of the Sultan, and generally to those who have any of the affairs of the state to manage. It is they to whom the *kharaji bashi*, the collector of the capitation tax, the chief of the custom house, and all others who farm the revenues of the state, apply for the security demanded of them for the faithful performance of their contracts, for which the rich *seraff* becomes responsible; the means of making his payments, for which he receives an interest of twenty per cent per annum, with the condition that at every three months the interest due shall be added to the capital advanced. And as the Mussulman contractor has rarely the faculty of managing his own concerns, the Armenian contrives it so, that all the moneys arising from
 139 the revenue collected, go into his strong box, which is delivered out to the contractor, as he may call for it, and in such proportions as the Armenian may think it safe and convenient to furnish. He also becomes the agent for purchasing supplies for the great contractor and his family, on which, besides having the use of the money for six or twelve months, as he generally buys on credit, he charges a profit of ten or fifteen per cent. He, in fact, becomes the entire manager of all the money concerns of his principal; to him creditors and debtors apply for the adjustment of their accounts. They can scarcely be said to be accountable; they possess the entire confidence of the Turks, who trust their whole fortune in their hands, without even troubling themselves to inquire into the amount of receipts or expenditures, or of the state of their affairs.

It is easy to perceive from this statement, the many facilities the Armenian *seraffs* enjoy for amassing the enormous fortunes which some of them are known to possess, and to which is some times added all the fortune of the great man, if his existence should be suddenly terminated by the bowstring or the plague, or by the many other modes of death which flesh is heir to in this part of the world.

But woe betide the *seraff* who falls under the suspicion of appropriating to himself that of which *Pada Scha* claims the inheritance, or who has not sufficient adroitness to arrest the evil which on the slightest proof, and sometimes without proof, falls heavily upon him. I have
 140 shown the fair side of the picture, so favorable for the interests of the *seraff*, but let us now look at the other side.

If a Mussulman who has a proprietorship in any contract with the government, for any one of the branches of the revenue, should die before the *seraff* has drawn in the amount advanced to him, this is entirely lost to the Armenian, so that in this respect his risk is a mere lottery.

Suppose him to be in the service of a minister, and this minister happens to be decapitated; on the *seraff* nine times out of ten the blow falls with great severity. His head to be sure is often left on his shoulders, but they bleed him of that which is much more precious to him than life, and allow him no rest or peace until they have squeezed out his wealth to the last drop. If his paternal love for his gold should carry him so far as to induce him to refuse to give it up, the torture is applied without ceremony, until every *para* is extorted; and it has so happened after all, that the poor *seraff* has been found hanging at the lintel of his own door, as an example to others, with a paper pinned to his breast showing the cause of his execution, and to prevent any erroneous conjecture about it.

The fact of the *seraff* becoming surety for the fidelity of the Mussulman, and the implicit, blind confidence of the Turk in the honesty of the *seraff*, who is the receiver and depository of all his wealth, completely identifies them, at least in the scales of *Ottoman justice*; and it is, in fact, no more or less than a virtual contract between them to share all | the risk of the 141 dangers, with the hope of escaping the rocks and shoals that surround them, and in due time arriving safe in port, laden with the riches which they look upon as certain.

Of all the situations most desired by the Armenians, next to the administration of the affairs of the mint, is the employment of *seraff*. We have seen what it is, and the hopes and the dangers which environ it; yet it is sought with the utmost avidity, and after all he is no more than the first servant, the freed man, or rather the slave of the confidence, of his Turkish master. A *seraff* must never think or act but by the will of him in whose service he is enlisted. This personage is every thing to him; on his safety that of the *seraff* is dependent, whose first prayer to God is for the preservation of his infidel chief.

The Armenians are made for the use of the Turk; they are precisely what he would wish them; their passion for gold has turned their thoughts from all ambition to mingle in the affairs of state, in which the Turks are very adroit, and they occupy themselves with their financial speculations, of which the Turks know nothing. They are therefore treated with a gentleness, and a kind of consideration which no other nation enjoys; and in fact, from their habits of business, they are indispensable to the Turk who, if he gives them his confidence at all, which he must do, gives it to them entire and undivided.

My desire being to avoid fatiguing details, more calculated to confuse, than enlighten, this sketch | of a *seraff* will be sufficient, I hope, to satisfy your curiosity. I have only to add, that 142 his dress is extremely simple and plain, generally of coarse materials, his demeanor the most humble and respectful, and the whole outward appearance of the man abject and mean. His first movement, on approaching any person of rank or distinction, is to bend himself so as to touch the ground with his hand, and then place it on his head, signifying that he covers his head with the dirt of the great man's feet. He then kisses the back of his hand; if anything in compliment be said to him, he raises the skirt of the coat and places it to his lips; he then retires backward a few paces, and places himself on his knees to await the will of his master. When he takes his leave, the same marks of respect are observed; he then, with many *salaams*, sidles off obliquely to a part of the room next the door, taking especial care never to turn his back on or towards his superior. Such is the invariable custom of the rich *seraff* of Constantinople, and of all other Armenians, well drilled and skilled in the exercises of the school of humiliation, debasement, and degradation.

In a society constituted like that of the United States, where every man is equal in the eyes of the law, where no other testimony of respect is called for than reciprocal civilities, and courtesies of good breeding between man and man; where the proud republican in his poverty stands erect before the rich and the great, and scorns to offer a salutation where he supposes
 143 he will not meet a suitable | return; where even the slave is not required to distinguish himself from the freeman by any act of the gradation, it would be extremely difficult to convey a suitable idea of the servile humility of the Armenian towards his lordly Turkish superior. Let it suffice to say, that it is studied and formal, and reduced to system; that all that ingenuity can invent to manifest the most abject humility on his part is practiced, which the proud, indifferent, or indolent Osmanlee receives as his rightful homage, without honoring the abject, humble creature before him, with the slightest token of recognition or of approbation.

<St. Stephano, August 15, 1833>*

159 The three nations, subjects of the Porte, the Armenians, the Greeks and the Jews, as before observed, are designated by names indicative of their relationship with the government, although they all come in under the general name of subjects, or Rayahs, as they are called. The Armenians are properly Rayahs, and are so called because they are not considered a
 160 conquered people; the Greeks | are called *Yeshir*, or slaves; as since the conquest of Constantinople, they have been considered as holding life on sufferance; the Jews are called *Mousaphir*, or visitors, because they sought here an asylum.

The Jews are every where a persecuted people, and even in that Paradise of Jews, Leghorn, where they are the owners of one half of the city, and more than one half of the wealth in it, they are still confined to their own quarter, and not permitted to reside in any other. In every other part of Tuscany, they are objects of detestation, and it would not be safe for a Jew to visit the capital, if he were known as such. Degraded as they are, however, in Constantinople, the conduct of the government, and the Ottomans generally, towards the Jews does not differ essentially from that which is manifested towards the other *Rayahs*.

Indeed it is supposed by some that they are treated with greater kindness than the rest, because they remain in the character of visitors, and therefore are entitled to all the rites of hospitality,—and as a further motive for good feeling towards them, they assimilate more nearly than the rest in their religious opinions and observances, to the Mussulmans,—in their belief in the unity of the Godhead,—in their practice of circumcision,—their abhorrence of pork—and in their manner of writing from right to left;—all of which gives to the Turk and the Jew an identity of feeling, which does not take place with the others. According to the
 161 opinion of | my most amiable and observant literary friend, Dr. Walsh, the Jews in Turkey are a favored people, and held by the Turks in greater consideration than in any Christian country.

It is said that the Sultan, in his spirit of reforms, has declared, he wished it to be recorded in history that during his reign, the Jews passed the Bosphorus in the kaicks with four pair of oars, more than any Christian or Turk is allowed to use, who is below the rank of minister or pasha. This from the tongue of the Sultan might sound hyperbolic, yet it shows, at least, that his Jewish subjects had their share of his good will, and were included in his wishes for

* This letter has appeared in the *New-York Monthly Magazine*.

the general improvement, which it is his object to introduce in the condition of his people. The time was, when the Jews were the seraffs or bankers to the Ottomans high in office, and if by dishonesty they lost the employment, if their whole race are tricky,—and more so here than elsewhere, as they are supposed to be,—perhaps the indolence of the Turks which offered them facilities, and their subsequent extortions, makes them so. The children of Israel have no other object but chaffer and barter, and are satisfied with the most humble of the branches of trade, where more profitable employment is not to be obtained. If then they lost these elevated posts, with the prospect of amassing enormous fortunes sooner or later to be squeezed out of them by the Sultan or his pachas, it must be acknowledged that they gained thereby in tranquillity and happiness; for, as the Armenians, by stepping into their places, 162 advanced in wealth and importance, they became the inheritors of all the evils which, in the shape of suspicion, extortion, and all the various means of persecution, had made the situation of the Jews so little enviable.

The intellectual Armenian, in his ambition for office, and passion for the acquirement of wealth, is more bold than the Jew; his risk, therefore, is proportioned, and his punishment, on detection, does not fall short of it. The Armenian, when he has an opportunity, plays for high stakes, and when a long career of success and superabundance of wealth lulls his apprehensions, and gets the better of his meanness, he runs from one extreme to another, and desires to shine in splendor. A fine house, gloomy and obscure in its exterior,—fine gardens concealed by high walls from the prying eyes of those without,—jewels and fine dresses for his wife, his children and himself, which they dare not wear abroad,—all these are his craving passions; while the timid Israelite, profiting by the wisdom of his ancestors, and his own experience, locks up or buries his treasures, clothes himself in rags, and is content to pass as one of the poorest of the poor, claiming only the privilege of cheating others on a small scale, and increasing his wealth by denying himself and family all the luxuries and most of the comforts of life.

The Jewish nation in the Ottoman empire has a very feeble political influence. Since the 166 Armenians have supplanted them in their employ as seraffs, they have scarcely one member of their nation, who can be ranked among the high in office; the Baziriam Bashi, the chief of the merchants, perhaps, is the only one, and I am not certain that a Jew now holds the office. I think it will hardly be denied, that the Jewish nation in Turkey is in a complete state of indigence . . .

John Auldjo—d.1857

Journal of a Visit to Constantinople, and Some of the Greek Islands, in the Spring and Summer of 1833.

London, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1835

A.D. 1833

- 53 On looking out of window into the street this morning, I beheld crowds of Armenian and Greek women proceeding to church, the former wearing the yashmak, or veil, and their long dark feridges, or cloaks, with red morocco slippers just peeping out beneath. They differ from the Turkish women only in not covering the nose, and having red instead of yellow slippers, in which they shuffle along slowly to their worship. Of the Greeks, however, some wore over
- 54 their hair embroidered l handkerchiefs, arranged *à la Française* in the shape of a toque; others were muffled in cloaks of a snuff-brown color, with a white muslin veil arranged upon the back of the head, and having both ends brought round upon the breast: thus exposing the whole face, and setting off to the best advantage the handsome regular features, and the dark eye, with its long black silky lash.
- 83 The clothes' bazar attracted our curiosity to-day, where, in a few minutes, a person may be rigged out, either *à la Turque*, or as an Armenian, the whole dress costing about 270
- 84 piastres. A cloth cloak, a silk gown, a silk l jacket, camlet trousers, yellow or red morocco boots, a shawl for the waist, with a waistcoat, shirt, and a calpac or turban, form the dress of a gentleman or merchant. The Jews wear a low black hat, round which is twisted a white handkerchief, inscribed with some Hebrew sentences from their law. The calpac of the Greek differs from that of the Armenian, by having a hole at the top, out of which peeps a bit of red cloth. The Turks wear yellow, Greeks and Armenians red, and Jews black, boots.
- 102 <In the arms bazar> A fat Turk, squatting on his counter, tempts you, on one hand, with a blade of the rarest Damascus steel, inscribed from hilt to point with some verse from the Koran in Arabic letters of gold; such as an invocation to the one God,—“Strength to the arm who wields the blade in a righteous cause, and death to him it reaches,” &c. Drawing the sword from the gold-embroidered velvet scabbard, he rings it with his nail, to convince you of its soundness and temper. Cast your eyes in the opposite direction, and you may observe the Armenian, in the next stall, winking and slyly beckoning you towards him. He smiles, should you condescend to notice him, but frowns and shows impatience when you appear to disregard his attempts to seduce you from his portly rival. The latter, finding you will not buy
- 103 the sword, displays his pistols, silks, mouth-pieces of tempting amber, l and appears determined that you shall purchase something; till at length, his patience being fairly exhausted, he packs up his wares, and surrenders you to the wiles of his now triumphant opponent, who feels satisfied that he can make you take something off his hands, though the Turk was unsuccessful. As most Englishmen appear to value swords, he takes from his cupboard a black-looking, dust-covered, white handled weapon; and pushing aside his long robe with an air of the utmost importance, he draws forth the blade, which proves to be a

black Khorassan, entirely destitute of ornament: he rings it, it returns a silver sound; he points out the beautiful watering, the gradual deepening of the color from the edge to the back, and finishes by swearing to you, whilst he looks towards the Armenians and Jew brokers gathered around for their attesting nods, that it is the most exquisite blade in Stamboul; that it will cut a lawn kerchief, thrown into the air, into two parts, as clean as a pair of scissors. He then closes his panegyric with the demand of, "How much will you give?" Scarcely waiting for a reply, he throws it aside, as if of no value; and, in imitation of his neighbor the Turk, endeavors to keep your curiosity awake, by placing all his wares | before you. The instant you turn from the disappointed merchant, you are assailed by twenty Jew brokers at once, who, having espied their quarry from afar, have assembled from all quarters of the bazar, and, like a flock of vultures, are waiting near to devour you, congratulating themselves on your unwillingness to buy of the cunning Armenian. One attacks you in bad Italian, another in modern Greek, interlarded with a few words of unintelligible English or French. Each is master of a stall; where, according to his own account, you can purchase whatever you want at the greatest advantage, though, as yet, they know not what that is, even if you do yourself. Thus, like Actæon, the unfortunate stranger is exposed to the chance of being torn to pieces by the dogs who profess to call him master, and to do his utmost bidding. 104

The bazar is always crowded with buyers, sellers, and idlers, so that it costs some little squeezing and pushing to get through its various passages. When a large purchase is contemplated, or if the seller be an Armenian or Greek, he will adjourn with you to the neighboring coffee-house, and there, over a pipe and a cup of coffee, the bargain is concluded on much better terms than in public, where, possibly, | the merchant's pride would not relish 105 the exposure of abating some hundred piastres, and where the sharks of brokers might lay claim to a good recompense, for bringing the *Ingles capu dou* to be plucked.

Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundell—1780–1846

Discoveries in Asia Minor, Including a Description of Ruins of Several Ancient Cities, and Especially Antioch of Pisida.

In two volumes. London, Richard Bentley, 1834

A.D. 1833

<Vol. I>

- 21 Cassaba contains nearly two thousand houses, Turkish, Greek, and Armenian. The latter seem to have settled there about 1690—at least it was a little after that time, that they were allowed a firman for building a church; a permission, considered at that time as a peculiar mark of favor. In fact, the Armenians are held in much higher estimation by the Turks than any other rayahs, if not preferred even to Franks. This is in part accounted for, by their approaching each other so nearly in many of their usages. They both speak the same language; their females
- 22 are not admitted into the society of the other sex; nor permitted to walk out without being veiled; the black covering of the face (yasmak) excepted, it would be difficult to distinguish an Armenian female from a Turkish one, for both wear also the privileged yellow slippers. There is a gravity too in the Armenian physiognomy, which places him much nearer the Turk than the gay and noisy Greek.

<Vol. II>

- 413 In 1699, De la Mottraye, a traveler of strict veracity, and in general of uncommon accuracy, calculated the total population of Smyrna only at twenty-four thousand. Tournefort, in 1701,
- 414 exceeds this estimation by three thousand, making the entire population twenty-seven thousand. In 1740, according to Pococke, the population had increased to nearly one hundred thousand, an incredible supposition, especially as the total number of Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, are only stated at two thousand above Tournefort's calculation. It is therefore most probable, that De la Mottraye and Tournefort were both misinformed as to the real amount of the Turkish population, and considerably underrated it. In 1788, the total population is calculated by Stuart at one hundred and thirty thousand. In 1795, by Mr. Dallaway, as exceeding a hundred thousand. By more recent travelers the population has been variously estimated from one hundred thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand. Perhaps one hundred and thirty thousand, and between ten and fifteen thousand houses, may be tolerably correct.
- 415 In the present day there are above twenty mosques <in Smyrna>: the Greeks have three churches; the Armenians one; the Latins two; the Protestants two; that is, one belongs to the English, and a second to the Dutch nation; and the Jews, instead of one, have numerous synagogues.

James Baillie Fraser—1783–1856

*A Winter's Journey (Tâtar,) from Constantinople to Tehran; with travels through
various parts of Persia, etc.*

In two volumes. Vol. I, London, Richard Bentley, 1838

A.D. 1833

I do not exactly know the boundary between the province of Anadoli, as the Turks call it, and Armenia; but Niskar is a town of the latter: and here we leave the lower regions of Asia Minor to ascend the far colder and mountainous plateau of Armenia, where the Euphrates and several other large rivers of this country take their rise. In leaving these parts, therefore, I may take occasion to remark what I do not think I have mentioned before; that one great difference between the aspect of Asiatic Turkey, so far as I have seen it, and that of most parts of Persia, independently of the beauty and richness, and wooded clothing of the former, is this: that in Persia there are to be traced nearly everywhere strong evidences of a greater prosperity and cultivation than now exists, in the numberless ruins of towns and villages; whereas in Turkey, though the villages you see may be comparatively few, you will observe none ruined or deserted. It must be remembered, however, that I only mention this as an impression received, as regards the latter country, under the circumstances of a rapid transit in vile weather, and at a very unfavorable season, and therefore not entitled to any high pretensions to accuracy . . .

I have omitted to mention, that in the course of the ascent this day, I remarked a simple and ingenious method of securing the fords of a mountain-stream from being destroyed or washed away by floods. They cut down one or two trees, which are laid across the stream, just below the line of the pathway: branches and brushwood are then heaped on these, and above them, in the course of the stream, and the whole is kept down by large stones. The gravel brought down by the first flood is caught and entangled by this brushwood; and so a fine flat space is produced for the ford, which is rather improved than destroyed by the action of the torrent.

The invariable effects of a cold night and sleepy heads kept us this day (the 26th of January) from starting at the time we should have done. There is no possibility of rousing out snoring Soorajees to do their work in a bitter winter's night, particularly when the number of horses required is considerable, for that alone affords an excuse for dawdling and delay. It was past five o'clock before we mounted, with a dark louring sky, which soon made good its threats, and ended with treating us to a regular "feeding snow-storm." Our road lay across much such a range of hills as we had the last stage, with some severe pulls, and desperately bad road. We passed many small villages of log-houses formed of unsquared fir-trees, very rude affairs, with flat roofs, made by covering a layer of logs with beat earth, the wood being all cut from the adjoining forest. Some of the houses were constructed with stones, secured by a frame-work of logs, built longitudinally in the wall, one above another, with intervals of two or three feet. Many of them were built on the side of a hill, and half sunk in the earth.

These villages were beautifully situated above little streams, and among gardens and fields, divided by rows of walnut and other fruit trees, such as apples, pears, cherries, and the like; and there was abundance of cultivation all around them. I should call it the most populous district I had seen: perhaps it might appear more so because the houses were not collected so much into large villages, but stood scattered about in groups like farm-steadings at home. Singular, that so inclement a region as this—for it is desperately cold—should bear stronger evidences of prosperity than the more genial plains we had left below!

233 I should tell you that the houses and villages of that part of Armenia <in the neighborhood of Chifflick> into which we had now entered are formed on quite a different plan from those to which we had hitherto been accustomed. They are in great measure built under ground, the earth that is excavated being heaped about the walls, an arrangement tending as much to the exclusion of light as to the increase of warmth: but to people who, when not in active occupation, smoke all day, or sit in almost utter idleness, this inconvenience is not much felt. As darkness closes in, their plentiful supply of wood enables them to keep up a blazing fire; but when they require light for other purposes at night, they make use of the same sort of candle-fir, or splinters of fat turpentine pine, which is used in the Highlands of Scotland. It is produced by a disease in the common fir, which causes a congestion of its resinous juices
234 to the part affected, and the tree is cut down for the sake of this alone, or the | part is cut out, leaving the rest to decay of itself. This waste may matter little in the extensive forests of Armenia; but it is a vile, mischievous, and thriftless practice in a Scotch plantation, where I have seen it carried on to a serious extent. For us *tchelebees*, when we wanted to write, an article of the lowest species of tallow candle, or a little oil in a cruse was provided to enlighten our lucubrations; but the red glare of the fir torches served all other purposes and people.

253 If you examine Macdonald Kinnear's <Kinnear's> map of Asia Minor and Armenia, you may find, on the south side of Mount Ararat, the place from which I now write. A wild mountain-fortress it is, and good reason have I to remember it and pour on it my malison, for to me it has been a stumbling-block and a cause of much vexation, and, as I anticipate, of great delay. Here we are storm-staid at last—snowed up, like the folks in certain tales that you wot of—and in the hands of fellows who, if they dared, would fain bring our journey to a termination by stripping us of everything we possess. My whole journey, from Constantinople, till the moment when I write, has been a continued period of discomfort and
254 fatigue | and anxiety, such as I never before, under any circumstances, experienced.

When I wrote you last from Erzeroom, we hoped by this time to be at or near Tabreez; yet scarcely have we been able to reach this place, and every stage has been disputed foot by foot with the snow: in fact, so desperate has the cold been, that we were forced to abandon traveling by night for the most part; we could not get the people to move; and, to say the truth, neither they nor we could have stood it. Even the bitterness of the early morning and late evening hours was scarcely to be borne; nor will you be surprised at this, when I tell you that the cold varied from ten to fifteen degrees, and even as low as twenty degrees, *below zero* of Fahrenheit. But you will expect a more particular account of our progress, and a few words about Erzeroom, the capital of Armenia.

On entering and riding through the city we had been struck with its miserable condition:

half the houses were apparently in ruins, the other half in most squalid disrepair. Of the shops, not a third were open in the bazars: but this was partly occasioned by the inclement season; for not only was it the Ramazan, when most Mahometans sleep during the day, but the cold had so benumbed the rest that few ventured out either to buy or to sell.

Erzeroom, until destroyed by the Russians in 1828–9, had been a flourishing place, and the great mart of trade, particularly for the purchase of European commodities by Persian traders, who used to come here for their investments instead of proceeding to Constantinople. But when the Russians overran the country, they, by a specious pretense of deliverance from Mahometan thralldom, partly prevailed and partly forced all the Armenian families of this place, of Byaboot, and the neighborhood, to leave their homes and enter the Russian territories. Upwards of ninety thousand souls are said to have been thus carried off from Turkish Armenia, of whom more than seven thousand were from Erzeroom: and from what I afterwards heard and saw, I do not believe this estimate is beyond the truth. They were driven by the orders of Prince (then Count) Paskevitch into Russian Armenia, the population of which had become scanty under their mild parental sway, upon an understanding that they were to be distributed in towns and villages which required such a transfusion of human life, and were to be protected and encouraged in the exercise of their several trades and avocations; but, by a singular and most heartless inconsistency, not only was this virtual promise broken, but the poor creatures were suffered to remain encamped and exposed to the severities of the weather, without even a provision of bread to eat, so that they died by hundreds of misery and want. At last they were sent to Akhiska and the provinces of the Black Sea, where they were disposed of in places already fully peopled, so that their condition, thus huddled up in crowds, was little improved, and their usefulness utterly destroyed. Many more died here from want and from diseases occasioned by the swamps of these places, in constitutions accustomed to the free air of the upper plains; yet, still every application of the poor creatures for permission to return was rejected, and such as were caught deserting were severely punished. It is, therefore, no wonder that the feeling all over Turkish Armenia should be strong against the Russians, and I believe it to be as bitter as possible. It is said, now, that the escape of the poor exiles that remain, and who are looked upon now as a charge rather than benefit, is winked at, though not openly permitted, and that many of the survivors are gradually returning to their homes. Thus this barbarous and most inconsistently prosecuted measure of state failed utterly of any effect, except that of exciting hatred and dread; but it is an inconsistency by no means without parallel or precedent in the political history of that ambitious and arbitrary government. 255

Sunday, the 3d of February, the day after our arrival . . . we were forced to attend to certain arrangements connected with our progress. To effect these was no easy matter. The snow, we were assured, was not less, at all events between Erzeroom and Tabreez, than we had found it in the country to the westward; it is a very mountainous track, with many high and dangerous passes in the road; and the difficulty of procuring horses from the Koordish villages on the way, at all times great, would, we were aware, be aggravated tenfold by the rigors of the season. The country between Erzeroom and Khoe is at all times a disturbed and dangerous tract, inhabited by wild Koordish tribes, who are thieves by habit and profession, and who neither own nor pay allegiance to any authority beyond a limited regard to their own respective chieftains—themselves as arrant robbers as any of their followers. 256

In such a country firmauns from sultan or pashah are but waste paper; the only security for a traveler is to be found in proceeding with a caravan, the conductors of which have made their bargain with the tribes that infest the road, and have purchased a precarious safety by the payment of a certain "black mail," or in taking with him guides and guards of the country, and trusting to his own firmness and their honesty to make good his way. The last is sometimes found a frail reed to trust to; for the conciliation of one tribe may prove anything rather than a safeguard against others, who, if they believed the booty to be worth the risk, would have no scruple whatever in wresting it from the hands of their brethren. Now, in this country, like as in others, "Hawks dinna pike out hawks e'en," and Koords do not much fancy coming to blows with Koords, and running the risk of blood feuds for a stranger, even when their words may be pledged to him, so that I leave you to guess how much of confidence a traveler can place in such guards. The Koords, too, hate all Turks, as the conquered yet proud hate their conquerors . . .

262 Hassan Kallah is a fortress, rather ruinous, but boldly standing on a rock, that projects from a mountainous range, and overlooks not only its own town, but a wide plain, along which, having changed horses without an inordinate delay, we trotted on a tolerable track towards Dellee-baba. It appeared indeed that we were bringing the bad weather along with us, for the ground, as we advanced, had but little fresh snow; but we had enough of it before evening, for it snowed the whole blessed day, and we lost our daylight, and the way together, at some distance from the village. The barking of a dog and a light from one of the doors, the most welcome sight or sound we had met with the whole day, relieved us at last from a state of anxiety that had become our *evening* rather than our daily fare, and led us to the place over hollows and ditches among which we had many falls; one of these nearly finished our Tatar.

It was nine at night before we got lodged, perishing with cold, and regular moving pillars of snow; and here we resolved, with a good grace, to remain for the night; for to move the people of the place from their warm nests would have been a hopeless attempt, had we even felt ourselves able to bide the chance of losing our way, and digging the horses out of snow-
263 pits till morning for our amusement. So, I entering the huge cavern-like domicile of a wealthy Don of the village, an Armenian—like them all, for here are few Turks—we made ourselves snug for the night. Our lodging was truly a capital specimen of this sort of Armenian tabernacle—an interminable set of great vaults, that might do duty for a Spanish inquisition; and which did not resemble such a place the less from the crowds of dark-capped and bearded figures that were seen dimly flitting about by the red torch-light. Of this mighty habitation, all we could see, on approaching it, was the huge black entrance, yawning wide in the white snow, like the open mouth of a great white bear. The heat and smell of the buffaloes were intolerable, and we spent a most unrefreshing night among myriads of fleas.

Snow fell fast all night—more than a foot deep, they told us in the morning. I awoke at five, but could not get the party on foot till seven. In prowling about before daylight, I went to a wrong door, and stumbled into a huge apartment with a lofty and really handsome roof, constructed of beams narrowing into something like what we call a coach-roof at home, and with a colonnade of wooden pillars all round. It was the women's room, and there were a dozen or two of them lying higgledy-piggledy, along with quantities of children, on a raised platform at the top of the room, around the fire-place; and a few lambs and sheep were

trotting about in the other parts of it. One of the women seeing me, instead of being alarmed, or making an uproar, came up and asked me for some sugar for her child; and one of the men, seeing me hesitate at entering, not only offered no objection, but asked me to go in . . . 264



*Hasankale viewed by Tournefort from Erzurum's direction.
[From Tournefort's A Voyage into the Levant (London, 1718).]*

Friedrich Tietz—1803–1879

*St. Petersburg, Constantinople, and Napoli di Romania, in 1833 And 1834: characteristic picture,
drawn during a residence there.*

New York, Theodore Foster, 1837

A.D. 1833–1834

- 123 The Jews and Armenians compose an important portion of the population of Constantinople. The stain of obloquy which still clings to the obdurate Israelites is not imperceptible in Turkey. They are, indeed, not only exposed to the contempt and ill treatment of the Turks, but also to that of the Christians residing here. Opprobrious names are used, even by boys, towards the Hebrews, any of whom are ill advised in showing themselves in the Christian quarters of the city, especially during Easter. The hatred against them has, if possible, increased since the time of the Christian insurrection, when the Greek patriarch and other priests were murdered—in which terrific scenes the Jews distinguished themselves, both by their treachery, and by the revolting pleasure they appeared to take in the bloodshed thence accruing. No Jew is permitted to pass directly to the Mahomedan faith; it being insisted on, that he first embrace Christianity, by baptism, which is held to wash away, as it were, the unpardonable stain of Judaism.

- With respect to the Armenians, their industry and activity are extremely praiseworthy; but beyond that, they are as great knaves as the Jews or Greeks, and are besides of filthy habits, 124 conjoining therewith rudeness, and want of taste, in the last degree. By the size of their ears, indeed one might almost class them with the asinine genus; and nature has furnished them, too, with colossal hands and feet. There is a proverb which says—The Persian is gross, the Greek shameless, the Turk tasteless, but the Armenian all combined;—and it speaks the truth. The female Armenians are usually of luxuriant form; but their features are too strongly marked for the expression to be deemed pleasing. Their marital conduct presents a point with respect to which they may well be called the “frail” sex, as more scandalous gallantries are not spoken of in the whole of Constantinople than those of the Armenian women.

- 135 . . . The police dare only enter the house in the presence of the Imams; should it belong to a Jew, a Rabbi must be present, and if to a Christian, the presence of a priest of that religion is necessary. The chamber of the females in any house may only be entered when the women have quitted it, by which means the person sought for frequently escapes from his pursuers. But the houses of the Franks are now no longer searched; for in these cases the Ambassadors of their different countries are applied to.

As a subject of curiosity, some of the *sobriquets* or *nicknames* made use of may be here inserted, which an earlier traveler has collected—some of them I have myself heard applied. Pera is called the *hog’s quarter*, perhaps because, contrary to the custom of the Turks, the Franks inhabiting it eat hog’s flesh; and the Turkish soldiers of whom we have already spoken (who are appointed to attend on foreign ambassadors) are termed *swine herds*, (Domuz-Tschobanlari.) They call the Italians, *people of a thousand colors*, that is to say cheats, (Tirenki-

Hessar-Renki;) the English, *linendrapers* (Tschokadschi;) the French, *knaves*, (Ajnadschi;) the Germans, *roistering swearers*, (Dschurur kiap;) the Dutch, *cheesemongers*, (Pejnirdschi;) the Spaniards, *idlers*, (Tembel;) the Russians, *cursed ones*, (Ruszi Menkjus;) the Poles, *chattering infidels*, (Fussul Giaour;) the Venetians, *fishermen*, (Baliktschi;) the Wallachians, *rats*, (Tschingjane;) the Moldavians, *sheep without horns*, or *stupid boors*, (Bojnussiss kojun Bogdani nadan,) the Greeks, *hares*, (Tshanschün;) the Armenians, *dirt eaters*, (Boktsche;) the Jews, *dogs*, (Tschifut;) the Arabians, *silly fellows*, (Ackilsiss;) the Persians, *red-heads* or *heretics*, (Kizelbachi Rafiz;) . . .

The Christians cannot at present complain of a want of toleration on the part of the Turks, 159 since, as has been already remarked, a mass of Christian monks reside in Pera quite undisturbed. In the long street, there are three Catholic churches, among which, that of St. Maria is distinguished by its splendor. Even the bells (which was not formerly allowed) sound loudly and shrill, calling the faithful Christians to prayer. The only restriction is, that the churches must not be built facing the street. They are | all entered through a courtyard—and, 160 Pera being as it were built in terraces, by descending flights of marble steps. The singing in these churches is not agreeable: it is as if the Catholics had taken a pattern from the ear-rending nasal screeching—for it cannot be called singing of the Greeks.

Charles Stuart—1810–1892

Journal of a Residence in Northern Persia and the Adjacent Provinces of Turkey.

London, Richard Bentley, 1854

A.D. 1835

31 Half the men in Pera appear to be Armenians, a solid, grave people, fond of money, but averse
32 to wild | speculations, whose physiognomies can rarely be mistaken. They wear high calpacs
(black caps shaped liked balloons,) and dark-colored gowns. The Synd, or descendant of
Mahommed, has alone the privilege of wearing a green turban. The progeny of the false
prophet is numerous, and does not enjoy a very excellent reputation.

40 We passed through those <shops of the bazaar in Constantinople> where leather, paper,
arms, clothes, and spices are sold—the latter is particularly well worth seeing. The vendors—
Turks, Jews, Greeks, and Armenians—sit cross-legged on their counters, raised a few feet
above the ground, and (the Turks excepted) are vociferous in their endeavors to obtain
custom. Most of the bazaars are so crowded that it is impossible to avoid the risk of plague by
contact with the motley throng.

The slave market is a square open space, surrounded by shops of human flesh. Few of these
were occupied; the supply of white women has been nearly stopped since the Russians have
become masters of Georgia and the ports of the Caucasus. I attempted to look at one girl who
apparently was for sale, but the door of her cage was hastily slammed in my face. A Giaour is
not permitted openly to purchase a white woman.

54 There are a large number of Armenian families established in <Broussa> . . . Some of their
women, whose faces I have been fortunate enough to see, are exceedingly handsome.

75 <In Trebizond> the plague carries off about twelve daily out of a population of 20,000.
The Turks seldom include females in their bills of mortality; but I believe that this calculation
was made by an European.

83 At the entrance to Ballahore <in the plain of Erzerroom>, a considerable village where we
are quartered, we passed an Armenian burial-ground; the tomb-stones are, or have been,
upright: a peculiarly shaped cross is engraved upon each of them.

85 The town of Baiboort is extensive; it is built on both sides of the river, and contains about
10,000 inhabitants. Before the Russian invasion, the population was much greater; but they
persuaded a great many families to emigrate with their army. The houses assigned to us have
each a story above the ground-floor accessible by a ladder staircase.

91 Gibbon places Erzerroom thirty-five miles to the west of Theodosiopolis, whilst Mr. Smith,
in his “Researches in Armenia” says that it occupies the site of that town. Previously to the

Russian invasion its population greatly exceeded 25,000, at which it is at present estimated; the conquerors appealing to the hopes and fears of the Armenians, persuaded thousands of them to accompany their retreat across the frontiers. By some accounts not less than 90,000 families left the Pashalik of Erzeroom with the Russian army. The then archbishop of Erzeroom has been accused of embezzling the church plate, and finding it necessary to decamp, of preaching emigration to his flock, but perhaps this is a Romish libel.⁹² It is also said that the Armenians, feeling certain that the Russians would never evacuate the country, swaggered greatly under their protection, and baptized Mahommedan converts, so that fears of Turkish vengeance contributed to occasion their flight. Amidst conflicting statements it would be now difficult to ascertain whether the Russians used force or persuasion, but it is certain that many emigrants repented in time and returned to their homes; and that every day Armenian mechanics contrive to escape, being unable to find occupation in Georgia or in the frontier ceded in 1829 to Russia, where all those of a trade are settled, *bon grè mal grè*, in the same village. The Russians did not take a large extent of territory in this direction from Turkey, but they gained a most valuable line of positions and passes, and have since the war acquired some additional territory by bullying and trickery, as well as a good many Mahommedan subjects. The Armenians pay a Kharaj, or capitation tax, to the Sultan, for the *privilege of living*, divided on the following scale. The rich pay sixty piastres (about twelve shillings) per annum, the middle classes thirty, and the poor fifteen. On extraordinary occasions an impost called "Salian," is likewise levied upon them and assessed in the same proportions.

The plague, as well as emigration, has thinned the population of Erzeroom.

The cathedral of Erzeroom, like the mosque, is square and gloomy; it is lighted from the top, and supported by wooden pillars. The altar projects nearly to the center of the nave; the choir is merely a semicircular seat; the choristers have no music in their voices, whatever they may have in their hearts. Bells not being permitted by the Turks, a sort of rattle is substituted, and the sound is made by striking a piece of metal. Some ostrich eggs were suspended from the ceiling, a style of ornament taken from the mosques.⁹⁸

The Archbishop performed mass, assisted by several priests; he civilly invited us to approach; a curtain I was three times drawn in front of the altar, whilst he partook of the sacred elements . . . The service was chanted in the ancient Armenian language, which is now scarcely understood. The women were hid from sight in a latticed gallery facing the altar; the richer portion of the male congregation knelt on carpets on the right side of the church. We saw part of the baptismal ceremony performed on two luckless infants, who ran considerable risk of being burnt by the tapers held by the men who carried them, but we were too late to see the immersion, which I am told was complete.⁹⁹

The smell of my good Armenian neighbors was by no means agreeable. Imagination has caused me to scratch all day, and I greatly enjoyed the freshness of the cold morning air in the cemetery adjoining the church. Many of the older monuments are carved in the shape of a ram; and it is an Armenian superstition to pass children who cannot speak under the bellies of these images, an operation said to be seldom required in the case of young ladies! The more common form of monument is a square stone, with a semicircular top. Some emblem, denoting the occupation of the deceased, is often rudely cut on the tombs . . .

118 Ararat was enveloped in clouds during the greater part of the day, but his summit was occasionally visible. The nearer mountains are strikingly varied in their shape and color, and bear evident traces of volcanic origin. The perpendicular crags into which the fortress of Bayazeed is built are red, purple, blue, gray, brown, and light green.

The town, placed on a narrow sloping ridge, which projects from a deep recess in these rocky precipices, is crowned by the Pasha's palace, a beautiful edifice of stone, with two domes and a minaret; a strange contrast to the gloomy hovels below. The entrance to the ravine is defended by a low fort without a ditch, and further up some ruined redoubts have been erected at intervals near the path. We passed a very large Armenian burial-ground.

The streets of Bayazeed are almost deserted; I only saw a few wild savages, smoking and quarreling in an ill-stocked bazaar.

121 The town of Bayazeed suffered severely from the Persians in 1821 <during the Persian-Turkish War>, and the Russians completed its ruin by persuading the Armenian inhabitants to emigrate.

John Lloyd Stephens—1805–1852

Incidents of Travel in Greece, Turkey, Russia, and Poland.
Seventh Edition. Vol. I., New York, Harper & Brothers, 1843

A.D. 1835

The morning after my arrival <at Smyrna> I delivered letters of introduction to Mr. Offley, 189
the American consul, a native of Philadelphia, thirty years resident in Smyrna, and married
to an Armenian lady . . .

We left the caravan bridge <of Smyrna> early to visit the Armenian quarter, this being the 201
best day for seeing them collectively at home; and I had not passed through the first street of
their beautiful quarter before I was forcibly struck with the appearance of a people different
from any I had yet seen in the East. The Armenians are one of the oldest nations of the
civilized world, and, amid all the revolutions of barbarian war and despotism, have
maintained themselves as a cultivated people. From the time when their first chieftain fled
from Babylon, his native place, to escape from the tyranny of Belus, king of Assyria, this
warlike people, occupying a mountainous country near the sources of the Tigris and
Euphrates, battled the Assyrians, Medes, the Persians, Macedonians, and Arabians, until their
country was depopulated by the shah of Persia. Less than two millions are all that now remain
of that once powerful people. Commerce has scattered them, like the Israelites, among all the
principal nations of Europe and Asia, and everywhere they have preserved their stern integrity
and uprightness of character. The Armenian merchant is now known in every quarter of the
globe, and everywhere distinguished by superior cultivation, honesty, and manners. As early
as the fourth century the Armenians embraced Christianity; they never had any sympathy
with, and always disliked and avoided, the Greek Christians, and constantly resisted the
endeavors of the popes to bring them within the Catholic pale. Their doctrine differs from
that of the orthodox chiefly in their admitting only one nature in Christ, and believing the 202
Holy Spirit to issue from the Father alone. Their first abode, Mount Ararat, is even at the
present day the center of their religious and political union. They are distinguished by a
patriarchal simplicity in their domestic manners; and it was the beautiful exhibition of this
trait in their character that struck me on entering their quarter at Smyrna. In style and
appearance their quarter is superior to any in Smyrna; their streets are broad and clean; their
houses large, in good order, and well painted; oriental in their style of architecture, with large
balconies and latticed windows, and spacious halls running through the center, floored with
small black and white stones laid in the form of stars and other fanciful devices, and leading
to large gardens in the rear, ornamented with trees, vines, shrubs, and flowers, then in full
bloom and beauty. All along the streets the doors of the houses were thrown wide open, and
the old Armenian “Knickerbockers” were sitting outside or in the doorways in their flowing
robes, grave and sedate, with long pipes and large amber mouth pieces, talking with their
neighbors, while the younger members were distributed along the hall or strolling through the
garden, and children climbing the trees and arbors. It was a fete day for the whole

neighborhood. All was social, and cheerful, and beautiful, without being gay or noisy, and all was open to the observation of every passer-by. My companion, an old resident of Smyrna, stopped with me at the house of a large banker, whose whole family, with several neighbors young and old, were assembled in the hall. In the street the Armenian ladies observe the Turkish custom of wearing the shawl tied around the face so that it is difficult to see their features, though I had often admired the dignity and grace of their walk, and their propriety
203 of manners; but in the house there was | a perfect absence of all concealment; and I have seldom seen more interesting persons than the whole group of Armenian ladies, and particularly the young Armenian girls. They were not so dark, and wanted the bold, daring beauty of the Greek, but altogether were far more attractive. The great charm of their appearance was an exceeding modesty, united with affability and elegance of manner; in fact, there was a calm and quiet loveliness about them that would have made any one of them dangerous to be shut up alone with, *i.e.*, if a man could talk with her without an interpreter. This was one of the occasions when I numbered among the pains of life the confusion of tongues. But, notwithstanding this, the whole scene was beautiful; and, with all the simplicity of a Dutchman's fireside, the style of the house, the pebbled hall, the garden, the foliage, and the oriental costumes, threw a charm around it which now, while I write, comes over me again.

Helmut Graf von Moltke—1800–1891

Letters of Field-Marshal Count Helmuth von Moltke to His Mother and His Brother.

Translated by Clara Bell and Henry W. Fischer

New York, Harper & Brothers, 1892

A.D. 1836

<Arnaoutekioj, near Constantinople, February 9>

The Armenian with whom I live has a large household, and is reckoned here as a wealthy 83 and important personage. I want for nothing; the table is excellent, and the whole insight into a household on the Turkish plan is extremely amusing. Every other dish is sweet, and besides these, ten dishes of cold *hors d'oeuvre* stand on the table, from which every one helps himself as he | likes between whiles. There are oysters, shell-fish or caviar, cheese, olives, goat's milk 84 curd, salads, sardines, cray-fish, lobster, peppers, onions, and fruits of various kinds. Coffee is served six or seven times a day in tiny cups. The preparation of it is quite unlike our way of infusing coffee; the grounds are poured into the cup with the liquor and without sugar or milk; but one soon gets used to thinking it very good. Preserves are handed round with it; each one takes a spoonful into his mouth, and then drinks water to wash it down; and every one smokes. I myself can already take a pull with some, though very small satisfaction, at a pipe six feet long, with a large amber mouth-piece and a small red clay bowl. The worst thing is that not a room ever has a stove. People sit—for no one ever thinks of walking for months at a time—wrapped in furs with their legs under them, and scarcely trouble themselves as to whether the doors are open or shut. However, in the middle of the room stands a table covered with a large quilted cloth, and under it a brazier is placed. Every one sits round it to get warm. They get up late, usually not before nine, a good breakfast is served at one, of from five to eight dishes; dinner at seven in the evening, and bed not till one or two in the morning. However, every one is at liberty to please himself. The sitting-room is all sofa, the floor is strewn with rugs, and round the room, close to the wall, runs a deep divan, on which twenty men often sit or recline. Some smoke, others sleep, others again play dominoes, ecarte or whist; but for the most part they do nothing and say little. If one is intimate in the house, the ladies will appear, and very pretty they are.

Edmund Spencer—?

Travels in the Western Caucasus, Including a Tour Through Imeritia, Mingrelia, Turkey, Moldavia, Galicia, Silesia, and Moravia, in 1836.

In two volumes. Vol. I, London., Henry Colburn, 1838

A.D. 1836

- 32 The Armenians are in Asia what the Jews are in Europe—dealers in silver and gold, and are engaged in every branch of trade which does not require manual labor; and, like them, they form an entirely distinct race from the nations among whom they dwell, differing from them in religion, manners, and customs; and also, like the tribes of Israel, their individuality as a people is marked in their physical conformation in characters which cannot be mistaken.

In every commercial transaction they exhibit a degree of cunning, shrewdness, tact, and it must be added, selfishness, unapproached by any other people; for if a farthing of profit is to be extracted from a bargain, an Armenian is certain to make it. In these propensities they completely exemplify the Turkish proverb, which says—

“A Greek can cheat a Turk; a Jew will cozen a Greek; but an Armenian will trick not only a Jew, but *Schaitan* (the devil) himself; and where an Armenian is, a Jew must starve.”

- 33 During the various invasions of Persia and Turkey by Russia, the Armenians rendered that power, as guides, spies, and agents, the most important services; in return for which, they enjoy many privileges as settlers in the empire, and, as merchants and peddlers, are fettered with few restrictions.

Notwithstanding the ruling passion of the Armenians is avarice, they can be faithful, as they are engaged in preference to any other people by the Circassians as ambassadors to Turkey and Persia, and as guides when they pass through the dominions of the Autocrat. This servile submission to the will of the Circassian knights, I am inclined to think, arises more from fear than attachment or respect, as they well know that, if they break their faith with the inexorable sons of the Caucasus, their whole family would probably be exterminated; for of every other crime in the eyes of that people, not excepting murder, treachery is the most abhorred, and the most severely punished.

- 39 Some few years since, when I visited Constantinople, I resided in the house of an Armenian merchant, when I had an opportunity of studying the manners and customs of this nation, from which I feel fully convinced that a more amiable, or more truly moral people,
40 in their conduct towards each other, does not exist; and were it not for their sordid love of wealth, the deceit and trickery they resort to in their dealings with strangers, in order to obtain it, they would be in every respect most estimable.

The inordinate desire to obtain riches chokes up the better feelings of their nature; for this, too, many of them do not scruple to resort to any artifice, however base,—to any act, however contemptible, provided they do not compromise themselves by infringing the laws,—provided the dread of the executioner does not mingle with their future prospects.

Many of their customs resemble those of the Jews, such as their method of slaughtering 42
animals, and the division of them into clean and unclean, and the ceremonies observed when
a marriage takes place, some of which are singular enough. On the evening preceding the
bridal day, the bridegroom invites a party of his friends, who, having been divested of their
beards by the hands of a barber, which he provides, are taken to a bath, and afterwards regaled
with a plentiful repast; the next morning, the whole party accompany their friend to fetch his
bride, when revelry and feasting are kept up for three successive days.

The history of the Armenians is involved in much obscurity: several of their own writers 43
and the Byzantines bear testimony to their wealth and luxury, to their extensive commercial
establishments on the Euxine, their flourishing cities, and the number of caravans they
employed in their trade with Persia and India before their country, Armenia, fell under the
leaden rule of the Ottomans and the Persians. Since this time they have been, like the tribes
of Israel, wanderers and aliens in every country in the east. Their number must be
considerable, for wherever commerce flourishes there an Armenian is to be found.

Indulging their genealogical pride, the Armenians, like most oriental people, assert that,
according to the tradition of their ancestors, their country was the first peopled after the flood
by Noah, who, on descending from Mount Ararat, built a habitation for himself and family,
and called it Nacktschiwan (new settlement), on the very spot where the little town of that
name in Armenia is now situated. As if this were not enough, they assert that the language
they speak was bequeathed to them by Noah, and that from Armenia the whole earth has
been peopled!

The oil of Myron, used in all the Armenian churches, is also a remnant of Judaism. This 44
holy oil is prepared only every five years, with great secrecy, at the famous Armenian convent
of Etsch Miadsin, situated at the foot of Mount Ararat, being extracted from forty plants and
flowers, culled on the wild mountains of the Caucasus, during the space of forty days. The
precious mixture is afterwards delivered, with great solemnity, to all the Archimandrites
belonging to the Armenian church in every part of the world, and is said to be possessed of
the most supernatural powers for healing the soul and preparing it for everlasting life, and to
be the oldest compound in the world, its composition having been taught by their great
patriarch Noah to his descendants!

The inhabitants of Prusa <Brusa>, composed of Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, 157
deserve to rank among the most intelligent, industrious, and courteous in the Ottoman
empire; and, notwithstanding the barrier of religion, customs, and manners, that separates
them, they live together in friendship and harmony. At a time when other parts of this
distracted empire were torn by civil dissensions,—when the hand of the incendiary, and the
stiletto of the assassin, everywhere executed the deed of darkness in open day,—the olive
branch still waved over this fortunate town.

Julia Pardoe—1806–1862

The City of the Sultan; and domestic manners of the Turks, in 1836.

In two volumes. London, Henry Colburn, 1837

A.D. 1836

<Vol. I>

- 6 As I looked on the fine countenances <of the Armenian merchants>, the noble figures, and the animated expression of the party, how did I deprecate their shaven heads, and the use of the frightful calpac, which I cannot more appropriately describe than by comparing it to the iron pots used in English kitchens, inverted! The graceful pelisse, however, almost makes amends for the monstrous head-gear, as its costly garniture of sable—or marten—skin falls back, and reveals the robe of rich silk, and the cachemire shawl folded about the waist. Altogether, I was more struck with the Armenian than the Turkish costume; and there is a refinement and *tenue* about the wearers singularly attractive. Their well-trimmed mustachios, their stained and carefully shaped eye-brows, their exceeding cleanliness, in short, their whole appearance, interests the eye at once; nor must I pass over without remark their jeweled rings, and their pipes of almost countless cost, grasped by fingers so white and slender that they would grace a woman.
- 37 Nearly the whole of the jewelers are Armenians; as well as the money-changers, who transact business in their immediate vicinity. Indeed, all the steady commerce on a great scale in the capital may be said to be, with very slight exceptions, in the hands of the Armenians, who have the true, patient, plodding, calculating spirit of trade; while the wilder speculations of hazardous and ambitious enterprise are grasped with avidity by the more daring and adventurous Greeks; and hence arises the fact, for which it is at first sight difficult to account, that the most wealthy and the most needy of the merchants of Stamboul are alike of that nation: while you rarely see an Armenian either limited in his means, or obtrusive in his style.
- 145 . . . Immediately in a line with the European cemetery, is the burial-ground of the Armenians. It is a thickly-peopled spot; and as you wander beneath the leafy boughs of the scented acacias, and thred your way among the tombs, you are struck by the peculiarity of their | inscriptions. The noble Armenian character is graven deeply into the stone; name and date are duly set forth, but that which renders an Armenian slab (for here is not a head-stone throughout the cemetery) peculiar and distinctive, is the singular custom that has obtained among this people of chiseling upon the tomb the emblem of the trade or profession of the deceased.
- 146 Thus the priest is distinguished even beyond the grave by the mitre that surmounts his name—the diamond merchant by a group of ornaments—the money-changer by a pair of scales—the florist by a knot of flowers—besides many more ignoble hieroglyphics, such as the razor of the barber, the shears of the tailor, and others of this class; and, where the calling is one that may have been followed by either sex, a book, placed immediately above the appropriate emblem, distinguishes the grave of the man.

Nor is this all: the victims of a violent death have also their distinctive mark—and more than one tomb in this extraordinary burial place presents you with the headless trunk of an individual, from whose severed throat the gushing blood is spirting upwards like a fountain, while the head itself is pillowed on the clasped hands. Many of the more ancient among the tombs are very richly and elaborately wrought, but nearly all the modern ones are perfectly simple; and you seldom pass the spot without seeing groups of people seated upon the graves beneath the shadow of the trees, talking, and even smoking. Death has no gloom for the natives of the East. 147

I have already spoken elsewhere of the indifference, if not absolute enjoyment, with which the inhabitants of the East frequent their burying-grounds; but on the occasion of this festival I was more impressed than ever by the extent to which it is carried. The whole of the Christian Cemetery had assumed the appearance of a fair—nor was this all, for the very tombs of the dead were taxed to enhance the comforts of the living; and many was the tent whose center table, covered with a fringed cloth, and temptingly spread with biscuits, sweetmeats, and sherbet, was the stately monument of some departed Armenian! Grave-stones steadied the poles which supported the swings-divans, comfortably overlaid with cushions, were but chintz covered sepulchers—the step that enabled the boy to reach his seat in the merry-go-round was the earth which had been heaped upon the breast of the man whose course was run—the same trees flung their long shadows over the sports of the living and the slumbers of the dead—the kibaub merchants had dug hollows to cook their dainties under the shelter of the tombs—and the smoking booths were amply supplied with scats and counters from the same wide waste of death. 364

On one side, a slender train of priests were committing a body to the earth, and mingling their lugubrious chant with the shrill instruments of a party of dancers; on the other, a patrol of dismounted lancers were threading among the many-colored tents, in order to maintain an order which the heavy-witted Armenians lacked all inclination to break. 365

I never saw a set of people who bore so decidedly the stamp of having been born to slavery as the Armenians: they seem even to love the rattle of their chains; they have no high feeling, no emulation, no enthusiasm, no longing for a place among the nations; no aspirations after the bright and the beautiful; no ideas, in short, beyond a pitiful imitation of their Moslem masters, whom they consider as the *ne plus ultra* of all perfection.

The appearance of the upper class of Armenians I have already described. Give them a more becoming head-dress, and their costume is surpassingly graceful; but their advantages are all external; their dreams are all of piastres; they have no soul. If you talk to them of their subjection to the Osmanli, what do they reply? “All that you say may be very true, but it does not concern me—my affairs are in a most prosperous condition.”

It is impossible to make them sensible of their own social position; they listen, twirl their mustachios, flourish their white handkerchiefs, replenish their chibouks, utter from time to time “pekké,” (very well), with an inane smile, and ultimately walk away, as well satisfied with themselves and with their tyrants as though the subject were one of the most irrelevant nature. 366

From this sweeping accusation of apathy and self-depreciation, even after many months passed in the East, I can except only one individual; but that one is indeed a rare and a bright

example to the rest of his countrymen. To those travelers who have visited Constantinople, and who have had the pleasure and advantage of his acquaintance, I need scarcely say that I allude to M. Nubar, the eminent merchant of Galata, whose extensive information, sound judgment, and habitual courtesy, render his friendship extremely valuable to those who are fortunate enough to secure it.

To return, however, to the festival of the Champ des Morts, from which I have digressed. Every hundred yards that we advanced, the scene became more striking. One long line of diminutive tents formed a temporary street of eating-houses; there were kibabs, pillauf, fritters, pickled vegetables, soups, rolls stuffed with fine herbs, sausages, fried fish, bread of every quality, and cakes of all dimensions. Escaping from this too savory locality, we found ourselves among the sherbet venders, whose marquees, lined with blue or crimson, were
 367 pitched with more precision and regard to comfort and convenience than those of the *restaurateurs*. Mirrors, bouquets, and a display of goblets of all shapes and sizes, were skillfully set forth in many of them; some even indulged in the luxury of pictures, which were universally glaring and highly-colored French prints of female heads, of the most common description; and in these tents chairs and cushions were alike provided for the guests; while in one corner stood the mangal, ready to supply the necessary fragment of live coal for igniting the chibouk.

Scattered among these more assuming establishments were the stands of the itinerant merchants, whose little cupolaed fountains threw up a slender thread of water to the accompaniment of a tinkling sound, produced by the contact of half a dozen thin plates of metal; while a circle of sherbet glasses, filled with liquids of different colors, and interspersed with green boughs, and suspended lemons, looked so cool and refreshing that they were more tempting by far than the aristocratic establishments of the marquee owners. Here and there a flat tomb, fancifully covered with gold-embroidered handkerchiefs, was over spread with sweetmeats and preserved fruits; while, in the midst of these rival establishments, groups of
 368 men were seated in a circle, wherever a little shade could be obtained, smoking their long pipes in silence, with their diminutive coffee-cups resting on the ground beside them. The wooden kiosk overhanging the Bosphorus was crowded; and many a party was snugly niched among the acacias, with their backs resting against the tombs, and the sunshine flickering at their feet.

But the leading feature of the festival was the Armenian dance, that was going forward in every direction, and which was so perfectly characteristic of the people that it merits particular mention. A large circle was formed, frequently consisting of between forty and fifty individuals, (chance comers falling in as they pleased without question or hindrance) holding each other by the hand, or round the neck, and wedged closely together so as to form a compact body; the leader of the dance being the only one who detached himself from the rest, and held the person next to him at arm's length. In the center of the ring stood, and sometimes danced, the musician, whose instrument was either a species of small, cracked guitar, with wire strings, which he struck with very slender regard to either time or tune; or a bagpipe precisely similar to that of Scotland, but not played in the same spirit-stirring style, the Armenian performer making no attempt at any thing beyond noise, and never by any accident forming three consecutive notes which harmonized; but his hearers were not
 369 fastidious, and the music he was, at least, in good keeping with the dance. Beside the minstrel,

such as I have described him, moved the buffoon of the company, who also, by some extraordinary and perfectly Armenian concatenation of ideas, acted as Master of the Ceremonies.

The leader flourished a painted muslin handkerchief, while he lifted up first one foot and then the other, as fowls do sometimes in a farm-yard; poising the body on one leg for an instant, and then changing the position. This movement was followed by the whole of the party with more or less awkwardness; and thus hopping, balancing, and shifting their feet, they slowly worked round and round the circle, without changing either the time or the movement for several consecutive hours; the different individuals falling in and out of the ring as their inclination prompted, without disturbing the slightest degree the economy of the dance. There was nothing exclusive in these Terpsichorean circles, where the smart serving-man's neck was clasped by the sinewy hand of the street-porter, anywhere the embroidered Albanian legging and European shoe were placed in juxtaposition with the bare limb and heelless slipper. There must have been at least a dozen of these dances going forward in the fair . . .

<Vol. II>

It is a singular fact, that although the Armenian quarter of Broussa contains upwards of a thousand houses which are all inhabited, the number of Catholic families does not amount to fifty; their place of worship is consequently small, and unworthy of description, being merely the chapel attached, to private house, while the Schismatic Church is proportionally handsome. The difference of faith between the two sects hangs upon a single point—the Schismatics deny the double nature of Christ, and are accordingly denounced as heretics by their more orthodox brethren; although they worship the same profusion of Saints—weep over the wounds of the same blessed martyrs—and build altars to the same Virgin under all her multitudinous designations. 90

The Armenian Church of Broussa is very elegant. The altar, which extends along its whole width, is of white marble, highly polished, and divided into three compartments, merely separated from the aisles by a simple railing, and is arranged with considerable taste; the sacerdotal plate being interspersed with vases of white lilies. The roof is supported by ten fine columns, and the floor covered, like that of a mosque, with rich carpets. 91

The Saints, whose portraits adorn the walls, (which are covered with Dutch tiles to the height of the latticed gallery,) have been most cruelly treated. I never beheld “the human face divine” so caricatured! A tale is somewhere told of a susceptible young Italian, who became enamored of the Madonna that adorned his oratory; he might kneel before the whole saintly community of the Armenian Church of Broussa, without a quickening pulse they would haunt the dreams of an artist like the nightmare! At the base of the pictures, crosses of white marble are encrusted in the masonry, curiously inlaid with colored stones; and a portable altar, whose plate was enriched with fine turquoises, stood in the center of the aisle, surmounted by a hideous St. Joseph, glaring out in his ugliness from beneath a drapery of silver muslin.

The church is surrounded on three sides by a noble covered cloister. Lined with marble, partially carpeted, and furnished with an altar at each extremity. That on the right hand is the burial place of the Bishops, who lie beneath slabs of marble, elaborately carved; the left hand cloister, into which flows a noble fountain, serves as a sacristy; and the third, situated at the 92

extreme end of the church, is decorated with a dingy Virgin, and a congregation of Saints in very tattered condition, to whom their votaries offer the tribute or lighted tapers, whose numerous remains were scattered about in their immediate vicinity. The women's gallery is handsome and spacious, and is partially overlooked by the windows of the Bishop's Palace; a fine building erected a year ago at an immense expense.

From the church we passed into the public school, where three hundred boys were conning their tasks under the superintendence of a single master. Though we were perfectly unexpected, we did not hear a whisper; every boy was in his place; and the venerable Dominie, with a beard as white as snow, and a head which would have been a study for a painter, rose as we entered, and courteously invited us to take our seats upon the comfortable sofa that occupied the upper end of the hall. The most beautiful cleanliness pervaded the whole establishment; and the boarded floor was rubbed as bright by the constant friction of six hundred little naked feet, as though it had been waxed.

165 <In Constantinople> The Armenian houses are peculiarly remarkable for their cleanliness. All the inhabitants of Constantinople in decent circumstances are scrupulously nice on this point, but the Armenians exceed all others: every respectable dwelling being scoured throughout once a week with soap and water. I have already, in speaking of this people, alluded to their utter deficiency in sentiment and ambition: their lives are | frittered away in inconsequent details; and hence the attention and interest are bestowed on comparatively insignificant objects, which render them remarkable to strangers.

348 No traveler should leave Constantinople without paying a visit to the Fez Manufactory of Eyoub, where all the caps for the Sultan's armies are now made. The building, which is entirely modern, and admirably adapted to its purpose, stands in the port, near the palace of Azme Sultane, on the site of an ancient Imperial residence. It is under the control of Omer Lufti Effendi, late Governor of Smyrna, a man of known probity and talent . . .

353 Having induced a party of Arabian workmen from Tunis to accompany him to Constantinople, he established them in the old palace, which has since been replaced by the present noble building; and under their direction the knitting and shaping of the caps acquired some degree of perfection.

But the dye was a secret beyond their art; and the Turkish government, anxious to second the views of the energetic Omer Effendi, made a second importation of Tunisians with no
354 better success, although they were chosen from among | the most efficient workmen of their country. The caps, while they were equal both in form and texture to those of Tunis, were dingy and ill-colored; and the Arabs declared that the failure of the dye was owing to the water in and about Constantinople, which was unfavorable to the drugs employed.

As a last hope, a trial was made at Smit <Nicomedia/Ismit>, but with the same result; and the attempt to localize the manufacture was about to be abandoned, when Omer Effendi, suspecting the good faith of the Arabian workmen, disguised a clever Angorian Armenian, named Avanis Aga, as a Turk, whom he placed as a laborer in the dye room. Being a good chemist and a shrewd observer, Avanis Aga, affecting a stupidity that removed all suspicion, soon made himself master of the secret which it so much imported his anxious patron to learn; and, abandoning the ignoble bosom that he had wielded as the attendant of the

Tunisian dyers, immediately that he discovered the fraud which, either in obedience to the secret orders of their Regent, or from an excess of patriotism, they had been practicing ever since their arrival; he set himself to work in secret; and, with the water of Smit, dyed two caps, which, having dried, he presented to Omer Effendi, who was unable to distinguish them from those of Tunis.

Delighted at the successful issue of his 1 experiment, Omer Effendi summoned the Arabs 355 to his presence, and showed them the fez; when, instantly suspecting the masquerade that had betrayed them, they simultaneously turned to wards the Armenian, and, throwing their turbans on the ground, and tearing their hair, they cried out: "Yaccoup! Yaccoup!" (Jacob! Jacob!)

The Superintendent having dismissed them, after causing them to be liberally remunerated for the time which they had spent at Constantinople, sent them back to Tunis; while Avanis Aga, elected Head Dyer of the Imperial Manufactory of Eyoub, now enjoys the high honor of deciding on the exact tint to be worn by Mahmoud the Powerful, the "Light of the Sun," and "Shadow of the Universe."

Fifteen thousand caps a month are produced at the fabric of Eyoub; and they are said to equal those of Tunis.

I cannot perhaps, give a better idea of the hospitable feeling of the Armenians, than by 373 relating a little adventure which happened to a friend and myself, a few weeks previously to my departure from the East.

We left home with the intention of paying a visit to the amiable sisters of Tingher-Oglou, at their residence on the Bosphorus; and, after a short walk, rang at a great gate which we imagined to be that of their grounds. The summons was immediately answered; and a lovely girl of about sixteen having followed the servant to the gate to ascertain the identity of the visitors, replied to our inquiry for the ladies we sought, by an invitation to enter. Supposing, from the extreme splendor of her dress, and the perfect ease of her manner, that she was some relative of the family whom we had not hitherto met, we at once obeyed her bidding, and found ourselves 1 on a terrace overshadowed by lime trees, on which a party of ladies, entirely 374 unknown to us, were whiling away the time, surrounded by a crowd of attendants.

Both the place and the persons being strange, we drew back, and apologized for our unintentional intrusion on the privacy of the family; when an elderly female, evidently the mistress of the house, motioned us to seat ourselves on the cushions besides her, telling us that she had been long desirous of making our acquaintance, and was rejoiced that her daughter-in-law had possessed wit enough to profit by the opportunity afforded by our mistake. Of course we availed ourselves of the courtesy; and the more readily as we immediately discovered that we were in the grounds of a wealthy Saraf, who was the neighbor of Tingher-Oglou; and who had lately built the magnificent mansion which lay below the terrace on the edge of the channel; and married the beautiful girl who stood beside us, smiling at the success of her harmless deceit.

She was the bride of a week; and, as I had never before had an opportunity of seeing the costume of a newly-married Armenian female, I looked at her with considerable curiosity. Her hair, which was perfectly black, and extremely luxuriant, hung in a number of glossy braids upon her shoulders, being bound back from her 1 brow by a handkerchief of gold gauze, 375 deeply fringed, and thickly covered with diamonds.

Between her eyebrows was affixed an ornament composed of small brilliants, and forming the word "bride" in Armenian characters. Her chemisette was of blue crape, fringed with silver; and her antery of Broussa silk, worked and edged with gold, bound about her waist with a costly cachemire. She wore trousers of figured silk, of a pale blue; thread stockings, and slippers of pink kid. Her rings and bracelets were a little fortune in themselves; and, had she known how to adjust her costume with the intuitive taste of a Turkish woman, she would have been beautiful; but the Armenian lady is as inferior in elegance to the fair Osmanli, as the Perote to the European. They wear the same description of dress, and employ the same materials, but they may, nevertheless, be distinguished at a glance, from the mere manner of its adjustment. The one is almost a caricature of the other. I remained long enough in the East to think the yashmac the most coquettish and becoming of all head-dresses; but to be either the one or the other it must be arranged by the fair fingers of a gentle Turk; for when put on as the Armenians wear it, it is the greatest disfigurement in the world. The same may be said of the whole of their costume. The inmate of the Turkish harem is a willow-like and graceful as
 376 a swan—the Armenian lady, on the contrary, overloads herself with shawls and finery; and is, consequently, fettered in her movements.

Nothing could be more courteous than our reception by the family with which we had become so unexpectedly acquainted. The most delicate sweetmeats and the finest Mocha coffee were served to us by the fair hands of the bride herself, which were deeply stained with henna; and, as I have before remarked, blazing with jewels.

When the refreshments were removed, we made a tour of the grounds; and were laden by our new friends with tuberoses, orange-blossom, and green lemons. There was not a courtesy that they did not show us; not a flattering epithet which they did not lavish on us; and as they led us by the hand from terrace to terrace, they pointed out with intuitive taste every fine point of view as it opened upon them—lingered beneath each little garden pavilion wreathed with parasites, where the passion flower blossomed beside the creeping rose, and the violet nestled at the root of the tiger lily—playfully sprinkled us with the limpid waters of each sparkling fountain, whose marble basin looked like a glistening lotus in the sunshine—seated us in the painted kiosks which overhung the water—and selected for us the most tempting produce of the orangeries.

377 When we at length reluctantly took our leave, the pretty bride kissed our hands with a graceful humility, perfectly charming; and we were followed to the gate by entreaties that we would renew our visit. To these I replied by an invitation which was instantly accepted; and on the morrow my room was a blaze of jewels and gold embroidery.

The etiquette of a Schismatic Armenian family is infinitely more rigid than that observed by the Turks. With the latter, the daughter or daughter-in-law, when in the harem, can seat herself unbidden; although not, indeed, where she pleases, for her proper place is assigned to her, and she is not permitted to intrude into those of her elders. But the young Armenian wife, who may have brought to her husband the dowry of a million of piastres, and the fair girl who is the heiress of her father's house, must remain meekly standing, with folded hands and patient brow, until the lady-mother gives the gracious signal which authorizes her to occupy a corner of the sofa or the cushion.

The Armenian Catholics do not enforce so rigorously this domestic slavery, although they also are fettered by a thousand inconvenient and inconsequent observances. It is the

Schismatics who cling jealously to all the absurd ceremonials which render their existence as uncomfortable as they can contrive to make it. The eldest son can smoke before his father, it is true; but the chibouk is placed in such a position as to be invisible to the chief of the family, the smoker being obliged to turn his head backward to press the amber mouthpiece; and, moreover, to select for this fleeting enjoyment the brief moments when the eyes of his parent are averted. 378

The younger sons dare not produce a chibouk, nor even utter an opinion before either of these august personages—The mother alone, among the females of the family, has the privilege of occupying a place on the sofa, and appropriating a share of the conversation: the younger ladies only appear before their male relatives when they are summoned, or compelled to intrude in the performance of some household duty. On all other occasions they inhabit the harem, which is usually a noble apartment most luxuriously fitted up, where they knit, embroider, or idle, as best suits their inclination. Like the Turkish women, they are passionately fond of flowers, and cultivate them with great assiduity; their gardens being as remarkable for their neatness, as are the interior of their dwellings for that extraordinary cleanliness to which I have borne testimony elsewhere.

On the arrival of a male visitor, should any of the ladies be wandering amid the bright blossoms in which they so much delight, the alarm is instantly given; and they shuffle away to their pretty prison-room as fast as their heelless slippers will enable them to move. Perhaps the guest may be a suitor; but if so, the case is not altered one iota. The lady still runs away, without any attempt to indulge her curiosity by a peep at her destined lord; while the gentleman, on his side, takes his seat in the great saloon, and, after smoking a score of pipes, and making a thousand *teimans* to the father or brother of his bride elect, mounts his horse, or resumes his place in his caïque, and departs; in full possession of all the particulars of the lady's property; and in contented ignorance of all that relates to her character or person. 379

"Will you take this woman, whether she be halt, or deaf, or humped, or blind?" asks the priest on the bridal day, as the happy bride-groom stands opposite to a mummy-like mass of gold threads and cachemire, with his own monstrous calpac tricked out in the same glittering finery, until he looks like a male Danaë; and with true stolid Armenian philosophy he answers: "Even so I will take her."

The European . . . associates the idea of marriage with tenderness, and indulgence, and domestic enjoyment; emancipation from maternal authority, and comparative personal liberty . . . But the Armenian maiden only exchanges one tyranny for another—she is transported to the home of a stranger, whom a priest has told her that she is to love, and whom she has never seen—beneath the roof-tree of a man whom, henceforward, she is bound to honor, though her heart may loathe the mockery. To obey is her least difficult duty, for she has been reared in obedience; but yet she cannot escape the pang of feeling how much more easy was that blind submission to another's will, when it was enforced by the mother who had laid her to sleep upon her bosom in her infancy, and on whose knee she had sported in her girlhood; than when she is suddenly called upon to bow meekly beneath the dictation of a new and strange task-mistress, knit to her by no tie, save that new and unaccustomed link which has just been riveted by the church; and by which she has become the slave not only of her husband, but of his parents also. 380

Has she fortune, beauty, rank, they avail her nothing; for two long years she must not speak before her step-mother, save to reply to some question that may be put to her; and, should she herself become a parent, she has yet a sterner and a more difficult task to learn; for
 381 she cannot even fondle her infant before witnesses; but must fly and hide herself in her own chamber when she would indulge the out pourings of maternal love.

How melancholy a contrast does this Armenian barbarism afford to the beautiful devotedness of every inmate of a Turkish harem to the comfort and happiness of infancy! There it is difficult to decide which is really the mother of the rosy, laughing, boisterous baby that is passed from one to the other; and welcome to the heart and arms of all. The little plump, spoilt, mischievous urchin, whose life is one long holiday of fun and frolic; and whose few fleeting tears throw all around him into commotion. An infant is common property in a Turkish harem—a toy and a treasure alike to each; whether it be the child of the stately Hanoum whose will is law, or of the slave whose duty is obedience; and, it is certain that, if children could really be “killed with kindness,” the Ottoman Empire, in as far as the Turks themselves are concerned, would soon be a waste.

There can, I think, be no doubt that the life of cold, monotonous, heart-shutting ceremony led by the Armenians among themselves, has been in a great degree the cause of the stolidity of character with which I have elsewhere reproached them. It would, perhaps, be difficult to find a finer race of men in the world, as far as their personal appearance is
 382 concerned: while it is certain that no where could they be exceeded in mental, or I should rather say, moral inertness. In all affairs of commerce, where the subject may be reduced by rule, and decided by calculation, they are competent alike to undertake and to comprehend it: but once endeavor to while them beyond the charmed circle of their money-bags; to detach their thoughts for a moment from their piastres; and they cannot utter three consecutive sentences to which it is not a waste of time to listen.

That they are a most valuable portion of the population admits of no dispute; their steady commercial habits, their unquestioning submission to “the powers that be;” their plodding, unambitious natures, fit them admirably for their position in Turkey. Had they more mental energy, more self-appreciation, and more moral development, they could not continue to be the tame listless imitators, and idolaters of their masters that they now are.

The Armenian holds the same position among the bipeds of the East as the buffalo among the quadrupeds. He bears his load, and performs his task with docility, without appearing conscious that he can be capable of any thing beyond this; and, even the Sarafs, or Bankers to the Pashas, a class of men in whom I expected to encounter, at least occasionally, an individual of general acquirements and information, as far as my own experience went,
 383 scarcely formed an exception to the rule. I knew many among them who were exceedingly amiable, and possessed of great shrewdness, but it was all professional subtlety; it extended not beyond the objects on which their personal interests were hinged. Not one in a score can speak five words of any European language, or he induced to exhibit the slightest wish to acquire one. In a word, I should say that the Armenians, as a nation, were worthy, well-meaning, and useful, but extremely uninteresting members of society; possessing neither the energy of the Greek, nor the strength of character so conspicuous in the Osmanli—A money-making, money-loving people, having a proper regard for the “purple and fine linen” of the world; and quite satisfied to bear the double yoke of the Sultan and the Priesthood.

William Francis Ainsworth—1807–1896

A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition.

In two volumes. Vol. I, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1888

A.D. 1835–1837

Aintab is a considerable town, with a population of some 15,000 souls. The houses are built of stone, and it is well provided. It has been identified with Antiochia ad Taurum, Mr. Long remarks, without sufficient reason, and yet it is difficult to imagine another positioning for that town. D'Anville, however, is completely in the wrong in recognizing it as the site of Deba. This was a city of Mesopotamia on the Tigris . . .

It was, however, known in after times by the name of Doliche, having the same signification as its present name, "Hot Springs," and placed by the Tables on the road from Nicopolis to Zeugma, and twenty-one Roman miles from the latter. Doliche was also in mediaeval times a Christian episcopate of the province of Euphratensis, and it is still a town much favored by Armenians and Syro-Greeks, who constitute a large proportion of the population, and contribute most by their industry to its prosperity. We were not, for some reason or other, allowed to explore its castle.

Kilis, to which I had previously made a cursory visit, is a large bustling town, on a rich and fertile plain, backed by precipitous cliffs of crumbling marls and limestones, alternating with basaltic ridges. It is said to contain thirty-two mosques. Its houses are built of stone, and the population is roughly estimated at 12,000, chiefly Turcomans, Kurds, Armenians, and Syro-Greeks, with a few Osmanlis.

Its bazaars are well stored and its market good. Kilis and Aintab have both manufactures of leather, dyed red and yellow, as also of cottons and woollens. These may be considered to be their chief industries, but Aintab, as previously observed, abounds in fruit and vegetables, with which it supplies the market of Aleppo, while around Kilis, although much cotton is grown, and it has also extensive olive plantations, there are not such productive gardens. These two towns, situated as they are at the head of the great plains of North Syria and at the foot of Taurus, are, however, the market towns for the numerous villages scattered over the plains, as well as in the hilly districts beyond. In return for their produce, they import English and French manufactures from Aleppo for the bazaars, and these are thus distributed over the country.

At the present time Missis contains about 150 houses, two-thirds of which are tenanted by Mussulmans, one-third by Armenians.

Victor Langlois . . . charges both myself and General Chesney with having been misled by our informants as to the population of the city <of Adana>. From details obtained, he puts down the number of houses inhabited by Turks and Arabs as 2,800, by Armenians 900, by Armenian neophytes 80, by Greeks 60, by Ansarians 600, by Syrian Jacobites 55, and by

Europeans 5,— making a total of 4,500 houses, or a population of about 22,500; but the population of houses in the East generally far exceeds that of the usual five adopted for an estimate.

129 The Christians <of Adana> have also their churches—fairly handsome buildings; two belong to the Armenians and one to the Greeks. The cathedral church of the Armenians is dedicated to the Virgin, the other to St. Stephen. Langlois discovered among other manuscripts in the cathedral, a copy of the Gospel that belonged to a Baron Geoffroy (Jofré), in the time of the Armenian king Hethoum, A.D. 1245.

. . . The bazaars are extensive, and comprise a bezistan, which the same traveler compares with those of Constantinople and Smyrna. The Pasha's palace is a vast parallelogram situated on the banks of the Sarus, and its interior has been described by the Princess Belgiojoso in her "Travels in the East."

There are four hamams or public baths in Adana; the houses are chiefly constructed of bricks, or of tiles after the Roman fashion, and some of them have a goodly aspect.

130 Adana is further surrounded by gardens which produce most of the fruits and vegetables of extra-tropical climates. There are date trees and vineyards, and the luscious wines of Cyprus (vin de Commanderie) are to be obtained in the bazaars. The castor-oil plant is grown as an object of trade, and when Ibrahim Pasha was in possession of the place, he tried to introduce the cultivation of cotton and sugar, but with what success I do not know. The climate is very hot in summer, and hence like Tarsus it is very unhealthy in autumn, and those who can afford to do so, run away to the mountains.

168 Sis upheld its superiority over all the cities of Cilicia until the year 1374, and in the time of Leon VI, when the Mamluk Egyptians sacked the place, and reduced its castle to a heap of ruins.

It is now only a small place of some 200 houses, inhabited by Turcomans and Armenians.

170 A little church, surrounded by walls, and with lucarnes almost as high up as the roof, is said to be the oldest in Sis, having been built by Hethoun, and dedicated to Surp-Sarkis, or St. Sergius. It is in a ruinous condition, and the apse alone remains of another church of the Rupenian epoch, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul.

The church called that of "Our Lady" is of modern construction, all except the choir, which belongs to Rupenian times. The origin of the monastery is associated with the expulsion of the Catholicos from the patriarchal site at Rum Kaleh, on the Euphrates, by the Muhammadans, and his seeking refuge at this spot. The first monastery erected by the Patriarch Ghugas or Lucas in 1734, is now an Armenian school, and a patriarchal chair is preserved in it, constructed of wood at Aleppo in the middle of the eighteenth century.

171 The annals of the patriarchate of Sis are recorded in the "Chronologie des Patriarches de Sis," and in Saint I Martin's "Memoirs on Armenia," but M. Langlois added by his researches at this place to the number of inscriptions before known, and to a knowledge of the relics in the existing church and monastery, called that of Guiragos, and which claimed the possession of a finger of St. Gregory, but which is supposed, on better authority, to be preserved in the monastery at Edchmiadzin. M. Langlois also tells us that the archives at the monastery are all

of modern date; but in his personal narrative (p. 127) he insinuates that the patriarch did not permit access to the old archives, and he relates an adventure that befell him in a clandestine attempt made to discover them, for he found himself in the catacombs of the monks, and was obliged to beat a hasty retreat by the sickening smell of the place.

The library of the convent is said by the same authority to contain 145 manuscripts, of which he made a catalogue, and of 250 printed volumes, chiefly Liturgies of no especial value. But among the treasures of the church are two Gospels bound in silver, one written in the time of Leon V, the other in that of Constantine IV (both of the Lusignan dynasty).

The environs of Sis were thickly populated in the time of the Armenian kings, and the remains of several churches and monasteries are still met with. Among these is one at the village now called Jawur Koi, in which Langlois found inscriptions dedicated to Frenchmen whom he supposes to have dwelt here under the Lusignans, and whose descendants participated in the misfortunes and captivity of the last of the race, Leon VI, who died in the convent of the Celestines at Paris in 1393.

We left the Turcoman camp early the ensuing morning in pursuit of the rest of the party, 178 and were lucky, after a ride of three or four hours, in catching them up at the village of Kars, to which, however, we had to be ferried across another tributary to the Pyramus.

There was no time for refreshment, for the baggage was already loaded, and we had to continue our journey breakfastless, as we had had to go to bed the previous night supperless. Kars is a permanent village, inhabited by Kurds, who were by no means so kindly disposed as the nomadic Turcomans. Our road lay hence over wooded, hilly districts, and we were brought to a little after noon by another tributary to the Pyramus, which swollen by recent rains, presented a formidable obstacle to our progress. After several unsuccessful attempts made to cross the stream, we succeeded in finding a ford, which we passed without accident.

We were, however, in consequence of this delay, overtaken by darkness before we came to a village. At length, lights were perceived glimmering at a distance, and in an apparent hollow to our right. The Colonel and myself started off as usual to obtain accommodation, and this 179 owing to the alarm of the villagers occasioned by the lateness of the hour, was not obtained without some trouble. The village, however, called Kurbali, was inhabited by Armenians. So after a short time, confidence being established, we found ourselves in hospitable quarters and met with nothing but kindly treatment.

Beyond this village of Armenians, which lay embosomed in a beautiful country, rocky but well wooded, the road began to ascend, becoming more and more mountainous with each successive ridge we crossed over, until at last we arrived at cliffs beneath which the Pyramus was seen flowing at a depth of many hundred feet below us.

A picturesque and pleasant ride, the ensuing morning, amid rocky precipices and wood- 183 crowned hills, led us out of Taurus into the open but still in parts snow-clad plain of Marash.

This was a large town with some thirty to forty thousand inhabitants, and the seat of a Pasha, who when applied to at once supplied us with a home in the Christian quarter.

Marash is a city of great antiquity . . . Towards the end of the eleventh century it was governed by the Armenian Philaretus.

192 At Rum Kalah the river is, as before observed, pent up between perpendicular cliffs; it has in fact to force its way through a vast plateau of limestone rocks, thinly covered with trees, with which I was destined to make a further and unpleasant acquaintance.

The road carried along the side of these precipices presented accordingly many difficulties to progress, but we were not encumbered with baggage-horses, as on the previous expedition, and we got on fairly enough.

Some few miles, indeed, beyond Rum Kalah we came to a spot where the precipices receded from the river, and where, much to our surprise, a town presented itself, built upon the face of the cliffs, half cabins half huts, with low walls in front, rising on successive ledges tier above tier, and what was more curious, with a narrow way, just practicable for horses, carried up in a zigzag manner from one ledge to another, till the summit of the cliff was reached.

Yet was this place, although no doubt a place of refuge of persecuted Armenians, a site of antiquity. Known as Aianha in the present day, it corresponds to the Aniana of Ptolemy, which he places near Porsica, and the site of which I recognized on another journey at a neighboring place now called Yailash.

After traversing this troglodytic town, to the no small amusement of its secluded inhabitants, we took an almost retrograde direction to an Armenian village, known by the same name but distinguished by the additional epithet of Dibbin, or the place whence dibs, the sweet juice of the grape, is to be obtained. And indeed there were extensive vineyards
193 around this otherwise l stony spot, and its inhabitants supplied Port William with wine, so that our reception at the village was most hospitable.

Ruins of an old Armenian church, and many other fragments of antiquity, were met with at this ancient looking site, where are also met with in abundance those curious pear-shaped cavities, the entrance to which is blocked up by a single large stone, as were alluded to as far back as the times of Xenophon as reservoirs for wine, but they have been used for other purposes, as storing corn &c., since the advent of Islamism.

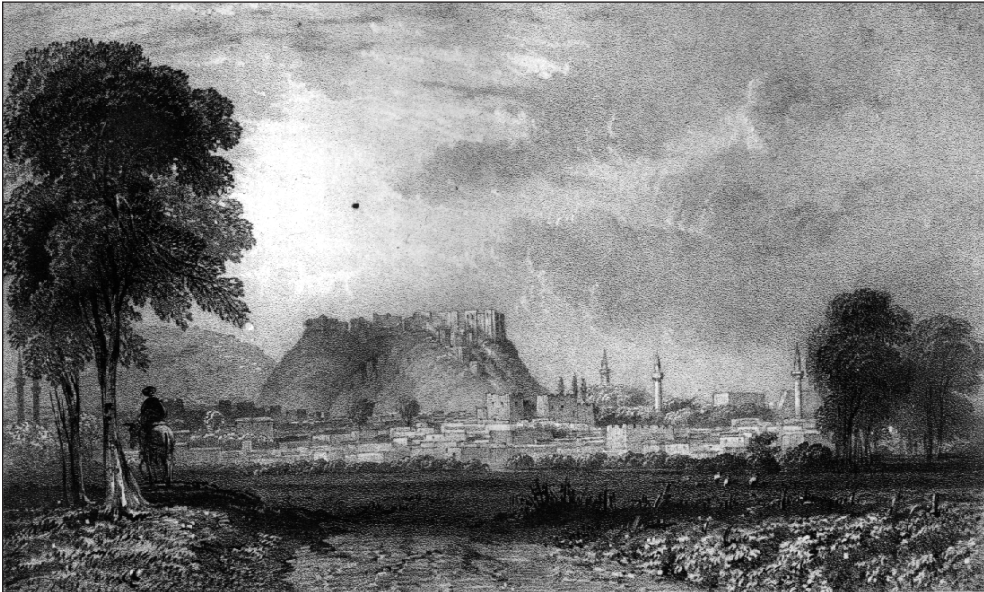
As both places bear the same name, it may be taken for granted that Dibbin, with its ancient church, was the original site, and the village of rock-dwellings a place in which the Armenians sought refuge in time of trouble, and to which they have since held from force of habit or dread of further persecutions.

The next day we passed a large village called Narsis, close by which was a tell or mound of debris, denoting an ancient site, and up an adjacent valley, watered by a rivulet, were some cliffs with excavated grottoes, either rock-dwellings or sepulchral grottoes. This was evidently a site of antiquity, and its name recalls that of Narsis (also written Nerses), the distinguished patriarch of the Armenians in mediaeval times, and whose residence was at Rum Kalah before the removal of the patriarchate to Cilicia.

194 We then walked through the town [of Kantarah], which contains about 400 houses of Armenian tradesmen, Kurd and Turcoman peasants, and a scattering of Osmanli officials, to the great mound or tell—all that remains of the ancient palace and citadel, and which is still crowned by the remains of ruined walls. These, indeed, with a few fragments of marble columns to be met with here and there, and traces of an aqueduct, which extended hence some ten miles to the river Claudius (now Kaktah Su, with whose cool waters I had occasion

to make personal acquaintance on another journey) were all we found to attest to the existence | of a once renowned city. 195

A long ride of upwards of thirty miles across the ancient kingdom of Osrhoene, so called 196
from the Chosroes of Armenia, took us in one day from Samosata to Urfah, the ancient
capital of the country.



A general view of Aintab.

[From Francis Chesney's *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris* (London, 1850).]

Francis Rawdon Chesney—1789–1872

The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, carried on by order of the British Government, in the years 1835, 1836, and 1837; preceded by geographical and historical notices of the regions situated between the rivers Nile and Indus.

In four volumes. Vol. I, London, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1850

A.D. 1835–1837

- 15 <In Diyar Bekr> at present there are scarcely 8,000 houses,* and its commerce is almost annihilated.
- 41 <Kemakh, a mountain town near Erzingan consists of> 400 Turkish, with 30 Armenian houses, which are singularly placed amidst gardens, on a slope . . .
- 42 Egin, a town of 2,700 houses . . .
- 43 Mush, a town which contains 1,200 houses . . .

Armenia

- 94 The upper Euphrates is nearly in the center of the great range of territory called by the ancients Armenia, which extended eastward from that river to the Caspian Sea, and again westward over a part of Asia Minor. The former portion was almost universally known by the
- 95 name of the Greater, and the latter by that of the Less Armenia; but both were sometimes subdivided into First, Second and Third Armenia: a fourth division was added by Moses Choronensis and others. This last division, being on the eastern side of the Euphrates, constitutes in reality part of Armenia Major; while Armenia Minor is confined to the country westward of the Euphrates, and is composed only of the three subdivisions above alluded to.

Armenia Major, in the time of its greatest prosperity, extended from 36° 50' to 48° N lat.; and eastward, in one direction, from 38° to about 48° 40' E. long., with a surface of nearly 84,756 square miles of diversified country. The general limits of this territory will probably be best understood by considering the Euphrates to be its western boundary from Sumeisat until a few miles south of Erzingan, where the boundary quits the river, and preserves the direction of Tarabuzun, till it meets the mountains southward of Kumish Khanah. There it takes a north-easterly direction along the range, till it skirts the northern extremity of the district of Kars, and from thence it passes onward to the river Kur, a few miles below Tiflis: from hence it follows this river to its estuary. After continuing along the Caspian shore for a short distance, the line of demarcation strikes into the interior in the direction of Tabriz, and the southern part of the district of Julamerik. It next passes south of Sert through the district of Diyar Bekr, and finally rejoins the Euphrates at Sumeisat. The district lying on the western

* 1,500 Armenians and 6,300 Turks.—Brant's *Journey through a part of Asia Minor*: Vol. VI, Part II, of the *Geographical Journal*, p. 210.

side of the Euphrates, between Caesarea of Cappadocia and Pontus, was in early times called First Armenia. That which extended from Pontus to Melitene bore the name of Second Armenia; and the third, which had Cilicia to the south, and Second Armenia to the north, touched the Euphrates on the east, and extended westward beyond the towns of Ain-zarbah and Sis. As these three provinces, properly speaking, formed what was afterwards called Armenia Minor, or the territory westward of Euphrates, it will be sufficient, in describing the limits, to indicate the general contour of the whole, as was done with respect to the Greater, 96 or, geographically speaking, eastern Armenia. Near Gumish Khanah the line of separation between the two Armenias is the Kof-Tagh range already alluded to. This chain continues to be the northern boundary of Lesser Armenia, as it runs westward almost parallel to the Black Sea, till it reaches the river Halys, at a point not very distant from its estuary. From hence it runs S.W. along the river for about 180 miles and onward in the same direction till it meets the Taurus, which becomes the boundary almost to the sea near Ayas. Afterwards, the line sweeps round the south side of Ain-zarbah and Marash, to the Euphrates at Sumeisat; and encloses a superficies of 70,778 square miles. According to the royal historian,* Armenia Minor for a brief period extended to the borders of Palestine, and one of its princes had the seat of his government at Rum Kalah. The celebrated and once-powerful kingdom of Armenia is now broken into four districts, each of which is under a separate dominion. The largest portion is that bordering upon the upper Euphrates, which includes the northern part of Diyar Bekr, with Mush, Van, and the pashalic of Erz-rum, and is subject to the Sultan. The next is that under the dominion of Persia, and extends over a part of Kurdistan and nearly the whole of Azerbaijan. The third is the independent territory of the Chaldeans, which lies S.S.E. of Lake Van, and N.N.E. of Musul. And the fourth is the district of Erivan, or that part of ancient Armenia which belongs to Russia, and stretches along the river Aras . . .

The country in general, especially the slopes of the several chains of Taurus, may be said to be well wooded.

Armenia possesses several fine sheets of water, such as lakes Van, Urumiyah, Gouktcha or Sevanga, near Erivan, and many others of less note. It has the advantage also of being traversed by some of the noblest rivers in the world, which are fed by thousands of tributary streams, carrying fertility in every direction throughout its beautiful valleys. Owing to the height of the table-lands, and the extreme elevation of the mountains, the temperature of Armenia is much lower than that of other regions situated on the same parallels of latitude; but there is, notwithstanding, much variety in its climate and products. The soil is rich, and, instead of desert tracts, the unoccupied portions consist of rich pasture grounds, on which numerous horses and other animals are fed. In the table-lands, and other parts of Armenia which are but partially cultivated, almost every kind of vegetable production is to be found.

GRAIN, FRUITS, AND OTHER PRODUCTIONS

The wheat and barley are particularly fine; nor is it very uncommon to have three successive crops of grain in some places. The gardens yield grapes in abundance, also oranges, peaches, nectarines, figs, apples, pomegranates, and other fruits.

Honey, wax, manna, and gall-nuts are exported from the more mountainous districts, 98

* Haiton.

where, especially eastward of Tarabuzun, the finest timber is very abundant. The scenery here is at once beautiful and strikingly grand from various points of view, as the mountains are seen rising abruptly from the sea to an elevation of 4,000 and 5,000 feet, their sides being covered with dense forests, composed of gigantic chestnut, beech, walnut, alder, poplar, willow, elm, ash, maple, and box trees, with firs towards their summits, and a magnificent underwood of rhododendron, bay, hazel, &c. The less elevated grounds produce cotton, hemp, tobacco, and raw silk in abundance; besides precious stones, such as the turquois, beryl, crystal, pearl, and ruby. Besides the more valuable metals, gold and silver, Armenia abounds in copper, lead, iron, saltpeter, sulfur, bitumen, quarries of coal, marble, and jasper, with several mineral springs, which have been celebrated for many ages.

The chief exports of this neglected and almost unknown country consist at present of copper, which is carried to Constantinople for the sultan; also iron, silk, cotton, wine, tobacco and gall-nuts. We learn from Strabo, that Pompey demanded as a contribution from Armenia 6,000 talents of silver; and we are told that the Romans, on reducing this kingdom to the rank of one of their provinces, carried King Alavasdus to Rome in golden fetters.

The rough clothing of the country people is manufactured in the villages: a kind of bombazine is still made at Erzingan. At Mush and Mardin, says Marco Polo, cotton is produced in great abundance, and the people prepare from it cloths called boccasine, with many other fabrics. The inhabitants he continues, are manufacturers and traders, and are subject to the king of the Tartars. The same traveler likewise mentions, that all those cloths embroidered with gold and silk which we call muslins, are the manufacture of Mosul; and I we know from Kinneir and others, that they are still made in that city. The Armenians are exceedingly fond of foreign commerce and home trade, both of which are prosecuted with such success, that even the Jews are in many instances driven out of the field of competition. We find the industrious Armenians scattered over Arabia, Persia, and even the greater part of India . . .

In the healthy territory of Armenia, we meet with fine looking peasants, of a powerful and robust frame, but rather dull and heavy in disposition. The people possess more of the passive and enduring than of the active qualities; and as the Armenian is generally without any fixed character of his own, he, from habit, moulds himself to that of his master or ruler, whoever that may happen to be. Consequently we find him in turn become Turk, Persian, Russian, or Kurd, according to the circumstances in which he happens to be placed.

The Armenians have been described as brave; a quality, however, which has long since passed from them; and we do not find that the people of this country have distinguished themselves in war since the days of Armenac, having been from that time either subject to other nations, or distracted by internal divisions.

They are now a commercial and agricultural people; well clad, abundantly fed, and possessing sheep, cattle, and fine horses in great abundance. They live in warm and substantial houses, which are usually made of logs of trees, deeply covered with earth, and generally consisting of four or five apartments connected with each other. Two of these are allotted for the animals, and the remainder for the members of the family, who are commonly very numerous. A large portion of the building is formed by excavating the side of a hill, and in such situations the villages or hamlets are almost invariably placed. The towns are Van, Erivan, Nakhchevan, Kars, Bayazid, Bitlis, Amadiyah, Mush, Sert, and Diyar Bekr (Tigranocerta).

Erz-Rum, or Garin, is now the chief town, and one of great importance, from its position, 100 although its population has been reduced, since the war of 1829, from 130,000 to less than 30,000; in consequence of a forced migration of the inhabitants into the Russian provinces.

The population of Armenia has always been considerable; but from the nature of the country, which is subdivided into many small districts by its numerous mountains, valleys, and rivers, and from the inhabitants being composed of many different tribes, it became almost always an easy prey to the invader; and it has, in fact, been subdued successively by the Babylonians, Assyrians; Medes, Mongols, Parthians, Romans, and Turks. In consideration of their ready obedience and passive fidelity, the Turks prefer, as agents or servants, the Armenians to the Greeks, and, indeed, to any other people in the Sultan's dominions. They have also been partially engaged to serve as militiamen, and apparently with more advantage to the state they could have been expected, considering that want of spirit and activity by which they are generally characterized.

<Gurun> contains an ancient castle, and 1,000 Armenian and Turkish houses. 306

. . . <Sivas> contains . . . 1,000 Armenian and nearly 5,000 Turkish houses, partly tiled and partly flat-roofed . . .

<Kara Hisar> contains 2,000 Turkish, and about 600 Greek and Armenian houses . . . 307

The population <of Smyrna> approaches 130,000, and consists of about 70,000 Turks, 312 30,000 Greeks, 12,000 Spanish Jews, 7,000 Armenians . . .

<Ain-Tab> contains about 8000 Turkish houses, well built, and 500 Armenian houses, 351 principally of stone.

A heavy full figure, with long mustaches and a high cylindrical kalpak or cap of black felt, 372 with a long robe and a shawl of a dark color, distinguish the Armenian citizen from the peasant: the latter wears a dress of brown frieze, with a cap of the same material. The women's faces are partially covered, and their hair, which is carefully braided, is much ornamented with gold coins; the rest of their attire is of cambric muslin, and they show more of the person than is customary with the Turkish dames. They live, however, almost as much secluded; and they employ their time in executing fine work, such as embroidered handkerchiefs, napkins, bags, and purses. Agriculture, commerce, and working in silver or other metals, are the employments of the men, who, besides, are bankers, and occupy places of trust which are occasionally given them by the Turks in consequence of that passive steadiness of character for which they are so remarkable. Throughout the Armenian families and communities the patriarchal system of government prevails, and under it there is the most complete harmony . . .

Robert Walsh—1772–1852

A Residence in Constantinople, during a period included the commencement, progress, and termination of the Greek and Turkish Revolutions.

In two volumes. Vol. I, London, Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1836

A.D. 1836

264 The greater part of Ypsomathia is at present inhabited by the Armenians, and considered their quarter. We visited their patriarchal church, which is a singular building. It consists of three large contiguous edifices, opening into each other by doors in the side walls: two are intended for men and one for women, who never mix with the other sex in their devotions. The churches are large, supported on scagliola pillars, very neat, but plain, having no seats, but the floor covered with mats, and the walls totally denuded of pictures, with the exception of the high altar. Here three or four paintings on Christian subjects, well executed, were hung, surrounded by gilded sculpture; with these exceptions, the edifices were as plain and destitute of ornament as a dissenting meeting-house. This was a striking and unexpected contrast to all the Greek churches I had seen. High up in the wall was the pulpit, from which the priest preached a sermon every morning at the conclusion of divine service. The three churches, they informed us, were necessary to afford room to the numerous congregation which attended, and which could not find accommodation in a single edifice, unless it was inconveniently large. Beside the churches were schools and a printing-office, which we did not now visit. The whole establishment had a freshness and attention to neatness, which also contrasted with the decayed and neglected appearance of similar edifices of their Greek fellow-Christians.

300 On my return to Pera I found a total change had taken place in a few hours in the appearance and manners of the people. There was no public newspaper to transmit the intelligence of any event, but personal communication is a more rapid conveyance. The news of the insurrection had just transpired, and it was caught up and spread from mouth to mouth with the rapidity of wildfire. The Armenians, who have shops in Galata, were hastening home to their residences in Pera; a group of them was ascending the hill before me, and they looked about every minute in the greatest alarm. They are a quiet, timid people, and they seemed to labor under the apprehension of some great evil. The Turks were walking slowly about, holding one hand on the hilt of their yatagans, and with the other twisting their mustaches; while the Greeks and Jews, whenever they met them, got out of their way into some store or coffee-house that happened to be open.

312 Troops were now continually passing from Asia, and collected at Constantinople, to the amount of twenty thousand, whence they were sent off in large detachments towards the provinces. Before they went they committed every outrage on the unfortunate Rayas. the Armenians were distinguished by their passive character—were totally unconnected with the Greeks—and were seldom known to be concerned in any disturbance. Among other acts, the

following was told me by one of their priests, as having occurred the day before. A fellow of the new levies went into the shop of an Armenian merchant, and chose some cloth for a pelisse; he was dissatisfied with the price, and went away. Next day he returned, said he would pay what was asked, and the shopkeeper stooped over the cloth to measure it. The Armenians wear a tall cap called a calpac, which is like an inverted sugar-loaf, the head being put into the small end. Their capotes have no capes, and a long naked neck always appears when they stoop. This presented an object too tempting for the discontented Turk; he drew his yatagan, and with one blow severed his head from his body. It fell into the piece of cloth he was purchasing; so he wrapped it up and carried it off. The headless body of the Armenian was found weltering in his shop. The Turk afterwards exhibited the head, and boasted of the feat, but no Armenian dared to complain. There were now many thousand fellows of all descriptions completely armed, in addition to the populace of the town, going about with loaded pistols, which they discharged in mere wantonness at every object that presented itself, so that day and night we were disturbed by a succession of reports, like the hedge-firing of an irregular engagement, and every shot we heard we knew was the bearer of death. 313

The janissaries had been for some time very discontented, and had made frequent demands which were not complied with. On all occasions of dispute among themselves, the Turks wish to exclude the Franks and Rayas, not only from any participation, but from any witness of it. This, therefore, was considered as a certain signification that the janissaries intended the next day to take the law into their own hands, and every one awaited the event with fear and trembling. The following morning some boys paraded the streets of Pera with a white flag displayed, in which the crescent was set over the cross; and as they went along they attacked the houses of the Greeks and Franks indiscriminately with stones, breaking the windows, shattering the doors, and occasionally discharging pistols against the walls. Every one supposed that this hostile spirit on the part of the boys was a strong indication of the general feeling of the populace, and a precursor of the outrages they intended to commit, as soon as all restraint was laid aside. At this critical time a dispute took place at the Galata Serai, close beside the English palace, between a Turk and an Armenian. The Turk immediately drew his yatagan, which the other snatched from him, and ran with it through the street. The Turk pursued, the alarm was given, and a scene of dismal terror ensued. Hearing the clamor, I ran to the gate to inquire the cause. When it was opened I was met by a dense crowd, who rushed into the garden, and sought protection in the precincts of the palace. The scene of terror and confusion was quite awful. Armed men were seen rushing in one direction—men and women without arms in another. Among the crowd was a bleeding man, without any covering to his head, who looked ghastly pale. The women shrieked, the children screamed, and the mass of Jews, Greeks, Armenians, and Franks who rushed along the street seemed to believe that their hour was now come, and a general cry of “Aman! Aman!” “Mercy! mercy!” was raised among the multitude: an Oriental exclamation resembling the *sauve qui peut* of the French, intimating the last effort of despair. 330 331

Indeed, the general impression at Pera now was, that the insurrection of the Turkish populace, which the government had in vain endeavored to control, had actually commenced, and that the fanatic mob, headed by the discontented janissaries, had at length taken the city into their own hands, and commenced a scene of massacre and plunder. In this state of alarm

the people of the neighborhood looked on the protection of the English palace as their only refuge. They rushed along, therefore, from their own houses, dragging after them their beds and other property through the outside gate; and the lawn was very soon covered over with different articles of household furniture, and their owners lying prostrate in them in despair. In a short time, however, this alarm subsided. It was found, on inquiry, to have originated in the trifling cause I have mentioned: so the gates were again closed, and the fugitives who had rushed in, collecting their effects, gradually, but very reluctantly, retired to their own homes. There were many, however, who lingered for several days among the shrubs and bushes of the garden, afraid again to enter the streets.

Francis Hervé—?

*A Residence in Greece and Turkey; with Notes of the Journey through Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary,
and the Balkan.*

In two volumes. Whittaker & Co., 1837

A.D. 1837?

<Vol. I>

Smyrna is a large city, and extremely populous: the number of inhabitants is generally 311
admitted to be about 150,000. It is divided into four quarters, thus distinguished, the Frank,
Turk, Jew, and Armenian; besides which is an immense number of Greeks, whose residences
are mixed in a great measure amongst those of the Franks. The aristocracy of the society
consists of the consuls and the merchants, who live in a generous and hospitable manner;
perhaps rather too much so for the extent of their incomes, as there are none who possess such
as would be called large fortunes in the great commercial towns in Europe.

Their line of demarcation for the separation of the classes is a subject that I never could 323
understand; and, indeed, I have heard it remarked that it would require a residence of seven
years thoroughly to understand it. You will meet a man, well educated, of gentlemanly
manners, having a handsome house and establishment, a good fortune, and living generously
and hospitably; then why, it will be asked, is he not in the first class? The answer is, because
he is an Armenian, or he is a Greek, or a person of the country. Thus, at Smyrna, it is the
nation that renders a man otherwise than a gentleman.

I once went with B., the Swiss merchant, to whom I have before alluded, to dine at his 383
broker's, who was an Armenian. His reception of us savored much of the ancient hospitality:
a band of music struck up on our entrance, and continued playing | during the whole time 384
we were there. I observed a singular peculiarity on the part of the Armenian females, whenever
they drank, they turned their heads aside. The mistress of the house was truly beautiful; the
expression was so sweet, kind, and modest, that a physiognomist must have loved her for the
good feelings which her countenance proclaimed. Her skin was brilliantly white; of color she
had not much, but what there was, rivaled, in softness and beauty, the tender tint of the rose
leaf. Her eyes were dark, but so veiled by her black silken eyelashes, that they had not that
hard, harsh character, too often the case with those coal-jet eyes. The nose and forehead
approached the Grecian; the mouth, perhaps, somewhat larger than that class of beauty would
admit, and, on that account, perchance, might have more expression: the form of the face was
also rounder than perfection would allow. I was told she had upon her a thousand pounds of
jewels, which did not deform her so much as might have been expected. I frequently think
women make a great mistake in imagining that jewels heighten their charms: there may be
this policy certainly in an ugly person wearing them, that the eye, attracted by | the brilliancy
of the jewels, may forget to look at the wearer.

But to return to my fair Armenian.—She wore a small green velvet jacket, richly 385
embroidered with gold, tight in the sleeves to the wrist, where they opened, and drooping,

displayed immense bracelets, formed of plates of gold; a sort of silk, light as gossamer, or sometimes of Brussels lace, very ample, hung from the end of the sleeve, having a picturesque effect. The jacket is open in front, the bosom being covered with a transparent silk, which is not bright (I believe they call it washing silk); it has a yellowish tint, but is too thin to be strictly delicate, and is worn by all the Greeks, as well as many of the Armenians. The waist was quite short; and on her head she wore a kind of turban, the folds of which were held together by a diamond aigrette; a chain of the same stones hung round the neck, at the end of which was a heart of emerald, which was placed on the right breast.

After dinner, she accompanied her husband in a dance of the country, in which they held the opposite corners of a handkerchief; the man always having the air of commanding, and the wife of obedience; as she danced she kept her eyes always fixed on the ground.

<Vol. II>

- 25 The Greeks and Armenians have now themselves established concerns at London, Paris, Marseilles, Leghorn, Trieste, and many other parts of Europe. Therefore, those English and French houses at Smyrna, which once did so great a stroke of business, now find their operations considerably diminished.

At the period that I was sojourning there, the firm of Issaverdens was considered to carry their commercial transactions to the greatest extent, or in mercantile language, as doing the most business. The heads of this establishment are Armenians, although at present they consider themselves as Franks; but the brothers having since separated, the concern being divided into two different firms, what they may carry on under distinct houses cannot be calculated collectively; therefore, there may be other concerns having as much trade, or more than either of the brothers, taken separately, although not equal to them when united.

- 56 The beauty of the Turkish and Armenian girls has a peculiarity in it which I have seldom seen in the West: the skin so clear, so thoroughly pure, that no freckle, no spot nor redness, which often intrudes in a lady's complexion, are seen on these females' fair faces; the form of the nose so exquisitely defined—the nostrils so small and delicate | (unlike those of some women that I have even heard called pretty, which appear like two gaping unsightly holes, and set sometimes nearly vertically instead of horizontally); their eyes so exquisitely clear; that part which is commonly called the white of the eye, so pure and blue; their eyelashes so dark and silky, giving so fine an expression to the eye. European ladies tell me, that when the veil is down, and the mouth and chin are seen, the face does not appear so handsome; and, I am convinced, from long observation, and having devoted much time and study to physiognomy, that the mouth is the feature which sins the oftenest, and that there are many persons in most countries, that can sooner boast of any other feature being fine, than the mouth: all throughout the East, it is apt to be too large. This same character we find in the Jews, who, doubtless, originally came from the East, and still preserve that style of face so general throughout Asia.

The Armenians have a singular custom of walking one after the other, seniority taking precedence, the mother going first, the daughters then following, according to their age.

Ask any traveler that has seen those provinces of Armenia which have fallen under the yoke 199
of Russia, and any one will tell you, that at ten miles' distance you may distinguish which is
Turkish and which Russian Armenia; the former appears a barren waste, with here and there
a cultivated spot, whilst the latter seems like one rich productive garden; and why is it? The
reason is obvious; the Armenian, who is naturally one of the most industrious beings existing,
knows when under the Russian government that he can say "This is my own, and such will
be my own," when he crops his ground, as however he is aware that the taxation he may have
to pay will amount to a certain sum specified, he feels confident that whatever surplus remains
will be his | property; whilst in Turkey the cultivator is ever in a state of uncertainty, therefore, 200
has no stimulus for exertion, as who will sow for another to reap.

Such, in fact, has been the favorable impression created throughout Armenia, regarding
the treatment their countrymen have received in Russia, that when she made offers of grants
of land on certain terms to the Armenians, three hundred thousand of them embraced the
opportunity, packing up all their worldly goods, and leaving their native homes, to accept the
protection of a foreign country.

A friend of mine was traveling through Armenia at the time, who described the cavalcade
of these emigrants as one of the most curious sights he ever beheld. Every beast of burthen
appeared to have been put in commission for the occasion; pots, pans, and a variety of utensils
were swung like panniers across the backs of cows; and many of these submissive animals were
laden with women and children, who were riding upon them the same as they would upon
horses.

. . . Such is the wonderful talent that the Armenians possess for accumulating wealth, that 206
though they are exiled, ruined, and quit Constantinople apparently destitute, after a time they
are suffered to reappear in the capital, through the means of friends | at court: they re-establish 207
themselves, thrive, and generally again become rich.

The commercial character of the Armenians is little better than that of the Greeks. They
are generally a fine looking people. Money appears to be the subject that occupies their brains
to the exclusion of every other; this feeling exists as much amongst the female sex as with their
male. Their dark eyes would lead the beholder to imagine that ardent feelings were crouched
under their eager gaze; but he would generally be mistaken.

The Armenians are extremely active and persevering in acquiring money, and in every 214
thing which relates to business; but when pleasure alone is concerned, they are rather of the
quiet order. The Armenians boast of great antiquity; they say that as Mount Ararat is in their
country, so must they be the most ancient people, and theirs the most ancient language. The
towns of Erivan and Natchkivan are the nearest to the sacred mount; and some modern
travelers have persuaded the inhabitants that they are the direct descendants from Noah.
"Because," say they, "although he wandered from that spot and took a south-easterly
direction, yet one of his sons returned and settled in Armenia, peopling the country, and
speaking the same tongue as that still spoken by the natives of | that nation to this day." The 215
idea is amusing, and is believed by many of the Armenians, if by no one else.

Adolphus Slade—1802–?1877

Turkey, Greece, and Malta.

In two volumes. London, Saunders and Otley, 1837

A.D. 1837?

<Vol. I>

314 The population of Constantinople, (in the registers the towns and villages on the Bosphorus are included,) is approximately, as follows.

Mussulmans, (male and female)	480,000
Greeks	250,000
Armenians	140,000
Ditto (Catholic)	18,000
Hebrews	65,000
<Total>	953,000

404 Each fresh slice cut off from the empire, each new accession to the reign of anarchy, causes
 405 many families to reflow on the capital. Artisans of a certain description are often wanting, and in that case a forced immigration takes place. In 1835, for example, two thousand young Armenians were pressed and brought up from the interior of Asia Minor; the harshness of the measure being increased by the season of transfer. They were supplied in the capital with soldiers' pay and rations, and employed in plastering and carpentering on government account. But the poor youths arrived too late; the severe winter immediately following, which froze the upper part of the harbor, killed one half of them.

The caprice of despotism! Seven years previous, Sultan Mahmoud banished from the capital several thousands of the same nation, enjoining a residence in their native province.

<Vol. II>

475 . . . The Armenians, amounting to nearly two-fifths of the population of Asia Minor, yielding spiritual obedience solely to the patriarch of Etchmiazin,* feel even more amicably disposed in favor of Russia. With his hopes of emancipation, the Greek perchance mingles dreams of independence, recollections of empire; whereas the Armenian, given to trade and loving quiet, indulges solely in the wish to withdraw himself and his concerns from the humbling rule of the Turks, particularly marked towards his plodding race. The Greek, if left to his own choice, might prefer another to Russia as the substitute for the Porte, but the Armenians desire no
 476 other change: orderly, united, frugal, and able-bodied, they might of themselves, if used to arms, and unawed by long habits of submission, reconquer their own portion of Asia Minor.

* The convent of Etchmiazin, near Mount Ararat, is now in the Russian territory: the patriarch is the head of the Armeniun church. He is now a Russian subject, but the Porte, nevertheless, has admitted the right (by a firman) of her Armenian subjects to regard him in the same spiritual light as formerly.

Richard Wilbraham—?

Travels in the Trans-Caucasian Provinces of Russia, and along the southern shore of the Lakes of Van and Urumiah in the autumn and winter of 1837.

London, John Murray, 1839

A.D. 1837

Fortune favored me, for before I reached the little village of Tayen Alikh the weather partially cleared, although the day still remained dull and cloudy. Leaving my baggage and my best horses at the house prepared for my accommodation, I proceeded at once to Anni, attended by my guide and a single servant. The country over which we passed was beyond description dreary: the mountains, which would have relieved the monotony of the plain, were veiled in mist, and not a tree or shrub was to be seen. We passed one wretched village, surrounded by a few acres of tillage, but not a living soul was visible. An hour farther, and a sudden bend of the road brought us within sight of the ancient capital of Armenia, which, at that distance, does not seem deserted. The massive towers and churches appear in perfect preservation; and the long line of wall which crowns the rocky heights masks the ruin which prevails within. The site of Anni has been most judiciously selected with a view to strength. The southern face is protected by a deep and precipitous ravine, at the bottom of which flows the rapid stream of the “Arpa Chai,” here no longer fordable. Two other faces terminate in rocky and abrupt declivities; and the third, which alone is open to attack, is defended by a wall of massive masonry flanked by numerous towers. 285

We entered by the principal gate, which stands in the center of this face. Over the gateway are some curiously sculptured figures. The walls and towers are built of irregular masses of stone cemented with mortar, but they are faced with well-hewn blocks of sandstone. The sacred symbol of Christianity is introduced in various places. Huge blocks of blood-red stone, let into the masonry of the tower, form gigantic crosses, which have defied the hand of the destroying Moslem. 287

The only buildings which are now standing are the Christian churches, a Turkish mosque, several baths, and a palace, said to have been the residence of the last Armenian monarchs. All these display much splendor and architectural beauty, and the fretwork of some of the arches is very rich; but it is evident that the public buildings alone were on this massive scale, and that the private dwellings were always very humble; The hollows in the ground, and the mounds of loose stones scattered over the whole area of the city, would lead me to suppose that they were much of the same style as those now in use. Throughout the whole of Armenia and Georgia I have remarked, that, while the villages are scarcely raised above the level of the ground, the churches are massive structures visible from a great distance. There are a vast number of inscriptions at Anni, some in Turkish, but the greater part in Armenian. The churches are precisely of the same architecture with those of Etchmiadzin, and some of them are still in perfect preservation. On one, the walls are covered with rude paintings, in some of which I recognized subjects from the Scriptures; but the miracles of St. Gregory, and other saints of the Armenian calendar, occupied the large share. The Oriental Christians appear 288

always to have had a fancy for building their churches in the most inaccessible situations; and of this there is a curious instance at Anni. On a narrow ledge of rock, washed on three sides by the Arpachai, stands a little chapel, accessible only by a steep and dangerous footpath. Tradition says that it was erected by the daughter of some old Armenian king, famous for her piety and beauty, who used to spend the greater portion of her days in this isolated spot.

As I rode among the mounds of stones, several covies of the rock partridge rose from
 289 beneath my horse's feet, so seldom are they disturbed in the once crowded streets of the capital of Armenia. One solitary Koordish shepherd, with his white felt cloak, was standing beneath the shelter of a ruined porch, while his small flock of mountain goats were perched upon the crumbling arches of an adjoining bath. Shepherd and flock were both in keeping with the desolation of the surrounding scene, and would have furnished a subject worthy of Salvator's pencil. In one of the old roofless churches, a scanty fire, still smoldering among the blackened ruins of the fallen altar, marked his cheerless bivouac. My guide dismounting allowed his horse to stray within the gateway of the sacred pile, and, sheltered from the raw and piercing blast by the massive buttress of the vaulted aisle, vainly attempted to fan the dying embers to a flame. The narrow valley or ravine which separates the city from the adjacent country
 290 to have been hollowed by the action of water. Its perpendicular banks of lime-stone are curiously excavated into small apartments, rising in tiers above each other. Some of these are vaulted, and apparently accessible only by the means of ladders. Opinions are divided as to the use and origin of these cells, which some suppose to have been the dwellings of the living, others the receptacles of the dead. Whatever they may have been in former times, they are now the frequent haunt of lawless Koords, whose presence renders a visit to the ruins not unattended with danger.

The city of Anni was built in the early part of the sixth century, and continued for several hundred years to be the capital of Armenia. It fell several times into the hands of those fierce conquerors who during the middle ages overran the East, and experienced the most cruel treatment from them. The old historians inform us that, when Anni was captured by Alp
 291 Arslan, the slaughter was so great, that the streets were choked with bodies, and the river crimsoned with the blood of the slain.

The feelings excited by the sight of this deserted city are very melancholy. The forsaken churches remind you that a powerful Christian nation here sank beneath the repeated attacks of the most barbarous tribes of Asia, the bitterest foes of civilization and Christianity. The very preservation of the buildings heightens the impression of lonesomeness, and you involuntarily look around for signs of life. Amid the utter ruin of more remote antiquity, very different feelings are excited. The shapeless mounds of Babylon are like the skeleton; but the deserted yet still standing city resembles the corpse whose breath has fled, but which still retains the semblance of life.

293 November 5.—One week has transplanted us from summer to the depth of winter. A cutting wind drove the sleet against our faces as we rode across the fertile and well-cultivated plain of Kars; and the road was so slippery, that several times my baggage-horses fell. In such weather any country would look dreary; and the Armenian villages scattered over the plain did not contribute to make it less so. Unlike the villages of Persia, which usually can boast of
 294 gardens, or at least of rows of willows along the margin of the stream which supplies them,

these hamlets are hollowed in the face of some low mound, or sloping hill, and are only distinguishable by the blue wreaths of smoke arising from them. A march of five hours brought us to the town of Kars, the most wretched place that I have met with in my wanderings. Some years ago it was a thriving town, but the forcible removal of the Armenian population, at the close of the last war between Turkey and Russia, at once destroyed its trade, and robbed it of its wealthiest and most industrious inhabitants.

Erzeroum has suffered severely from the same cause to which I attributed the ruinous and impoverished state of Kars; viz., the loss of its Armenian population. The Russian army wintered at Erzeroum in 1829; and when, in the course of the following summer, they evacuated Turkish Armenia, a vast number of the Christian inhabitants accompanied their march. Some had drawn upon themselves the anger of the Turks, by the haughtiness with which they had behaved during the occupation of the Pashalik by the Russians, and feared to brave their vengeance: others were persuaded by their priests to emigrate to a country which enjoyed the blessings of Christian rule, and no means were neglected by the agents of Russia towards the furtherance of an object which would at the same time strengthen Georgia and weaken Turkey. Whether the Armenians bettered their condition by this change of masters may be doubted. Many have returned to the provinces from which they were induced to emigrate. The condition of those who remained has been materially improved since the Turks have learned their value. I have frequently made the minutest inquiries among them, and with the exception of the "kharaj," or poll-tax, to which all the Christian subjects of the Porte are liable, I could learn no cause of fair complaint against the Turkish government. 314 315

The trade of Erzeroum is almost limited to the passage of goods between Constantinople and Persia, which has been considerably increased since the establishment of weekly steam-boats on the Black Sea.

The bazaars of Erzeroum are poor and of small extent; and the manufacture of copper utensils, which once formed the principal branch of its industry, is now almost abandoned. The market appears to be well supplied, and great numbers of oxen are weekly killed. 316

Notwithstanding the apparent poverty of these Turkish and Armenian villages, I have never found the slightest difficulty in procuring all that was wanted for my party. There was always plenty of barley and chopped straw for the horses; wheaten cakes, butter, cheese, and other preparations of milk, besides fowls and eggs for ourselves. Rice was not always to be procured, but a pillau is made by substituting wheat. The buffalo's milk, which is by far the most plentiful in this country, has a peculiar flavor, which is very disagreeable to me. 323

Near this place <Aghteran> we passed an Armenian burying-ground; the village to which it had belonged had sunk into ruins. Several of the tomb-stones, like those still to be found in some of the burying-grounds in Switzerland, were ornamented with emblems of the trade, or calling of him whose ashes reposed beneath. The most striking was a rudely sculptured ram, standing upon a broad slab of stone, carved with Armenian letters. 324

We were on horseback . . . and after crossing, for about three hours, one; of those undulating plains which form the common feature of Armenia, we reached the village of Aroos.

332 . . . The Plain of Moush is thickly studded with villages. They are almost all Armenian, but in the winter the nomad Koords of the district, who, during the summer, pasture their flocks in the distant mountains, are quartered upon the villagers. Large quantities of tobacco are cultivated on the banks of the "Kara Su," and some portion of it finds its way even to the bazaars of Constantinople.

At three hours from Moush I halted for a few moments to change my baggage cattle. I had alighted, and was standing apart from the crowd, when an old man approached me, and, giving me a significant look, pinched my arm.

333 This I found to be a sort of masonic sign among Armenians, to intimate that wine is to be had. Xenophon, in the description of his march through Armenia, speaks of "old wines exceeding fragrant," which he met with in some of the villages; but either he was in greater luck than I was, or his palate was less fastidious. The sun had just set as I entered Arkavank, a straggling village on the bank of the "Kara Su."

It was curious, while traversing the same country which Xenophon passed through more than two thousand years before, to read his description of the mode of living of the inhabitants, and to remark how much of that description is applicable even at the present day, after the lapse of so many centuries. Their houses were then as now under ground, and were tenanted by their flocks and herds, as well as by their families. The Armenians of the present day seem indeed to differ little in their manner of life from their ancestors, excepting that they
334 have lost some of the luxuries which their forefathers enjoyed.

. . . The escort which had accompanied me from Moush was unusually well-mounted and equipped, and, as we rode across the elastic turf, they amused themselves and me by races and feats of horsemanship. They were not, however, equally skillful with the Persian or Circassian
335 in the management of either horse or weapon. Every man we met was armed; not a peasant drives his cow to pasture, or his donkey in quest of firewood, without the classical weapons of sword and shield, not that the latter is on the scale of the "clypei septemplicis," for it resembles rather in size and form the cover of a coal-scuttle.

344 <November 23.>— . . . I saw before me the island and convent of Aghtamar. This name is given by the Armenians to the lake itself. The convent stands upon a rock of small extent, at a distance of about a thousand yards from the shore, and was, during many centuries, the
345 residence of an Armenian bishop, who disclaimed the authority of the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin. The church of Aghtamar has, however, returned to its allegiance.

351 The Armenians are a wonderful nation, and it is much to be regretted that their early history should be involved in so much obscurity. Like the Jews, they are scattered over the face of the earth, and have retained, in the heart of foreign nations, their religion and their language, besides many peculiarities of manner and appearance. By their industry and enterprise they have succeeded in monopolizing almost entirely the trade and commerce of the East, and form the wealthier portion of the population both of Persia and Turkey. In the latter country more especially they have possessed themselves of every lucrative calling, owing
352 to the pride and indolence of the Turks, who think it derogatory to their dignity to follow any mercantile pursuit. The greatest ambition of an Armenian is to become the banker of a Pasha, which post gives him almost an unlimited control over the revenues of the

pashalik . . . Catholic Armenians are generally superior in education and intelligence to their countrymen, which is in some measure owing to the circulation of knowledge occasioned by the literary labors of the Catholic Armenian convent in Venice. When we consider how often the kingdom of Armenia has been overrun by the armies of Toghrul and Timour, of the Caliphs and of Shahs of Persia, each of whom carried into captivity vast numbers of its inhabitants; when we consider also how many thousands have migrated to distant countries in search of wealth or safety, we cannot but wonder that so many should still be found in the homes of their fathers. The Armenian villages in these pashaliks which border upon Koordistan are not promising in their exterior but the large herds of cows and buffaloes, and the numerous flocks of sheep which at evening may be seen returning from their pastures, attest the pastoral wealth of their inhabitants. These flocks furnish them with almost every article of food and raiment; and the high plains of Armenia, watered by frequent showers, yield abundant crops of wheat and barley. Fuel, the next most necessary article for the poor, is furnished plentifully by the sweeping of their stables, which is made into cakes, and dried during the summer. 353

Charles Boileau Elliott—1803–1875

Travels in the Three Great Empires of Austria, Russia, and Turkey.

In two volumes. Vol. I, London, Richard Bentley, 1838

A.D. 1838

447 The subjects of the Ottoman Porte are divided into Mussulmans and rayahs; the latter name comprehending Jews and Christians, or all who are not followers of the prophet. A tax, called . . . kharaj, for permission to retain his faith is demanded from every rayah, except the Bératlees, a small privileged class which includes some of the principal merchants and those who have rendered a service to the state . . .

It is a remarkable fact that in Turkey during four centuries no amalgamation between the
448 conquerors and the conquered was affected; and no modification attempted of tyranny and slavery. But the present sultan resolved to pierce the cloud of Moslim prejudice which obscured the perceptions of his people, to recognize man as man apart from the prepossessions of bigotry, and to enthrone himself in the affections of the more enlightened, that is the Christian, portion of the population. This, however, was no easy task . . .

463 The number of Armenians now residing in Constantinople and its environs is about three hundred thousand, of whom about thirty thousand owe allegiance to the see of Rome. These, as well as their brethren acknowledging the pope in all parts of Turkey, consider themselves more as Franks than as Asiatics; they court the society of Europeans, and dislike their own countrymen, yielding to the efforts of Roman Catholic emissaries, whose object is to substitute attachment to Rome and her people for national prepossessions. Only six years ago
464 an order was issued, on a suspicion that the Papal Armenians sided with the Russians, requiring them all to quit the metropolis within a few days. It was the depth of winter and snow lay deep on the ground; consequently, very many died, and many more would have perished had it not been for the humanity of the Turks living at Scutari, who received them into their houses.*

With the exception of this comparatively small number, all the Armenians, much more than the Greeks, assimilate with their rulers in habits and manners. Being originally Asiatic, and having no connection with Europe, there is only the one point of religion which forms a necessary distinction between them and the Turks. They are consequently contented and loyal. Engrossed in mercantile concerns and occupying the chief posts as bankers, they not only have their all at stake in the country, but by means of their wealth they exercise over its administration an influence of a most extensive and peculiar character: in fact, they may be regarded as the secret machinery which regulates the internal movements of the government. By giving security to the sultan for the payment of the whole annual revenue of each province,
465 of which they are every year required to advance a portion on behalf of the native governor

* The order was subsequently revoked through the interference of the three great powers, and the Papal Armenians were permitted to return.

before it is collected, they hold all the pashas as their debtors, and can ensure a compliance with the most unreasonable demands under a threat of insisting on an immediate payment of their bonds. Thus they become the virtual viceroys of the provinces, in which their away is almost unrestricted; and no pasha is in a position to object to any impost which his banker may choose to levy on the people, when reminded by the man of money that the tribute he has advanced, with the interest it bears,—an interest limited only by the means of extortion,—is yet unpaid. Nor is the power of the Armenians confined to oppressive exactions in the interior of the country: in the capital their collective body possesses so great an influence that they can generally obtain the deposition of any pasha who refuses to submit to the conventional laws they have established for the regulation of a system which involves their wealth and aggrandizement.

As individuals, the Armenians are mild, peaceable, and diligent, but proud, vindictive, dishonest, and immoral. In person, the men are good-looking. The women are pretty, but destitute of expression, to obtain which they anoint their eyelids with antimony and their cheeks with rouge . . .

Armenian females are in a state of degradation equal to that exhibited under the influence 466 of Mohammedanism; and their education is wholly neglected, since they are regarded in no other light than as appendages to the other sex. Marriages are effected without the consent of the parties, who are often betrothed as early as three or four years of age, and wedded, the girls at ten, the boys at fourteen. A man's mother generally rules his house, while his wife is a mere cipher in it, and obliged, on every occasion, to submit her will to that of her mother-in-law: she is not permitted to sit while | her husband is in the room, nor to speak unless spoken to, 467 till she bear a child; she takes no share in the entertainment of her husband's guests, unless it be that of a servant, in which case she appears with her face concealed; and it is considered indelicate for a young woman to raise her voice above a whisper before a stranger. A husband and wife may be separated by mutual consent, or on account of the last excesses of immorality on the part of the latter, but neither is at liberty to contract a new marriage; and divorce is not sanctioned by the law nor the church.

The Armenians have a tradition that their ancestors were taught astronomy and husbandry by Noah. They believe their language to be of greater antiquity than the Hebrew, the first medium, in fact, of communication in the garden of Eden; and they argue that, as the ark rested on Ararat, the descendants of those who settled in its neighborhood were the most likely to retain the original tongue . . .

Of all the rayahs the Armenians are in the most hopeful state. Among them a spirit of 491 inquiry on religious subjects has been excited: many are dissatisfied with their own teachers and, like Pilate, inquiring "What is truth?" Some young men were pointed out to us who always carry their Bibles in their bosoms . . .

Horatio Southgate—1812–1894

Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia and Mesopotamia, with an introduction and occasional observations upon the condition of Mohammedanism and Christianity in those countries.

In two volumes. Vol. I, New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1840

A.D. 1838

- 118 On the morning of the paschal procession, after the public prayer was ended, it belonged to the soldier to carry back the mats which had served them in their devotion, to the place whence they were taken. Instead, however, of performing the labor themselves, they |
- 119 dispersed through the crowds, and singling out the rayahs* who happened to be there, compelled them to take the mats upon their shoulders and bear them for them. The Greeks, whose buoyancy of spirit nothing can repress, made sport of it. The timorous and cringing Jews tamely submitted to the indignity in silence. A soldier followed each one to keep him from deserting his burden, now and then administering a kick when he halted or ventured to remonstrate. I saw only one Armenian seized. He was a young man of respectable appearance, and refused, when arrested, to perform the scandalous task. Immediately some twenty soldiers set upon him and attempted to beat him into submission. He resisted manfully for a few minutes, while they, standing in a circle around him, kicked him from side to side like a fool-ball. He offered to hire a porter, to carry the burden, but they persisted in imposing the contumely upon him. Some Armenians sitting in a café near at hand, looked upon the scene in evident consternation, and soon began to slip off in another direction. At this moment I approached the soldiers with an American friend, who had been with me through all the scenes of the morning. As we came up they desisted, and, had we been able to expostulate with them in their own tongue, the Armenian might easily have been rescued. But when they found that we had no power to interpose, they recommenced their assault, and succeeded at length in imposing the ignominy on the young man, who walked away under his burden, sobbing with shame and vexation. We knew that the insult was forced upon him because he was a Christian. I witnessed other scenes of a similar kind during the following days of the festival.
- 121 There is nothing which more strikingly exhibits the degraded condition of Christian churches in the East, than the fact that many of the mosques were originally Christian Churches.
- 153 An accurate observer informed me that there were about 5,000 families within the walls <of Trebizond>, all of which were Turkish. This estimate would give a Mussulman population of about 25,000; my informant believed it to be 24,000. The Christians, of whom 2,500 are Greeks, 1,200 Armenians, and about 300 Armenian Catholics and Franks, reside without the wall . . .

* Subjects of the Sultan not Mussulmans.

As it is, the population of Gumush Khaneh is eight hundred families, including those in 166
the valley below the town. Of these, four hundred are Greek, two hundred Armenian and as
many Mussulman. The Armenian population includes eight Armenian Catholic families.
These last have a priest, but no church. The Greeks, on the contrary, have four churches and
the Armenians one.

<Baibout/Baiburt> has a population of four hundred Mussulman and one hundred 168
Armenian families, and boasts, besides, six mosques, four mesjids, and a church.

The men of Arous wore the tall, white, conical cap of the Kurds and spoke their language, 193
but their features and their manners bespoke another race. They were Armenians. I had come
to their village in preference to Kheunneus <Khinis>, to spend Sunday, because they were
Christians. They had no church, but there was a priest among them whom they regarded as
a learned and holy man. I sent to him on Sunday morning, inviting him to come and take
coffee with me. He came, approaching us with a look of timidity and apprehension, as if he
suspected that some evil was plotting against him. He was distinguished from the rest of the
villagers only by a black turban, and an abba, or cloak, of the same color. His demeanor was,
like theirs, dejected and cringing. He seated himself at my request, drank the coffee that was
offered to him, answered all my questions with an indistinct murmur, and retired without
having uttered a word. This is very commonly the character of the Armenian village priests. 194
They are as ignorant as the people around them, poor and filthy in their persons, and
extremely abject in appearance. Their ministrations are confined to the performances of the
daily services of the Church, and the parochial care of their parishioners, which consists in
baptizing, marrying, and burying. They gain an uncertain and meager livelihood from
parochial fees and the contribution of the villagers.

The appearance of Moush, when approached from the north, is peculiarly romantic. It 202
stands upon the sides of an eminence, within a deep recess of the mountains, almost entirely
encircled and hid from sight by their projecting arms and a slight elevation in front of the
opening. The heights above were tall and bare, excepting where patches of snow were still
lying undissolved by the summer's sun. The red sides of the hill within and without the bay
of the mountain, were covered with vines, and the eminence on which the town itself stands
is crowned with a ruined fortress.

But the pleasant emotions excited by the distant view vanish on entering the place. The
streets are filthy, irregular, and uneven, with rivulets of dirty water running through them.
There are no covered bazars, and the few stalls which bear the name are ill-furnished and
mean, without regularity or display. A brawling stream runs down from the mountains,
through a deep gorge on the East side of the town and goes to the Kara Sou. The houses are
of the same description with those of Erzroum. The number of poor, insane, and diseased
persons is astonishing. Boys and girls are seen running with a single rag, and often entirely
naked, through the streets. The Christians appeared to be the most thriving part of the
population, but all complained of poverty.

The population of the place is nearly 5,000. There are 600 Mussulman families, 250
Armenian, and 50 Armenian Catholic.

203 . . . One of the mosques <of Moush> was formerly a Christian church, and bears over the door the date of its conversion to Islamism, 979 of the Hijreh.

204 The Armenians have five churches and fourteen priests. One of the churches called the Church of the Keuk, Vedavend, or Church of the Forty Steps, said to be thirteen hundred years old. It stands on an elevated site overlooking the valley of the small stream which runs by the town. The approach to it is by a flight of forty steps, from which it receives its name. We found there four priests, and a school of twenty-five boys, who were reading their lessons upon the flat grave stones in front of the church. We asked for relics, whereupon one of the priests conducted us to a small upper room, and taking a bundle from a niche in the wall, began to open. One by one, twenty-five silk handkerchiefs were unfolded, when a large volume appeared. This the priest took and reverently kissing, opened. It was the New Testament, beautifully written on parchment in Armenian characters. We inquired of its origin and were told it was a mystery. When the Church was built, the book had been found there and had been carefully preserved from that time to the present. It had, they said, the power of working miracles, and many instances were known of the sick having been restored to health by laying it upon them. My Mussulman guide was appealed to for the truth of the assertion, and, to my surprise, acknowledged that Mussulmans even, had tested its healing efficacy. As the priest was about to return the book to its place, an old man bowed with infirmities pressed eagerly forward, and seizing it in his hands, kissed it and rubbed his aged
205 head upon it. May the day speedily arrive when all the poor and despised Christians of the East shall have this blessed book in their possession, and draw from it those spiritual truths which heal and purify the soul.

Six hours south-west from Moush, among the mountains, is the monastery of Tchangeuree, a famous place of pilgrimage to the Armenians. It is the same with that which St. Martin speaks of as existing in this region, under the name of the Monastery of St. Garabied, or St. John the Baptist. It is at present the seat of a bishop, and the brotherhood number one priest and eight monks.

The Armenian Catholics, or Papal Armenians, throughout this region, are called Franks, from their connection, doubtless, with a foreign Church. They have in Moush a priest, but the church in which they formerly worshipped has been destroyed through the influence of the Armenians. Three of the villages on the plain of Moush are also peopled by them, in one of which they have three priests, in another two, and in another one.

No Kurds are resident in the town, but great numbers of them are found in the streets. They come chiefly from the region of Diarbekir as summer approaches, and spend the warm season in the mountains around Moush, gaining a poor subsistence from their flocks, and a scanty para by bringing yoghourt and wood to the town for sale.

206 The trade of Moush is with Bitlis, Erzroum, and Diarbekir; the latter place being distant four days by a road over the mountains, which, I was told by several who had traveled it, could be passed without much hazard, and ten days by the circuitous but safer route through Palou and Kharpout. Five hundred caravan horses are owned in the town, but are employed chiefly
207 in trade originating elsewhere. The place has no manufactures of importance. Its staple is tobacco, which has some celebrity in the immediate region, but is, in truth, of inferior quality.

Fruits are quite abundant, though not of a superior kind. Such are pears, apples, peaches, and cherries of different sorts. Grapes are the principal fruit, and some wine is made by the Christians. There is but one bath in the town, which is dark, filthy, and so thronged with vermin that we found ourselves in a much worse condition when we issued from it than when we entered. There is only a single khan, which is also small and mean. Winter continues five months and the summer is hot. During the two days which I spent here, the heat was so intense at mid-day that I could not venture abroad. Fuel for the winter is brought from the mountains, and the bodies of small trees stripped of their bark, which are used for rafters, are a considerable article of traffic between the town and the villages, each one selling at the time of my visit at the value of a dollar. I found current in the city the coin stamped by the Pasha of Bagdad, of which the smallest piece was half the value of a para, or about half a mill.

The *Sanjak*, or province, of Moush included 600 villages, of which 75 or 80 belong to the same district with the town. The whole number of Kurdish families in the province is said to be 5,000. The province itself is ruled by a Pasha of the second rank, who holds his place under the Pasha of Erzurum. The office, however, has been hereditary in the same family, and that a Kurdish one, for two centuries. The present incumbent, Emin Pasha, was spending the warm season in the mountains, and I, therefore, lost the opportunity of seeing him. He has, for his summer and winter residences, two palaces situated without the town, both guarded by well-made walls with small bastions.

We left Moush on the morning of the 29th of June, and turning from the southerly 209 direction which we had hitherto pursued, moved eastward along the base of the lofty range which bounds the plain on this side. For the first three miles the declivities on our right were covered with rich vineyards, while the soil on the heights above them appeared barren and dry. Three hours distant from the city their character changed, and the summits and sides appeared clothed with the verdure of unbroken forests.

Our way lay the whole day over the plain, which was itself the greatest wonder of the scene. Although we started far from its western extremity we did not reach its eastern border till the next day. Its length cannot be less than forty miles, and the whole distance is an almost perfect level. It supports not much less than a hundred villages, most of which are Armenian and within a day's ride from Moush.

We alighted at . . . Marnik, an inconsiderable Armenian village.

210

This is the last Armenian village before reaching Bitlis, all the rest being Kurdish. It may 211 not be amiss, therefore, to say something here of the general character of the Armenian peasantry along this route. Their villages may be described in nearly the same words which Xenophon used respecting them 2200 years ago. "Their houses were under ground. In them were goats, sheep, cows and fowls with their young;" and, if it had not been summer, I might have added as he does, "All the cattle were maintained within doors with fodder." The houses, however, are not properly subterranean, in the common sense of the term. They are generally made by excavating the earth and raising a wall of loose stones to the required height. Trunks of trees are then laid across for rafters and covered with branches. Then the earth is piled on until the whole is covered and the fabric attains semi-globular shape. Some times the whole is built upon the surface, but, in both cases, the external appearance is that of a bare mound

of earth. As the traveler approaches one of these villages, he discerns nothing at first but an
 212 apparent unevenness in the ground. Soon the rounded tops become distinguished. These in
 summer are covered with cakes of manure formed by the hand and drying for the winter fire,
 a feature which gives the whole at a distance the appearance of a magnificent collection of
 dung-heaps.

The houses have generally two apartments, one for the family and another more interior
 for the cattle. These are almost entirely without furniture and are not remarkable for
 cleanliness. Sometimes there is a rude fire-place, or a hole in the ground which answers the
 same purpose, the smoke being of too little importance to have special provision made for its
 egress, excepting a small aperture through the center of the roof, where, at the same time, a
 few rays of light seize the opportunity to struggle in. On the plain of Moush many of the
 houses have a pole on the top, which supports the nest of a stork.

The villagers are mostly herdsmen. They have the buffalo, but of a species unknown in
 America, the cow, horse, ass and goat. They subject the cow to burdens. A man's property is
 estimated by his herds. The produce, yoghourt, cheese and milk, furnish the chief articles of
 food. The villagers are poorly clad, timid and servile in demeanor, and their faces are
 unintelligent and spiritless. They do not appear the same race with the same people in
 Constantinople, or even in the cities of the interior. In some of the villages which suffer most
 from the Kurds they wear the aspect of deep misery, and one often wonders at the degradation
 which can endure such a position without an effort to change it. They are extremely ignorant
 and unclean in their persons and their houses. The women are especially ugly and filthy, and
 their domestic condition is as evil as can well be imagined. They are servilely treated, brutish,
 213 idealess of peevish, complaining tempers, and doing no service without a murmur. They
 have in many of the villages the care of the herds besides their domestic labors. Both men and
 women are generally unwilling to give lodging or food, or do it in so slow and sullen a manner
 as to render their hospitality hardly endurable. There are some exceptions to this picture,
 especially in the large villages. In some I have been cheered by the sight of domestic industry,
 cleanliness and thrift; in some I have been cordially received. But such exceptions are rare.

In all the villages the church is the most prominent building, and the only one erected
 above ground in a regular manner. Generally they are small and simple edifices constructed
 of square stone with a sloping roof. They are often venerably old and mantled with wild weeds
 growing from the chinks. They stand amidst moss-clad grave-stones, the last and only
 memorials of those who once worshipped within their walls.

225 The population of the city <of Bitlis> is estimated at 2,000 Mussulman and 1,000
 Armenian families . . . the same estimate was given me by all of whom I inquired . . .

226 I have nowhere found the Armenians more respected and influential than in Bitlis, and
 consequently have seldom found them more intelligent and truly respectable. They have eight
 churches and four priests. Each of the churches is, in truth, a monastic establishment, and the
 number of monks is very considerable. The churches which I visited were all so dark that I
 could distinctly see nothing which they contained. Two or three of them were large, with
 vaulted roofs supported by stone columns, and walls covered with paintings. Connected with
 one of them was the only Armenian school in the city, containing two hundred pupils.

There were no Kurds permanent residents in the place, although many come from the mountains and find a home there in the winter. They also appear in the streets in summer, but I saw less of them than in Moush. 227

The evening before my departure I was invited to spend at the house of one of the principal Armenians of the place. I went at sunset and found several guests already arrived. They were seated in two rows on opposite sides of the room, and the master sat below them all. They all rose as I entered, while the host conducted me to a seat in the recess of the window at the head of the apartment. When all were again seated, sherbet, followed by rakee and sweet-meats, was sent round—a ceremony which was often repeated before dinner. This important meal was at length announced. Two waiters of great size were placed upon stools around which the guests seated themselves in two companies. Dinner was served up in Oriental style. One dish rapidly succeeded another until it became a task to taste of those which followed. Rakee was served, at the same time, in small glasses, but with a frequency which threatened to endanger the sobriety of the company. I thought it my duty, at the hazard of seeming to slight the hospitality of my entertainer, to set an example of abstinence. The master did not sit at meal, but stood by, attending to the wants of his guests and giving directions to his servants. The compliments with which I was greeted were as Oriental as the scene about me. My coming was a gift from God; it was the appearance of a rose in a garden where it had never before been seen. John [my companion], who was present, was complimented as a Constantinopolitan by a health to Sultan Mahmoud, whose virtues were extolled with a formality and vehemence which seemed not a little suspicious. After dinner the company resumed their seats and an hour was filled up with music and song from a Kurdish musician. The scene, although orderly, was of a lighter kind than I would have chosen to be in, if I had foreknown its character. But I went away hoping that some good might have been done, by giving them, perhaps, the first idea they had ever received of temperance in the use of strong drinks. The party broke up at an early hour. The host accompanied me into the street and, on parting, seized and kissed my hand. 230 231

We reached . . . the Armenian village of Elmaleu, nestling amidst a grove of fruit trees at the head of a little cove, itself completely sheltered by the surrounding rocks and trees. The scene was so retired and quiet that it seemed the very home of peace. The women were uncovered, as they generally are in the villages, and were spinning cotton before their doors. They appeared more neat and thrifty than I had been accustomed to see. 238

These villages of the Kurds are altogether more neat and respectable than those of the Christians. Instead of being built, like the latter, half subterranean, they are entirely above ground and are constructed with more regularity. The people who inhabit them are distinct from the wild Kurds of the mountains. They follow the quiet pursuits of husbandry, remaining in their villages, excepting in the hot months, when many of them choose a cooler position and spend the summer in tents. Others are always stationary in the villages. Most of those between Bitlis and Van have come over the mountains from the South and formed all their villages within twelve years, changing, as they told me, a nomadic for a settled life. The Armenians fear them, but I could not learn that they have any thing to complain of against 239 240

them more than Christians in other parts can bring against the Mussulmans. They assume a tone of authority towards the Armenians and treat them with the freedom of superiors. The latter regard them as intruders among them and heartily with them beyond the mountains. Notwithstanding their former character, they appear superior, in every respect, both to the Armenians and Turks of this region.

253 . . . We stopped at Erdremid, an Armenian village containing 100 families. It was built upon the steep side of a hill and the houses were well constructed of stone and above ground. Below it were gardens covering at least a hundred acres. These are inhabited by Mussulmans, and contain, the villagers told me, a thousand houses.

264 <In a house of a wealthy Armenian in Erdremid> Two large sofas were placed for the party. When we had seated ourselves, a narrow cloth, sufficiently long to extend around the table, was spread in our laps and a napkin richly embroidered was thrown over the left shoulder of each guest. Previously, however, servants came in with napkins on their shoulders, a ewer containing water in one hand and a basin in the other. The ewer is generally metallic, and somewhat resembling in form an old-fashioned teapot. The nose, however, is so small that only a slender stream of water is emitted, which is poured upon the hands of the guest by the servant kneeling before him, while the basin receives it below. To avoid the offense which the sight of the foul water might give the guest, the basin has a metallic cover perforated with holes, through which the water passes and is concealed beneath. From the center of this cover rises a cylindrical post three or four inches high, on which the soap is laid. The guest, having performed his ablution, takes the napkin from the servant's shoulder, wipes his hands, replaces it, and the servant passes to the next. By this process fingers are made as fit to be thrust into a dish as knives and forks can be.

Generally a kind of soup is first served, into which each guest, the most respectable taking the lead, dips his spoon. Pieces of bread are placed in profusion around the sofa. There is no clashing of knives and forks, no changing of plates. Each dish is placed in the center of the table, and they follow one another in rapid succession. Each one takes a portion from the side nearest him, so that the numerous fingers thrust in together do not interfere with each other.

265 The guest I has hardly time to fill his mouth before the dish is snatched away and another takes its place. Each dish is distinct in its kind. There is no intermingling of different articles. If there are vegetables, they follow separately and alone. A Turkish sofra is almost always furnished with pickles, which are esteemed a great provocative of appetite. Sherbets, though common, are not so often found as at a Persian board. The variety of dishes is very great, and their number is proportioned to the rank and ability of the host. I have seen nearly twenty follow each other in the course of half an hour. Mutton is the meat commonly eaten by the Turks. I have been served with a dinner in which there were brought forward about twelve dishes, each different from the other, but nearly all of them preparations of mutton. The last dish is the pilav. When this appears, the guest may understand that whatever remains of appetite he possess must be satisfied upon that.

270 Tavernier, who traveled in the 17th century, reports that the majority of the inhabitants were Armenians <in Van>. According to the best information which I could obtain, the same

is not now true. There are between four and five thousand Mussulman families, who are chiefly, if not altogether, Turkish, and two thousand families of Armenians. A fourth part of the latter resides within the walls, and these are generally the poorest portion of the population.

. . . I was very favorably impressed with the character both of the Mussulmans and the Armenians of Van. It appeared to me more like that of the same people in Constantinople . . . the intercourse of Van with the capital is much more intimate than that of any intermediate city. Large numbers of the people visit Constantinople in quest of employment, and, as the laws of the Empire will not permit them to remove their families, they return after a few years to their native place . . . the servants from Van were the most esteemed among the Armenians of Constantinople.

That part of Armenia which I traversed between Erzroum and Van presents, doubtless, a 271 wider and more promising field for missionary labor among the Armenians, than is to be found elsewhere within the ancient borders of their empire. They have here been less disturbed by the changes of war and less oppressed by Mussulman bigotry. They have, in the cities, more of independence and equal privileges with the Mohammedans than I had before witnessed in any other part of the interior of Turkey, and, as a natural consequence, they are more intelligent and high-minded.

. . . The inferiority of the Christians, wherever it appears, is owing to civil not to religious causes. From a people more elevated than their masters now are, they have become slaves, generous and manly feeling has been long since crushed by the iron hand of tyranny, and they have become churlish and inhospitable. Accustomed to seek every expedient to escape the incessant extortions of petty rulers, they have learned both to cringe and to deceive.

The principal mosque of Diarbekir was formerly a Christian Church.

298

. . . The city has a population of about two thousand seven hundred families, which, according to the best information that I could obtain, may be divided among the different classes thus—one thousand five hundred 1 Mussulman, five hundred Armenian, three 299 hundred Jacobite, including fifteen families of the Shemsieh, one hundred and fifty Armenian Catholic . . .

Sivas . . . appeared a disagreeable and dirty city of 22,000 Mussulmans and 8,000 301 Armenians . . .

T. B. Armstrong

Travels in Russia and Turkey, intended as an itinerary through the south of Russia, the Crimea, Georgia, and through Persia, Koordistan, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople.

London, D. Dodson, 1838

A.D. 1838

174 It was nearly night before we arrived at the gates of the city <Van>, having previously taken three-quarters of an hour in traversing the extensive suburbs, inhabited by Armenians and Catholics . . . The Pacha . . . immediately ordered us one of the best houses in the town, and a guard of four men.

. . . It was not till this morning that we found ourselves prisoners, not being allowed to move out without the sanction of the pacha, who is but lately arrived here; the former
175 governor, with | the owner of the house in which we lodge (a rich Armenian merchant), having been called to Arzeroom by the Seraskier, upon suspicion of having invited the Russians to Van. We, in consequence, are looked upon rather mistrustfully, as the present pacha has little knowledge of the English, or even from what part of the globe they come. The soldiers sleep in the same apartment with us, and we are attended by the Armenian domestics of the house.

Having sent to request an audience of the pacha, he returned word that he will see us tomorrow, and would be glad if we would send him our arms, or any other European production, to look at, as he was unacquainted with them. We felt obliged to obey, although we did not much relish the idea of parting with the only means we had of defending ourselves, especially being penned up as prisoners, with four fellows ready to execute any order he might please to send.

. . . We have been endeavoring to sell the remainder of our cattle, but cannot find purchasers. There is a fine view of this town from the top of our house; it is very small, and lies under a chain of rocks, on the top of which is the fort and batteries. The waters of the lake are said to be one-third more salt than the sea, but, nevertheless, abound in fish, and wash the extremity of the fortifications on one side, whilst a very pretty plain, well inhabited,
176 surrounds the other part of the city, | which is walled in, besides having a dry ditch, that can be filled from the lake, if required.

At four p. m. the pacha sent for the gentlemen. Horses and servants were in attendance, richly caparisoned, to conduct the Elshee (Ambassador, a title which it is the policy of every European traveler of consequence to assume, it insuring him both protection and respect) to the palace. They were well received, and promised a Tartar (government courier), and an order for horses, with an escort of ten men, to conduct us to Arzeroom; our arms and other articles were sent back, with the exception of a telescope, and a small English sword: the latter was paid for, and the former replaced by a Turkish costume.

May 1st.—Have been waiting all the morning to get clear of the remaining cattle; our Tartar tells us our horses shall be in readiness to-morrow by eight a. m. On inquiring if we might be allowed to see a very ancient Christian church, on an island in the center of the lake,

we were told, if the pacha permitted. We immediately sent to him, but received for answer, that he must first consult the moollahs; this was, in fact, a refusal.

We saw some very good specimens of the arrow headed character here, carved in the rock immediately beneath the fortress. This is a place of great antiquity, having been the residence of Queen Semiramis.

2nd.—Having settled with our Persian grooms and muleteers, and given presents to the *mehmandars*, our Tartar and horses being in attendance, we mounted, and gladly departed 177 from a place where we had been so sharply looked after, and so pestered with the four guards continually at our heels, wherever we moved. Not being able to clear the town before one p.m., we only made the Armenian village of Djanik to-day: we skirted the lake, from the commencement of which cultivation presented itself everywhere; and carts, drawn by buffaloes, were seen in all directions. The tilling of the land I noticed to be superior to any thing we had seen during our travels in Persia; the fact is, that all trade and husbandry work is carried on by the Christians, who are numerous and industrious. During our ride we passed several Armenian villages, the chief of which is generally a Turk. The scenery is very grand, and the high mountains of Koordistan, on the opposite side of Van, have a bold and majestic appearance, rising beyond the limpid waters of this beautiful lake.*

Our lodging to-night was of the humblest kind; but we did not fare so ill. The peasantry, finding we were Christians, were glad to serve us with every article they could give, rather 178 than otherwise; they are held in great subjection in the remote villages, and suffer much from the cruelty of the Mussulmen; rarely indeed do they receive a *para* from them in return for anything they supply them with.

3rd.—Started off early this morning, leaving our guard behind, with the exception of their major (a Koord), who accompanied us another stage. We were nine hours in rounding the lake, and making the post-station that was pointed out to us this morning, as being on the opposite side from where we started. In one hour we passed a camp of Koords; their horses and sheep were grazing on the slopes of the hills, which afforded the sweetest pasturage, down to the very shores of the lake. Four hours brought us to the top, where I observed quantities of game, and wild fowl of many sorts; with numerous herds of cattle, which belong to several encampments, in different parts of an immense plain that runs towards the mountains from the lake, and terminates in a narrow valley. Here we crossed an old stone bridge, over a deep and rapid river; its masonry appeared to be the work of Christians, but in a very remote age. White pelicans, wild swans, geese, and ducks of various species, were in such numbers as to darken the air. In five hours we came to another encampment, of about three hundred Koords, pitched in a charming spot, by the side of the lake, near to which ran a clear 179 mountain stream: here we observed very large birds of the crane species; their plumage is of a slate color, and the tail is like that of the ostrich. After traveling eight hours we left the road a little, at the request of our Tartar, and proceeded to some rocks, where he showed us a cave, said to be infested by immense-sized reptiles; and also a fine specimen of the arrow-headed

* Bitlis, on the other side of the lake, and directly opposite to Van, is a very considerable town, well peopled by Turkish Koords and Armenians; the latter carry on a considerable trade in tobacco, which is cultivated in great abundance in the neighborhood, and is transported to the markets of Arzeroom and Constantinople, where it is esteemed for its excellent quality.

letter, sculptured in two different places; there appeared much of this extraordinary and unknown language in a small space, as the letters were of a more diminutive nature than what we had hitherto seen. From this we passed some villages, and in an hour got to the walls of Ardjich, an old ruined stone-built town, with a garrison of a few Turks, and governed by a bey. We could not procure horses, and were obliged to sleep in a wretched post-house, full of vermin. I observed a mosque and a church, so close to each other, that I think their fabrication must have touched.

4th.—Were off this morning early, and ran some danger of being drowned in fording a mountain torrent, but a short distance from the town; the heavy rains of the preceding night had covered the whole plain, and, in consequence, the ferry became lost. In one hour and a half we arrived at an Armenian village, and were shocked at the appearance of the carcasses and skeletons of cattle lying about the narrow streets; the stench reached us long before we entered. On inquiry, we were told it was the cruel acts of the Koords, who had come and destroyed all the cattle they could meet with, because the poor peasantry would (or more likely could) not satisfy their demands for corn. In three hours we left the lake, and passed a Persian caravan from Arzeroom to Tabreez; and in four hours, two more Armenian villages, close under mount Lephon, with the same disgusting spectacle of dead cattle, strewn by dozens all around. Such is the savage conduct of Koords, who would as soon shed the blood of the poor Christians themselves, if they offered any resistance. We continued for four hours more, over a beautiful country of meadows and picturesque hills, well peopled by the Koords, when we arrived at the neat little town of Tasch Koun, and lodged in the chief's dwelling. Here, again, we noticed quantities of dead cattle lying in the road. The old man told us the same story: he said another tribe of Koords (or more properly Iliots) had visited the same sort of revenge upon them.

We were shown a Russian musket, which had been taken in a skirmish but a short time ago. Provisions are very scarce here, and the natives see the ill effects of not cultivating sufficient land to produce corn for so great a population; as no vegetation is even to be found in the country, of course the consumption of bread must be greater.

5th.—Were away this morning by five o'clock, and occupied five hours in crossing a mountainous country, before meeting my habitation. Some distant hills were pointed out to us as being the extreme line of the Russian possessions at this moment; whether they will be able to keep them or not is another question.*

In six hours we got to a well-populated town (Lata), with a garrison of about 1,000 men. The place is governed by a bey; we were well received by him, and made to take breakfast in his dwelling. The curiosity of the soldiers, who were all anxious to examine our arms, &c. was extremely annoying. We were told that an encampment of 5,000 Turks were in the mountains, but a short distance from this. At one p.m. we bade the bey adieu, and proceeded over a very fertile and well-cultivated country, with a gentle descent, for three hours, when we passed a monastery, at a short distance on the left of the road. Three quarters of an hour brought us to a considerable Armenian village; the population, I may say, consisted of 2,000

* A few weeks after we traveled this very interesting country, it fell into the hands of the Russians. The seraskier's army, although three times the force of the Russians, fell back wherever the troops of the victorious Paskevitch appeared.

souls, all fine healthy people. In four hours and a half we gained another equally well-peopled Christian village (Yangali), and were obliged to put up for the night, on account of rain. We are now but one hour and a half from the main branch of the Euphrates, which we cross to-morrow, and only ten hours from Mouch. We were well | treated, and always received the best 182 fare the poor Christians could afford, wherever we met them.

6th.—Our Tartar having sent a man off to the river early this morning, to get the float ready, we were away by six o'clock, and in one hour arrived at the bank of the Euphrates, where we had our baggage unpacked, and sent across at two different times, with our saddles and bridles; the horses, being driven into the water, swam over, the float (supported by inflated sheep-skins) not being large enough to convey us all at once across the river; its breadth here is about one hundred yards, and the current is very gentle, but deep; its waters are turbid, and particularly cold. I must here remark how a simple occurrence will often create the greatest surprise, especially in a country where the natives are kept in a state of ignorance:—Having arrived on the opposite bank of the Euphrates, before any of the rest of our party, I coiled up our luggage cords, and when the raft was about the center of the current, threw them after the manner of our seamen, and succeeded in making them cross the raft; the astonished ferry man caught it with amazement, and soon worked himself ashore, at some distance above the common landing-place. The poor fellow begged me to show him the manner in which the miracle was performed, and said he would procure a long line, and adopt the plan, as he was often carried far below the ferry, and sometimes had much difficulty 183 in | securing a landing at all. Immediately on gaining the opposite side, we took to the mountains, and in one hour from the river arrived at three Koordish tents; our Tartar conducted us to one of them. Some men and women were milking the sheep and goats, whilst a woman was boiling milk, in a large copper kettle, in a corner of the tent, which is appropriated to cooking, and separated from the other parts by a partition of thin fence-work. She left her employment, and conducted the gentlemen into the tent, spread carpets and cushions for them, and as soon as they were seated presented them with pipes; after this she hurried to bake some cakes, and in a few minutes we all refreshed on excellent sour milk, cheese, and millet bread. During this time the chief had been within ten yards of us, busily employed milking, but did not leave his occupation till he had finished, and let the lambs loose to their dams; he then went to a brook, and, after washing his hands and face, entered the tent and made us welcome, regretting we could not stay all night: after remaining a short time we bade them fare well, and proceeded. A few pins, which I gave the daughters of the chief, were as much thought of as jewels would be in many parts of Europe. After continuing for four hours over some very fine mountains, covered with excellent pasturage, we came to a noble valley, watered by a fine river, and full of villages, inhabited by Christians. Three hours 184 up this valley brought us to the | post-station, a considerable Armenian town (Kanous Kouremai), on the banks of the same little river I before mentioned; here we entered an old church, close to the town, where they were performing mass. The building is very ancient, and the curious figures of sculpture on the tomb-stones in the cemetery that surrounded the church represented horses ready saddled, rams, &c.; all, indeed must have been the work of many ages past.

7th.—Left this morning early, and after traveling one hour over a level country we passed an Armenian village; from this we were five hours on the Bin Guil mountains, of a very barren

and wild appearance,* where we passed some horsemen, and descended into a beautiful narrow valley, crossed a stream, and got on a line of hills, and at last joined the river Araxes, which we forded, and put up in the village of Khooli, about half an hour beyond it: here we overtook the pacha, who had been called from Van, and is now on his way to Arzeroom. The Armenian gentleman who is with him called on us, attended by ten or fifteen Turkish guards; when we told him we lodged in his house during our stay in Van, he said he regretted much that he was not there to receive us, and that his door was always open to any stranger. On our telling him that we had seen his children, and that they were all well, he was much affected, 185 | and left us. His being possessed of much property is alone a sufficient cause for his *having been arrested, without having had any correspondence with the Russians*. Numbers of irregular cavalry have passed this afternoon, on their way to oppose the Russians; one party I observed unfurled the green banner, bordered with red. We had our dinner sent us from the pacha's tent. The inmates of the lodging we occupied complained much of the manner in which they were oppressed by the Turks. I was told that the Christian priests, from most of the villages in these parts, had been sent to Constantinople, by order of the seraskier, on suspicion of having communicated with the Russians. On asking a well informed old man what the population of Christians amounted to, including Van and Mouch, with Upper Armenia, he answered about eight millions; he also told me that annual pilgrimages were made to Jerusalem; and that many of the rigid Armenians visited Mouch, where there is a relic of St. John the Baptist, being, as well as I could understand, the print of his hand on a fountain.

The Armenians long for the approach of the Russians, whom they represent as their deliverers from bondage, and even go so far as to assert, that they have two years' provisions under ground, for the supply of 1,000 men, and that every village has the same.

186 8th.—Were off this morning soon after | day-break. Immediately after quitting the village, we commenced ascending and descending the most rugged and inaccessible country I ever remember. In two hours we passed a caravan of merchandise from Bagdad to Arzeroom. The scenery from some of the mountains was of a mixed and very picturesque appearance; for one hour we were surrounded with snow, and at another traveling through beautiful groves of trees, with the Araxes at some distance below us; views on views were continually varying, as far as the eye could reach. In five hours we came to the advanced part of the immense caravan that we had met with in the morning; they amounted to about four hundred horses, and fifty men; we had some trouble in passing them in many narrow paths of the mountains. After descending continually, for two hours, we arrived at a neat village, on the borders of an immense plain, where we observed a few Mussulmen at their devotions, on a grass-plot, a little way from their dwellings; here the mountains of Koordistan terminate. Two hours across the plain brought us to the pretty little fortified town of Hassan Kalla; previous to entering we crossed a small river, near to which there is a bath of mineral waters. The town is placed on the side of a hill, with an old fort on a rock above it, and is walled all round. We lodged at the post-house, the first regular Turkish *chapper khaun* we have as yet met with, not having 187 come the | common route of European travelers from Persia, by way of Bayazeed and Diaden, as in that case we should have had to pass the Russian posts, where our papers would probably

* Thousand springs. The river Araxes, and one of the western heads of the Euphrates, take their source in these and the neighboring mountains (the Shoo-welun-daglee).

have been strictly examined. The stabling is very extensive, with a well inside, and one end partitioned off for the reception of travelers:—coffee is always ready in five minutes after your arrival, and it is astonishing how alert they are in procuring you a dinner of several dishes.

9th.—Left early this morning, and journeyed up the valley for three hours, when we passed a little village, and observed several carts, drawn by buffaloes; the land is very neatly cultivated, and bears a fertile appearance. Two hours after passing the plain, and crossing some bare hills, called camel's neck, we arrived at the well-situated city of Arzeroom. I counted upwards of thirty minarets and other towers rising from the bosom of this, the ancient capital of Armenia. We had sent a Tartar on to the seraskier, to apprise him of our coming; he sent a messenger, who met us close to the gates: after passing through a cemetery, we entered some wretched fortifications, which had been but lately erected, in case the Russians should surprise them. After traversing some narrow filthy paved streets, we were conducted into the citadel, whose ancient walls still bear the sign of the cross. We were taken to a nobleman's house, where every attention was paid to us, and | the gentlemen were presented to the seraskier two 188 hours after our arrival, and granted a Tartar and firman for Constantinople. During the afternoon we were visited by the Persian consul, who came to receive some letters we had brought for him, and also by an Italian doctor, who is in the service of the seraskier; he (the doctor) intimated that he wished to return to Europe, but the seraskier would not grant him a firman, saying he could not dispense with his services.

Our apartments here are of a better description than those we were accustomed to occupy in Persia. In this country there appears to be no scarcity of wood or stone, two articles rarely met with there; tiles are also used for roofing, which gives the buildings an European appearance, and the form of the houses much resembles the Swiss cottages.

I had not an opportunity of ascertaining correctly the population of this city; but, from 189 what I saw, I should consider it equal to, if not more than that of Tabreez. Its elevation is considerable, as indeed is that of the whole country round, and it is in consequence subjected to sudden changes of weather.

May 10th.—Having procured a Tartar and horses, we got away by ten a.m. I observed 191 quantities of irregular troops lounging about the streets. In a short time we cleared the town, and commenced crossing an immense cultivated plain, watered by the Kara-Sou (black water), one of the western branches of the Euphrates; this stream takes its source in the mountains, about twenty-five miles from Arzeroom. After passing several villages, and quantities of soldiers on their way to join the grand army, we halted for refreshment, at the village of Elija, about two hours from Arzeroom, and entered a khan, or coffee-house, situated near some hot mineral springs and baths.

After remaining a short time we again started. We continued by the side of the river, over a very fine country; passed a ruined caravanserai, or khaun, of very ancient structure, and soon crossed the Euphrates, over an old stone bridge, that had | been lately much injured by 192 the shock of an earthquake. We journeyed for half an hour on the right bank to the post-station, a considerable village, Ash-Kala, inhabited by Armenians. Quantities of cavalry have arrived here this evening, on their way to the theater of war.

11th.—Left this morning, and traveled seven hours on the right bank of the Euphrates. The first four hours brought us to the Khaun Shoo Ghaiu, where we refreshed off some milk

and millet bread, furnished us by some Koords, who had their tent pitched in the vicinity. Having breathed our horses, we remounted; and it was not till then our Tartar told us to keep close together, and have our arms in readiness in case of attack; for we are now in the Sheitan Dura (Devil's Valley), and the heaps of stones we sat on during our refreshment, he said, were the tombs of victims who had been murdered by banditti in this terrific pass. We left the khaun, and sharpening our pace, soon cleared the *valley of horror*.

The scenery continued mountainous, and the valleys well cultivated. On leaving the river we entered a wild country, somewhat wooded, and but thinly peopled, where we passed about two hundred Armenians, on their way to Van; crossed a very picturesque pass in the mountains, and were shown the effects of an earthquake, which had leveled a very high hill, and turned the course of a mountain stream. After descending through a valley, for about three hours, we arrived at the post-station, an Armenian village.

12th.—Left this morning as early as four o'clock, and long before day-break. On leaving the village, we commenced traveling in the mountains, and continued for five hours before meeting with any habitation. We were surrounded by the grandest scenery on every side; fertile valleys, watered by clear mountain streams, and rich plains of pasturage, covered with flowers, emitting the most fragrant perfume:—we here passed several mineral springs. After clearing a continuation of plains and valleys, we ascended a chain of mountains (the Alma-lee-Dagler), covered with pine, from whence we descended into a succession of narrow valleys, following a river for two hours. In three quarters of an hour more, across a plain and open country, we arrived at the post-station (Kalket), an interesting little village, situated near a delightful stream; the corn fields looked green and fresh, while the summits of the high mountains in the neighborhood were covered with snow. We much enjoyed the change of scenery here, and more so the general comfort one experiences traveling *en poste*, in comparison with Persia. I have invariably noticed in this country, that wherever there is an abundant supply of wood and water, there is also found industrious people. After refreshing, we mounted fresh horses, and proceeded; crossed the before-mentioned stream, and in half an hour entered a forest, on the slope of a mountain; from the summit we had a splendid view of mountain forest scenery, as far as the eye could reach. In two hours from the station we passed about three hundred Armenians, on their way to Van, from Constantinople; they told us they had been sent away by order of the Sultan, owing to the scarcity of provisions. In three hours we made Shayran, a very delightful and Swiss-like village, in a fertile valley. We stopped at the governor's house, where we were well treated, and remained till morning.

13th.—We left about six a.m., and traveled for the first four hours in a forest, up and down hill continually; the scenery is grand and interesting; on either side of us are high chains of mountains, the slopes of which are either majestic forests, or strewed with neat patches of cultivated land, and in the country before us, through which we have to travel, are very extensive villages. After quitting this beautiful woodland scenery, we were four hours in a valley, following the course of a fine stream. The rains had been very heavy of late, and, in consequence, the roads were in such a state as scarcely to be passable. After quitting this valley, we were two hours in mountains of a very extraordinary appearance, from whence we descended upon a large river (the Kara Boulac, or Kirisoun), which we crossed, over a stone bridge. We now traversed the most luxuriant and picturesque valley I ever beheld, covered with the summer residences of the neighboring gentry. On our right were rocky conical

mountains, of gigantic height; the town of Kara-Hissar (or Black Castle), on a high hill before us; and hanging over it a promontory, on the summit of which is as strong fortification; whilst the poplars and walnut trees, on the banks of the river, were trembling in the wind, and seemed bowing low to the majestic mountains we had just left. We suddenly quitted winter here for the most beautiful spring . . .

16th.—We remained here <in Tokad> till nine a.m., when an Armenian, one of the nine ²⁰⁰ hundred who had been banished from Constantinople, in January 1828, paid us a visit, and, with the assistance of our Tartar, procured us a comfortable apartment in the house of an Armenian *seraff* or banker, who treated us very kindly. We remained here all day. I observed quantities of copper lying in the square we inhabit; and was told there is a mine in the neighborhood, from whence it is brought. We heard some pitiable accounts from the Armenians, who had been sent here from the capital.

Asahel Grant—1807–1844

The Nestorians; or the Lost Tribes: Containing Evidence of Their Identity; Their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies. With Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia; and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy.

Third edition. London, John Murray, 1844

A.D. 1839

- 4 From the shores of the Black Sea, the saddle became our only carriage for seven hundred miles, over the mountains and plains of Armenia, to the sunny vales of Persia. On the loftier mountain-summits, a corner of a stable sheltered us from the cold and storms; by the verdant banks of the Euphrates, and beneath the hoary summit of Mount Ararat, we reposed under the canopy of our tent, while the bales and boxes of merchandise from the seven hundred horses and mules which composed our caravan were thrown around in a hollow square, and served as a temporary fortress to protect us from the predatory Koords by whom we were surrounded. An escort of armed horsemen had been furnished by the pasha of Erzeroom to guard the caravan . . .
- 14 I accordingly proceeded with as much expedition as possible to Constantinople. An unusual quantity of snow had fallen late in the season, and my journey proved one of extreme difficulty and of no little peril. For more than two hundred miles I found the snow from two to three or four feet in depth, although it was the middle of April when I crossed this elevated portion of Armenia. On the great plain at the foot of Mount Ararat we encountered one of the most severe storms of snow I had ever experienced, and came near perishing in the mountains beyond, where the storm met us with increased fury. For more than twenty miles of this dreary road there was not a single human habitation.
- 17 The next day we found ourselves in the valley of the Aras, where a warm sun and heavy continued rains had swelled every hill to a fearful torrent; and we had as imminent danger in crossing the streams which lay in our way as we had before experienced from mountain storms. In one of these mountain-torrents my horse was carried away, but finally succeeded in reaching the shore, when I had to ride several miles with my boots full of water as cold as the melting snow. On reaching the west branch of the Euphrates, I found the bridge had fallen in the night, and we only succeeded in crossing after the villagers had waded about in the cold water up to their waists for nearly an hour. At first they pronounced the ford impracticable, but finally succeeded in getting us across where the water came quite up on our saddles. Several other bridges were carried away; and in one instance I took a circuitous route, and crossed the stream, in its separate branches near its source . . .
- 18 From Trebizonde I rode in less than three days to Erzeroom, a distance by winter route of at least 220 miles, and over a very mountainous road. On my route to Diarbekir, where I arrived on the 30th of May, I found great difficulty in crossing some of the lofty mountains, owing to the great quantity of snow which remained upon their summits at that late season,

while immense avalanches had formed bridges of snow and ice over some of the foaming torrents which dashed through the narrow ravines. The bridge over the Euphrates at Paloo had been carried away, and I crossed the river on a raft of inflated skins, like those mentioned by Xenophon in his retreat of the Ten Thousand.

On my arrival at Diarbekir I found the public mind in that state of suspense and expectation which could be compared to nothing but the calm which precedes an overwhelming storm; and soon it came, with terror and devastation in its course. The signal defeat and almost entire dispersion of the Turkish army were first publicly announced in that city by hundreds of soldiers fleeing from the battle-field, who had been stripped of their apparel and all that they had by the Koords, who had taken possession of the roads. From that time the reign of violence and anarchy commenced, and robberies and murders were the order of the day. Scarcely a man dared leave the walls of the city without a large party to accompany him. Each man robbed the man he met, and the arm of the strongest was the only law.

We proceeded over a chain of mountains, on which large banks of snow were still ⁹⁶ remaining, to the strong castle of Mahmoodieh, and thence to Van, or, as it is usually pronounced, Wan. It is a walled town or city, overlooked by an immense "rock of defense," which supports an ancient castle, and is embosomed in extended fruitful gardens, which form the summer residence of a large portion of the people. Of these a great number are Armenians, who are said to number 40,000 in the district.

The lake abounds in fish, which are made an article of commerce with the surrounding districts. The water of Lake Van is so alkaline that the people use it for making their soap; while the salt from the lake of Ooroomiah is sufficiently pure for culinary use; and yet the water of that lake is so heavy, that a man will sink no lower than the top of his shoulders.

John Reid—1808–?1841

Turkey and the Turks: being the present state of the Ottoman Empire.

London, Robert Tyas, MDCCCXL

A.D. 1839?

- 120 The Rayahs, or subjects of the Sublime Porte, by which title the Armenians in Turkey are recognized, are by far the most important class of people in the sultan's dominions. The Armenians of Turkey . . . are a portion of the remnant of the inhabitants of the Lesser and Greater Armenia, a large and once powerful kingdom, laid waste and subdued many centuries ago . . .

The Armenians of the present day are Christians, and their forefathers have been so since the fourth century, but there is a considerable difference between their creed and that of the European Christians. As they now exist in Turkey, they are divided into two great sects,—the Catholic and the Heretic. The Catholic nearly conforms in creed and formula to the doctrines of the Church of Rome, while the Heretic differs from him in believing the Holy Spirit to issue from the Father alone, and admitting only one nature in Christ. I am not, however, skilled in points of faith, and leave the matter to more subtle hands; suffice it to say that the

- 121 | Heretic is the pure Armenian, and the Catholic belongs to the mixed race. The first adhere, with a peculiar tenacity, to their old Asiatic habits, while the second accord as much as possible to the ideas of Western Europe. The first stalks about in his ungainly garb of barbarian times, while the second adopts the European fashion; and this distinction is not confined to the men, for the Armenian Heretic female considers it unbecoming and immodest to appear without her yasmah and feredjee, while the Catholic dresses in her Parisian bonnet and silk gown.

There cannot be a stranger sight in humanity than the tall, gaunt Armenian, moving along the streets of Constantinople, in a half-stride, half-shuffle of a pace—for he cannot be said to walk; his feet glide along as if he were afraid of putting them to the earth, while he moves with the rapidity of a vision. His dress consists of a peculiar sort of shirt; his trousers are of red cotton, and sewed to the tops of his red morocco socks; his tunic is red dark-striped cotton or silk, over which he wears, in cold weather, a spencer, lined inside with fur, varying in value according to his means; round his middle is wound an immense red shawl, in the folds of which will generally be descried a pen and ink case over all is a large black or dark-colored cloth cloak, while his feet are covered with a pair of pointed red slippers, and his head surmounted by the ugliest shaped hat that can be imagined, being like a pear with the small end put on the head. The dress of the Armenian female in the street is the same in form as that of the Turkish, only the color of her cloak is black, and that of her slippers red; but the white shawl veiling the features is cleaner than that of the female Moslem, indeed it may be said to rival the purity of snow itself. The Armenian women walk with a much more stately air than the Turkish women, their figure is better formed, their complexion clearer, their |

- 122 features more regular, their eyes brighter, and altogether are much more fascinating in their demeanor.

The number of Armenians in Turkey has been variously estimated; but from the report of a very intelligent Armenian merchant, corroborated by several Jews and Greeks, I think it may be fairly stated at one million five hundred thousand, of which number at least two hundred thousand Heretics, and four thousand Catholics, reside in Constantinople. There is probably not in the world any other instance of a nation so fierce, so proud, and so warlike, becoming so subdued and peaceable as the Armenians. The Jews in the east are looked upon, and look upon themselves, as strangers; the Greeks are treated as slaves, and feared on account of their unbroken spirit, which is continually breaking forth in acts of retaliation; while the Armenian seems to have lost all feeling of political independence, and appears satisfied to remain a contented subject of the last power that conquered him.

The study of the Armenian character is well worthy the attention of the physiognomist and phrenologist, as there is a remarkable form to be observed in their head and face, and there must be an equally remarkable conformation of the brain in a people who, from being the most warlike of the ancient Asiatics, have become the most persevering, industrious, and respected merchants scattered over the East.

It is to the Armenian merchants that we are indebted at the present day for most of the luxuries of the East which we have in this country, and it is to them, and them alone, that Turkey owes her existence as a kingdom. They are of mild manner, persevering temper, sober, patient, and honest, but skillful in their dealings: in their habits they accommodate themselves to those they are amongst, yet lose not their original individual character. The Turks highly esteem the Armenians, and prefer to manage their commercial and financial transactions through their agency to that of any other class of people. At the present day they are a nation without a home, or a feeling of country, and consequently are contented upon the soil they inhabit. The Jew is even different, for he cherishes two ideas—that of returning to his country, and the accumulation of wealth. The Armenian has but one wish to gratify, and that is the accumulation of wealth. 123

In the domestic manners of the Armenians there is much yet remaining of the old patriarchal system of the Jews: their fasts, feasts, and festivals, are all calculated from the setting of the sun; while their eating, drinking, and primitive general behavior, reminds one of the times of Jacob and Rachel.

The Armenians are a most intelligent race, and, at the present day, keenly seek out knowledge and education wherever they can find them. The females are uneducated, but I never met with women who displayed so much natural shrewdness, and who gave such promise, if once placed in a fair way of obtaining proper information. These statements I fearlessly hazard, because I lived in the houses of Armenians, mixed in their society, and became as intimate with their manners as ever I was with those of any country in the “land of cakes.” 124

During my residence with the Armenians I was present at births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths. The birth is a mere matter of moonshine: the Armenian female never gives up her household duties, nor alters her usual merry laughing behavior, even on the eve of her confinement; and it is usual for her to appear in the family circle the third day after child-bearing. The baptism is a much more serious affair than the birth, for the priest then attends with his church attendants, crosses, and other emblems of office. The room is illuminated with wax tapers; rosolio and other comforts are handed round the company; a long exordium

is pronounced in Armenian if in a Heretic family, or Latin if in a Catholic family; the back of the child's neck, the forehead, and behind the ears, are anointed with some sacred unguent; a few drops of holy water are sprinkled upon it; the priest says another prayer, drinks another glass of comfort, grasps the money bag which is laid out in an embroidered basket awaiting his seizure, and runs away. The young Armenian girls now fill the mouths and pockets of the men with sweetmeats, and the affair is considered settled satisfactorily and respectably. The marriage ceremony is tedious and ridiculous—too tedious for my pages, and too ridiculous for belief. Suffice it to say that, although the Armenian youth may freely mix in the society of Armenian girls, yet it would be considered the height of indelicacy for him to have seen his
 125 wife previous to marriage, this part of the arrangement | being entirely managed by the parents or guardians . . .

The Armenians are a very wealthy class; and this wealth is in a great measure derived from so many of them being serafs or bankers, who buy coin that has been “cried down,” at a reduced value, and after melting it, selling it to the government for bullion; also in lending money to the government at most exorbitant rates of interest, to be paid in taxes which they are allowed to farm.

Besides being the bankers of Turkey, the Armenians are the corn-merchants, goldsmiths, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, bakers, builders, braziers, masons, joiners, smiths, water-carriers, sherbetjees, caiquejees, balukjees, pineerjees, shirabjees, and many other jees, as well as silk merchants, jewelers, weavers, farriers, horse-breakers, painters, etc., etc.: in fact, the Armenian is the all-pervading merchant, mechanic, and laborer, in Turkey; and whoever has seen twelve or sixteen of them ascending a hill in a narrow street, with a pipe of wine or a hogshead of sugar slung so as to throw an equal weight on each of their shoulders, blowing like porpoises and stamping like paviers as they come on in solid tread to the roar of the *bash-adam*, who shouts out “Saora, saora,” will accord to them the character of the most hardy and strongest men in Europe.

126 The Armenians in Turkey, although subject to the Porte, are more immediately under the control of their patriarch, who can punish by fine or imprisonment, but cannot sentence to death without the express permission of the sultan. They are, however, a very quiet race, and are rarely found deserving of punishment.

In many points of view the Armenians in Turkey resemble the Quakers, especially in regard to their uprightness in traffic and inviolate faith, and are appointed by the Turks to the direction of the mint, powder manufactory, etc., etc. With the Greeks they have no fellow-feeling, but cordially hate them with an undisguised hatred. They believe that the soul after death passes into a place called Gayank, where it retains a perfect consciousness of the past; is delivered from thence to the lowest heaven by the alms giving of friends, and proceeds onward at a pace proportioned to the alms, until it arrives at the seventh heaven. In this place, Gayank, offenders are made to expiate their sins, although it differs from the hell of the Protestant and the purgatory of the Papist: the victim, if a butcher, having continually to carry on his shoulders the diseased cattle that he killed and sold, as also a weight of flesh equal to the amount he has cheated during life-time; if a baker, he has to carry all the bad bread he has baked, augmented by scraps to make up the weight he has cheated his customers of, etc., etc.: and in the Armenian church at Scutari there is a large picture of all these doings, as well as of the contents of the seven heavens which their religion conjures up.

Sarah Rogers Haight—?

Letters from the Old World.

by a lady of New York

In two volumes. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1840

A.D. 1839?

<Vol. I>

Every Turk holding any office or appointment under | government is obliged to have an Armenian of known wealth as security for the faithful performance of his trust, and, in order to render the Armenian secure, he is appointed banker and supervisor over all the property, money affairs, and transactions of the officer, and nothing can be done by the Turk without his leave and concurrence. 48/9

. . . Formerly the Jews . . . were the *seraffs* of Turkish grandees; but they, after a time, becoming degenerated and abusing the trust, it was taken from them, and transferred to the stupid, plodding, but industrious and wealthy Armenian Christians.

<Vol. II>

One quarter of the bazars <in Constantinople> is occupied by the Armenian gold and silver smiths; and here, seated on a little platform six feet square, is seen the well dressed and respectable Armenian Christian, plying his hammer on a small anvil, with a little portable furnace beside him; he is either working out a ring or setting on a small amulet . . . The wealth of this portion of the bazar is immense; yet, to all outward appearance, it contains nothing but a vast assemblage of pretty tinkers, at work on trinkets and trifles. It would be a difficult matter for the Turkish authorities to discriminate between the smallest capitalist and the *millionaire*, such is the uniformity in the outward appearance of their Armenian subjects in their persons, shapes, and houses. 254

The plodding Armenian . . . is seen six days in the week at his post, and thus, by patient industry and regular habits grows rich . . .

The Armenian is the Menheer of this region; as cold, phlegmatic, calculating, and money-getting as he of the land of canals and fogs; yet as ridiculously uproarious in his *keffing* as is the clumsy Dutchman at his *kermes*. 268

William Francis Ainsworth—1807–1896

Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia.

In two volumes. London, John W. Parker, 1842

A.D. 1840

<Vol. I>

173 The town of Nev Shehr is built on the acclivity of a bold ravine, darkly backed by high cliffs of basalt. It contains 200 houses of Mohammedans, 800 houses of Greeks, and 60 houses of Armenians, having a population of about 15,000 souls.

220 We were happy enough to obtain at Kaiseriye a good cleanly apartment, attached to the chief church of the Eski (old) Armenians, generally so called, to distinguish them from the Roman Catholic Armenians, but, who are Armenians, strictly speaking. We generally found these people more kindly-disposed and more communicative than the Greeks or the Romish Armenians. although both these sects look upon the others as scarcely Christians.

There was a daily school for boys in the same yard, and we took pleasure not only in visiting it, but in receiving as many pupils as chose to come in to us during play hours. We even got some of them to assist us during our night observations, and nothing struck them so much, as the great length of the astronomical calculations.

221 We had also frequent and long conversations with some of the priests and the schoolmaster, and, as we always attended divine service, this ultimately assumed a very friendly and communicative character, although they frequently alluded to the fact that several priests were at present confined in a neighboring monastery, whither they had been removed from Smyrna and Constantinople, in consequence of their connection with the American missionaries in those places.

The priest, whose duty it was to officiate the ensuing Sabbath, prepared himself by a week's seclusion and fasting. Thus there was always one of them, who dwelt in a lonely cell, close by the church door, and who, although he visited us sometimes, still appeared to spend the greater part of the day, as also the night, by the light of a flickering lamp, in religious contemplation or observances.

These Armenians are in the habit of practicing nearly as many ceremonies as the Catholics and Greek Church . . .

222 There are three Armenian monasteries in the environs of Kaiseriye, Surp <Saint> Karabat <Garabed>, Surp Daniel, Surp Serkis (St. George), and Peri Karabat; the last, a ruin on the conical hill called Ali Tagh, between the city and Mount Argæus . . .

It is curious that, while within the city the Armenian population quadruples the Greek, the reverse is the case in the surrounding villages. In the jurisdiction of Kaiseriye, not including the city, the Greek population amounts to 5,730 souls, the Armenian only to 287, monasteries not included; within the city there are 1,100 Greeks, 5,200 Armenians, and 12,176 Mohammedans. The system of semi-subterranean dwellings is preserved in several of the neighboring villages and rocky valleys.

. . . It appears, however, that the original population was Armenian . . .

<We> entered the posting town of Gelermek, which contains 200 houses of Armenians 228
and 70 of Mohammedans.

It was scarcely noon, and the day fine, the odah of the menzil-khan (post-house) was crowded, and the lazy traveling khawasses who occupied it were smoking by a large fire, so that we preferred sitting at the door while horses were being got ready. This was a source of much gratification to the inhabitants and idlers in the market-place, who gathered round to examine us and our accouterments; it was equally amusing to us, who found much in such a group to excite our interest. The market place had a most wholesome aspect of business; there were numerous well-supplied shops, besides farriers, saddlers, etc., all in the hands of Armenians, who, as usual, constituted the industrious and productive class.

The poor Armenians of Insanli <an Armenian village>, when we conversed with them in 229
the evening, did not acknowledge themselves as Christians; to the leading question when put to them, they answered, "No,—Armeni." They were afraid to claim a title to themselves which is peculiarly arrogated by the schismatic papists of their own church, and by the 230
Greeks, both of whom unite in denying the right of the old Armenians to designate themselves by the glorious epithet of followers of Christ.

. . . A rivulet . . . brought us at a late hour in the evening, and after a long ride through a 239
desolate country, to Manjulik, a large Armenian village.

These agricultural Armenians lived in large dwelling houses, the center of which was devoted to cattle, horses, and carts, while at the corners were apartments for the 1 different 240
members of the family. There were about fifty houses in the village, and much appearance of industrious wealth. Upon the heights above was a good-looking church, where we attended service previous to our departure in the morning, and on another adjacent height were the ruins of a monastery.

The modern town of Malatiyeh contains about 500 houses, of which every other one is a 255
ruin, and it is surrounded by a rampart of considerable strength, but in many places level with the ground, with here and there crumbling towers and the remains of a handsome but battered gateway, besides the still more extensive ruins of a palace or a citadel.

In the middle ages Malatiyeh was a principal stage 1 on the great commercial road from 256
Europe to India. In the days of Lucas and Schellinger it still contained from 12,000 to 15,000 houses, but which never could have been within the walls of the old city, and probably extended from thence towards the summer town . . . The population now amounts to 11,000 souls, of which 8,000 are Mohammedans, and 3,000 Armenians.

Besni we found to contain 2,500 houses of Mohammedans, and 250 of Armenians. It has 265
a very good market, but provisions were uncommonly scarce, on account of the demands of the army . . .

After a ride of seven hours we arrived at the town of Adiyaman, which is circularly 267
disposed round a large artificial mound, appropriately called the castle hill. In the present day

this town contains 800 houses of Mohammedans and 300 of Armenians. It has several mesjids, one jami, three ruinous khans, and one bath; this is but a small remnant of its former prosperity. The Christians have no church.

277 The modern town of Gergeo, although the seat of a mutessellim, is only a small place containing about 150 houses, and there are thirty more in the castle. The chief population is composed of Kurd mountaineers, but there were also a few devout Turks, besides twenty five houses of Armenians. This small congregation has a priest and a church.

The next day being Sunday, the Armenian priest came to visit us, and brought some communion cake. We requested him to be seated within the tent, which was nearly filled with visitors. Among these was the mollah of the Mohammedans, whom we had not recognized as such, he being merely dressed as an ordinary Osmanli. A party present were indulging, in scurrilous epithets towards us, when the priest took our part, upon which he was assailed so fiercely and outrageously by the mollah, that we took the latter, not then knowing who he was, by the shoulders, and put him out of the tent. This was the commencement of our troubles, for by this untoward event, we had unintentionally openly attached ourselves to the Armenian party, and set ourselves against the Mohammedans, and a short time afterwards the mollah made his reappearance, accompanied by some stout armed Kurds, who let us know, in language loud, and not to be mistaken, that to insult their priest was to insult them. We were now obliged to mount guard outside the tent, which preparation for active hostilities for a time quieted our opponents, and also cleared the tent of visitors.

279 In the evening, after our return, the Armenians kindly offered that two of their tribe
280 should watch for us during the night, and we accepted their offer, for the Armenians here did not resemble their heartless, prostrate countrymen of the plains, but were accustomed to fight for their rights with the hardy predatory mountaineers, and had acquired manly and martial attributes; they were also armed and willing, and we felt that we could put confidence in their proffer of friendship.

291 . . . The Owah, or plain of Kharput, covered with picturesque Mohammedan and Armenian villages, and carefully tilled and cultivated, is traversed by roads upon which (a rare thing in Lesser Asia, and still more so in Taurus,) the labors of agriculture are assisted by the use of carts.

This productive district, a part of Armenia as a kingdom, included the best portion of the province designated as *nobilissimam regionem Sophenen*.

<Vol. II>

5 Arab Kir, more commonly called Arab Kail, is a small town with a population of about 8,000 souls, of whom 6,000 are Armenians. The town is built in a narrow and deep valley, at the head of which are the black basaltic mountains called Gól Tagh and Kara Baba. Every house has its garden, so that the town extends nearly two miles along the valley, and has a very pleasing appearance; the flat roofs are covered with micaceous shingle which glitters in the sun. As may be expected, where there are so many Christians, there is much industry. This place is also celebrated in Aleppo, and other large towns, for supplying servants, who, after a

few years' service, return to establish themselves in their secluded and picturesque native town. The climate here is delightful; there is snow all the year round on the neighboring mountains. The gardens produce all kinds of fruit and vegetables in abundance, the market is otherwise well supplied, and the town is unmolested by Kurds or by local schisms.

Divriki is a town of about 10,000 inhabitants, of whom 2,000 are Christians. Like Arab Kir, every house has its garden, so that the town occupies a wide extent, but it surpasses Arab Kir in the beauty of its situation.

Sivas is a large town containing a population of 16,000 souls, of whom 4,000 are Christians. It is the seat of the pasha . . .

Merzivan is a large town with a population of 8,000 Mohammedans and 3,000 Armenians.

We rode nine hours to Tosiye, and slept in the menzil-khan. This is still a goodly town, with a population of about 20,000 souls, out of which 3,000 are Armenians.

Ak Shehr is a small town of about 500 houses, 50 of which belong to Armenians . . .

Adanah is a populous city, containing about 10,000 houses, and a population of 50,000 souls, of whom about 10,000 are Christians.

Keeping still up the valley of Zab we came to an ancient Armenian monastery, well built, with sloping roof, and bell-towers, containing two bells, regularly rung at service. It is curious that the Armenians, who are dependent, should have preserved this custom, while the Chaldeans, who are independent, have no bells in their churches. This is a very ancient Armenian monastery . . . called Kanda Kilissa, and is inhabited by a bishop and priest; the former of whom, an intelligent man, assigned to it an age of 1600 years. The door-way was a handsome specimen of Saracenic architecture, though defaced by a colossal bas-relief of the Almighty, a monstrous production, resembling a great idol. Around the arch were also other figures, with large heads of hair. On the bodies of these were some antique carvings, among which were some letters resembling these which had been identified as Armenian at Al Hadhr. The church of Kanda is defended by a rampart and bastions, and has two outer courts with defenses. On a height above is a modern castle, with a guard of about forty Kurds from Bash Kalah; for this is the frontier of the country.

Bitlis is said to contain 2,000 houses of Mohammedans (Kurds, Turkomans, Shiites, and Osmanlis); 1,000 houses of Armenians . . . The Armenians have eight churches, three of which are in ruin.

Although Betlis is evidently a city of considerable antiquity, its history is quite unknown, nor is it noticed in the Armenian Chronicles. St. Martin only says of it that it has always been governed by Kurd Beys. It must, however, have been anciently in possession of the Armenians . . .

378 On the hilly heights above Nurshin there are the crumbling ruins of an old castle, and on a cape or headland which advances to the north of Kotni, over the marshes of the Kara Su, is one of those simple edifices, solidly built of hewn stone, without windows, and nearly square, only with sloping roof and rounded at its eastern gable end, which announces an Armenian church, and is the form common to all such buildings in this part of Armenia.

Our road lay over this cape, and we then entered upon the great plain of Mush, 40 miles in length and 12 to 14 in its greatest width, and said to contain upwards of 100 villages, each having from 30 to 40 families . . .

379 The villages are mostly Armenian, but there are some also of Kurds. The latter, however, inhabit few villages permanently, but have their kishlak, and repair to their yailas, or summer quarters in the mountains, part of the year. This sad system of quartering themselves upon the Armenians during the winter . . . has existed from time immemorial . . .

The Armenians of the district of Mush have hitherto not only been subject to an authorized vexation and spoliation entailed by Kurdish supremacy, but also to frequent incursions of the same predatory tribes; on which occasions they drive away all their cattle, sheep, and goats, and treat the inhabitants according as they submit quietly to be left destitute, or resist this cruel system of plunder. The inability of the Osmanli government to protect its rayah population in these remote and exposed districts, has led the Armenians to emigrate, whenever they can possibly accomplish it, to the provinces under Russian dominion, where they are well received. The Russians have rebuilt eighty of their small churches within a few years; they also send emissaries among them under the garb of traveling doctors; and I was informed by an aged and respectable inhabitant of the district, that the amount of emigration from the plain of Mush alone had, within these last few years, exceeded a thousand families.

380 After a journey of two hours, we crossed the Kara Su on a wooden bridge; it was here eighteen feet wide by two deep, dirty and muddy. A little beyond was Marnik . . . This is the first Armenian village coming from the east. The church is ruined, as are also these of all the Armenian villages that are situated more than three hours from the town of Mush and the seat of the Pasha, this being the extreme distance to which the Osmanli government has been able to extend a common protection, that is to say, one that ensures security to flocks, reaping of harvest, and inviolability of dwelling-houses or public edifices. The appearance of the Armenian villages, also, as you approach Mush, the activity of the people, as well as the thriving agriculture and numerous herds, attest to this amelioration in their condition in the neighborhood of the seat of government.

We next passed the Kurdish village of Nokh, but it had been destroyed by the Pasha of Mush only a few days before. Every cottage, of which there had been fifteen to twenty, had been overthrown and burnt, and the ruins were still smoking. It appears that the inhabitants had not only kept perpetually plundering their neighbors, but it was also, as is too generally the case, always against their will, that a traveler passed without contribution.

381 The next place we came to was the Armenian village of Ahkevank. It had been ravaged by the Kurds only a few weeks before, who had left scarce anything but their houses to the poor inhabitants . . .

The next village, Tersemer, was one of Kurds, which had lately experienced the same fate as Nokh, and had been burnt by the Osmanlis. This was certainly an unfortunate district; we had met as yet with nothing but painful scenes; but fording the Kara Su, we passed through Irisdir, a prosperous Armenian village; and beyond that came to Hass Keuy, another Armenian village with two churches, both in repair, and so rich as to be made the seat of residence of an Osmanli Bey.

At a cape of limestone a little beyond Hass Keuy is an abundant spring, turning round which we passed several Armenian villages . . .

The population of Mush, according to information obtained by Mr. Rassam is only 600 382 Mohammedan families, 250 Armenian, and 50 Roman Catholic Armenian families. It contains a good market, several khans, five mesjids, and ten madresahs, while the Christians have five churches and fourteen priests. One of the Armenian churches is called Keuk Bedavend (Church of Forty Steps), as it is approached by such a number of steps cut in the rock.

The sanjiak or province of Mush is said to include 600 villages, of which 75 to 80 belong 383 to the same district as the town. The number of Kurd families in the province is said to be 5,000.

Mr. Southgate . . . describes what he calls the plain of Khunus, situated to the eastward, 386 as containing eighteen villages, all of which are Armenian.

A little more than a mile and a half north of Khinis we came to another rivulet, with the 387 usual wooded banks, which soon afterwards is divided into two tributaries, one from the west, the other from the north, and a little beyond the northerly tributary is found to result from the union of two more streams. Below all these hydrographical subdivisions occurring within so short a space, is the ruin of an Armenian sepulchral chapel, remarkable for its peculiar lightness and elegance of style, rising like a colossal cross with a lantern dome. Near it are some large upright stones, with the cross in bas-relief.

There is, indeed, much in the history of Armenia to interest the Christian and the 393 antiquarian, and that could not fail to awaken the most profound curiosity and sympathy. There are few countries which present more striking pictures of the early struggles of Christians against idolatry . . .

Baiburd contains 400 families of Mohammedans, and 100 of Armenians, several jamis and 395 mesjids, and one Armenian church.

Valentine Mott—1785–1865

Travels in Europe and the East, embracing observations made during a tour through Great Britain, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia, Saxony, Bohemia, Austria, Bavaria, Switzerland, Lombardy, Tuscany, the Papal States, the Neapolitan dominions, Malta, the islands of the Archipelago, Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, Turkey, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Hungary in the years 1834, '35, '36, '37, '38, '39, '40, and '41.
New York, published by Harper & Brothers, 1842

A.D. 1841

404 While at Smyrna we went to see worship in the church of the Armenians, who claim to be the legitimate descendants of the primitive Christians. These people have their own quarter, and are numerous and wealthy, of fine persons and great dignity of deportment, and wear a costume of their own, of which the huge cap is most striking. The women are extremely beautiful and fair, coming as they do from a region not far from the famed Circassia, the cradle, as it is deemed, of female loveliness. We never, in fact, saw so much female beauty in any city of the East as is found here in every class of its mixed population. The services of |
405 the Church were a curious mélange. The men and women were separated by a partition of bars, and the former were all kneeling and praying, and bumping their foreheads many times, in the manner of the Turks, from whom this practice appears to have been borrowed. The ceremonies performed by the priests were similar to those of the Catholic Church. The chanting was performed by boys. After the service the men retired, and the women, all veiled in white shrouds, were admitted, and, passing in succession, kissed the priest's hand, and then put on their shoes and passed into the gardens belonging to the church. Here is a large picture of heaven and hell, and containing some 500 figures, the grotesque and even ludicrous attitudes of some of which seemed but little calculated for the solemnity of the place.

The Jews also have their quarter; and upon this unfortunate and persecuted chosen sect of God, every other denomination, Turk, and Armenian, and Greek, unite in heaping revolting oppression and unmanly contumely.

406 Smyrna is deemed the Paris of the Levant, and contains 60,000 Turks, 40,000 Greeks, 10,000 Armenians, 10,000 Jews, and 5000 Franks. The plague in 1814 destroyed 40,000 persons.

William John Hamilton—1805–1867

Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia: with Some Account of Their Antiquities and Geology.

In two volumes. Vol. I, London, John Murray, 1842

A.D. 1842

. . . The Armenians and Levantines, with their huge kalpaks and flowing robes, their dark 58
complexions, and clean-shaved chins, are as different from the mean-looking fair-haired Jews.

<Near Gümişkhana> The low, flat-roofed, and almost subterranean houses had a 169
strange appearance; built against the steep hill side, they require only one wall in front to
support the roof, which on the other three sides rests on the ground. Like many of the
Armenian villages, these hovels are so low that you may ride on the roof without knowing
where you are.

At three we reached the village of Balahore, twenty-eight miles from Gümişkhana, 171
inhabited partly by Armenians, and partly by Turks, who appeared poor and destitute, and
from whom with difficulty we procured even a few eggs.

We left our inhospitable abode soon after four A.M.: descending in an easterly direction we 176
entered a valley watered by a rapid stream flowing south into the plain of the Euphrates. We
crossed this torrent by a bridge, formed of a single tree, cut flat, but without a parapet, and,
trusting to the sagacity of our horses, rode over it in safety. After descending the valley for
nearly two miles we climbed the low hills on our left, and at six A.M. found ourselves on the
gently-undulating pastures which bound the great plain of the Euphrates. Here we put our
horses into a gallop, and did not pull up until we reached Erzeroum, a distance of nearly
twenty miles. We passed rapidly through several Armenian villages, where I was much struck
with the wretched appearance of the inhabitants; the women in particular were most
unprepossessing, extremely short, square-built, and high-shouldered, with remarkably
distorted countenances and enormous mouths. Their dwellings were chiefly subterranean,
and their numbers small . . .

I remained several days at Erzeroum, in the intention to visit Kars and the ruins of Anni 178
. . . but the roads were still in so bad a state, and the country so flooded, that I was obliged
to give up this part of my plan. Erzeroum itself contains little to detain a traveler. The most
interesting objects are the remains of two Armenian churches and the ruins of the castle: the
neighborhood is barren and uninteresting. I rode out occasionally, and explored the hills to
the south, which consist of trachytic and other igneous rock, the débris of which have formed
a considerable talus, stretching nearly two miles into the plain towards Erzeroum. A hollow
in the hills about two miles from the town, which has much the appearance of an
amphitheater, seems . . . to have been the crater of a volcano during the period of trachytic
eruptions . . .

The most remarkable building in Erzeroum is called the Chifteh Minarey, from two lofty minarets, now in ruins, which have been built on each side of the principal entrance. They are of a totally different style from the building itself, and are formed of small colored bricks and glazed tiles, and deeply fluted, so as to bear a strong resemblance, I am told, to those
 179 which are often seen in Persia. The building itself appears originally to have been a church of the same character as those which I afterwards saw at Anni, and may therefore be called Armenian; it was built before the Tartar conquest in the eleventh century, when Anni and Erzeroum were both plundered by Alp Arslan, and when no less than 300 churches were destroyed in the latter town alone.

The architecture is a modification of Byzantine and Saracenic. The pilasters and cornices are covered with arabesque tracings and sculptures. On each side of the central nave are two rows of low round arches, supported by short plain columns with low capitals; within the side aisles are doors leading to several small chambers, with varied arabesques and ornamental work round each doorway. On each side is a gallery over the aisles leading to another set of apartments, similar to those below, but not so highly decorated. Some years ago a large collection of ancient armor, helmets, &c., was preserved here, but it was plundered by the Russians. The building, however, is still used as a kind of arsenal, and we found several of the small rooms full of military rubbish,—cuirasses, helmets, broken bows and arrows, powder-horns, &c., of every variety of shape and form,—while heaps of cannon-balls and a few broken gun-carriages filled the apartments below.

The principal entrance is to the north; at the opposite end is a chapel, built of white alabaster, much more elaborately worked than the rest of the building. It contains, as our guide informed us, the tomb of Chatoniyah, Sultan of Iran, by whom the mosque is said to have been built 570 years ago. It was probably at that time that the ruined Armenian church was converted by this prince into a mosque, and the two beautiful minarets were erected; for I do not believe that it was originally built for Mahometan worship. The alabaster chapel may also have been added at the same period. It contains six lofty niches, alternating with six low ones, and is richly ornamented with arabesque traceries; but it appears never to have been
 180 completed, as the decorative work is only finished a short way up the pilasters and sides of the niches, no two of them to the same height; the patterns, too, are different in each niche, the concave-vaulted roofs of which are enriched in a style not unlike that which we call Gothic. I am, indeed, inclined to think that this peculiar Armenian style, being in great part a combination of Byzantine and Saracenic, forms a connecting link between them and that which was introduced into Europe about the twelfth century, and which was, I have no doubt, derived from the East, notwithstanding its northern name. Underneath the chapel is a very beautifully constructed vault; it contains four niches, from each of which an arch springs, which, all meeting together in the center, produce an intersection of pointed arches.

On each side of the principal entrance, which is richly decorated in the Saracenic style, is carved a two-headed eagle, supported by a plume of feathers springing out of a crescent, from under which rise up on each side the neck and head of a dragon. On one side of this grotesque emblematic figure is another plume of feathers rising out of a sun. The masonry in this, as in the other building, called Bir Minarey, is extremely perfect; the stones, which are generally large, being fitted together with the greatest precision. There is only one minaret at the other building; but the style is the same, and the side of the entrance is also enriched with carvings

of eagles and suns and lions, resembling those before described. The town is surrounded by a wall, which is in some places double, and provided with embrasures. But the Russians carried off the guns when they were last here, leaving only a few dismounted pieces in the now dismantled citadel, and which are used occasionally for firing the salutes at the Ramazan. The citadel itself, which is nearly in the center of the town, is in ruins; it is surrounded by a double wall, flanked by bastions, on which a few brass guns still remain. A part of the castle was used as a prison, and in one of the inner apartments is a deep dungeon with an iron grating, into which prisoners intended for execution were taken to be strangled.

181

At half-past five we entered a narrow pass between high broken hills on our left and the Kars river on the right, beyond which was a ridge of hills, which, stretching away to the south, formed the eastern limit of the plain through which we had so long been traveling. Not a tree was anywhere to be seen, nor, as we advanced, did we see the slightest indication of our approaching the capital of this ancient kingdom, or, what is now more important, the frontier town of Turkey towards Russia. At length, after following the windings of the valley for nearly two miles, a sudden turn brought us in sight of the town, picturesquely situated in a rocky amphitheater of black basaltic hills; its appearance was dark and dismal, partly from its total want of trees, and partly from the circumstance of all the houses being built of black basalt. As we advanced, the Armenian suburb stood before us, built on a low rising ground on the opposite or eastern side of the river, while the dark amphitheater of hills extended to the left, covered with black huts or houses difficult to be distinguished from the rock on which they were built. In the center rose a lofty hill with the ruined Turkish citadel on its summit, while the river was seen to escape through a narrow gorge behind the castle, which was thus almost completely insulated. After winding round half the suburbs and over ill-paved roads we crossed the river by a good bridge, and, passing through the Bazaars, entered the walled part of the city. Most of the houses were in ruins, the effect of Russian hostilities, but after winding some way through them we reached the house appointed for our konak by the Kaimakan or deputy of the Pacha. To our disappointment, the house belonged to a Turk; we always preferred a Greek or Armenian house, in which we were less exposed to the inconvenient and sometimes impertinent curiosity of the host. In this case, however, the ill-timed curiosity of our landlord, who at once began pulling about and scrutinizing the military buttons of my companions coat, met with a suitable rebuff from the colonel, who had no idea at the time that the man was not one of the servants of the house; he consequently marched off rather indignant, and we escaped his presence for the rest of the evening.

194

Saturday, June 11.—Halt at Kars. We proceeded this morning, accompanied by Giuseppe as interpreter, and attended by Muchtad and one of the Pacha's chavasses, to visit the governor. We found him an intelligent and civil Turk, but, as usual, surrounded by a band of dirty, ragged looking attendants, dressed in every possible variety of garb. In the course of our conversation he made a sort of apology for the ruined state of the town, which had not yet recovered from the effects of the Russian war; nor did he express much friendly feeling towards them, although, as he observed, they were obliged to appear at least on friendly terms. He stated that the town contained 3000 houses; but this calculation is too great, although it may have been correct before its destruction by the Russians. There are twenty mosques and four baths. In the court-yard of the konak we saw for the first time some Kurdish horsemen

with their long lances. About a foot below the iron point these lances have all a large tuft of black wool, nearly a foot in diameter, probably to prevent their penetrating too far and becoming useless; they have also another smaller tuft still lower down.

On an old wall near the Gümri gate I saw some fragments of Saracenic architecture, resembling those at Erzeroum, probably the remains of an Armenian church, which flourished during the existence of the kingdom of Kars. From the hills behind the castle on the left bank of the river we had a fine view of the town, which is commanded by these heights, on which the Russians erected a small battery, although their principal attack was from the plain to the east. The place surrendered after a siege of seven days, whereas it ought to have been carried in as many hours; the garrison was extremely weak, consisting only of 1,000 irregular troops and 1,000 armed peasants, totally useless in a besieged fortress. There
195 were said to be also 300 pieces of cannon; but without men to serve them, these were useless, and were all taken away by the Russians. The Bazaar is small and ill supplied.

On our return home we had a visit from our host, who had recovered his good humor, and was civil and respectful. He belonged to a rich family, and had been one of the principal proprietors in the neighborhood, but was nearly ruined by the Russians. Having made inquiries respecting the ruins of Anni, the governor promised to send a chavasse with us, to insure our being well treated and supplied in the surrounding villages; and a Greek agent of the consul also volunteered his company. We determined to extend our excursion as near as possible to Gümri, the Russian frontier town on the high road to Erivan, which we had heard the Russians were fortifying to a great extent, and for which they were buying up large quantities of timber from the Turks. What a striking contrast this exhibits between the conduct of these two people,—the Russians strong and flourishing, and constantly acting as the aggressors, fortify their frontier line on the left bank of the Arpa Chai, thereby securing every successive conquest, while the Turks, weak and disorganized, helpless against their neighbor, and oppressed by their own rulers, leave the line of their frontier without a guard or a sentry, and their towns dismantled, in ruins, and unprotected by a single soldier or piece of cannon!

. . . We left Kars by the eastern gate, near to which, on the city walls, we observed some rude bas-reliefs representing animals, in a style which may be called Armenian. On reaching the plain, we fell in with upwards of thirty timber wagons on their way to Gümri. Our direction lay nearly east, while that of Gümri was east by north; as we advanced, the hills to the north gradually trending away, we soon found ourselves traversing a flat, undulating plain of basalt, rising gently towards the east. In front of us, about seven miles from Kars, two
196 conical hills, evidently extinct volcanoes, rose from the plain, showing that the volcanic nature of the country still continued towards Mount Ararat. These basaltic rocks were extremely cellular and vesicular, from whence their more recent origin may be inferred. Not a tree appeared upon the plain, nor upon the high range of Karadagh, about eighteen or twenty miles off to the E.S.E.; the pasture, however, was excellent, and near Kars we saw much arable land; but the crops were still backward . . .

We passed between the two conical hills, the protrusion of which has caused a low ridge of hills, as the ground almost immediately afterwards slopes towards the N.E. Before reaching Hadji Veli Kieui, we passed more wagons laden with timber, and driven by Georgian and Circassian peasants, whose fur caps and tight dresses easily distinguished them from the Turks.

Hadji Veli Kieui is a miserable small place where the Kaimakan of Kars had ordered us a konak; but it was no better than our usual lodgings; worse, indeed, in some respects, as our horses were under the same roof, and only separated from us by a low railing. At a distance, indeed, a stranger would have had some difficulty in recognizing it as a village, for the houses were all under ground, appearing like low heaps of rubbish, with a few walls or mounds of stones on them. It is situated on the western bank of a deep and narrow ravine in the basaltic rock, on the brink of which were the remains of a small rude castle, now used as a cattle fold. The basalt has in some places a slightly columnar structure; the upper part is extremely cellular, but becomes more compact lower down. Walking over the hills to the east, which are covered with fine pasture, we observed the loose stones collected into heaps in many places, as well as the marks of half-obiterated furrows, symptoms of a more extensive cultivation in former times. In the course of our walk we first saw the lofty peak of Ararat, or Aghri Dagh, towering in majestic and solitary grandeur above all the surrounding hills, from which it is completely detached, with its summit for several thousand feet covered with perpetual snow, 197 and rising to a high point from a broad and sloping base . . .

Monday, June 13.—What between my anxiety to see the ruins of Anni and the annoyance of vermin, I was unable to close my eyes all night. We started at five A.M., the country being rather hilly, but otherwise resembling that through which we had passed since we left Kars. As we were doubting whether we should find anything to repay our exertions, the ruins suddenly came in sight, and at seven we reached a village seven miles from Hadji Veli Kieui, having crossed two or three small streams flowing N.E. towards the Kara Su and Arpa Chai, the ancient Harpasus. The modern village is about half a mile to the north of the ruins; to which we proceeded, after having established ourselves in a small oda.

The town of Anni was built in a triangular form, on a rocky peninsula overhanging the rapid waters of the Arpa Chai; it was defended on the east by steep cliffs, at the foot of which the river flows in a deep and winding gorge, and on the west by a dry ravine of considerable breadth, in the steep sides of which many thousand tombs and caverns have been excavated. These two valleys meet at the apex of the triangle towards the south, while the base towards the north, where the promontory joins the flat table-land of the country, is fortified by strong and massive walls, defended by numerous round towers, extending completely across the isthmus. These walls are still in some places forty or fifty feet high, and very beautifully built, the outer casing consisting of large square blocks of yellow stone from the neighborhood, closely fitted together. A singular and striking effect has been produced by the occasional introduction of alternate courses, as well as crosses and other ornaments, in black stone, also from the neighborhood. 198

In this wall we observed two gateways leading into the town, the most western of which was flanked by towers of great height, but it was so blocked up by fallen fragments that it was impossible to enter. The other entrance was near the center of the line, where was a double wall, and the two gateways were not upon the same axis. Immediately opposite the entrance in the outer wall, some Armenian inscriptions and a lion have been rudely carved upon the inner one, the entrance of which was also flanked by round towers. On passing the inner gateway we had a full view of the town, with the walls stretching away from us on each side; and although these ruins were not so numerous as we had expected to find them, there was, nevertheless, something impressive and almost awful in the sight of a Christian town, built in

a style so peculiar to itself, and unknown to modern Europe, now nearly in the same state in which its destroyers had left it eight centuries ago. The whole site of the town was covered with the fallen remains of smaller buildings and private dwellings, whilst about twenty large public edifices could be distinguished from the rest. These were chiefly churches and chapels, with two beautiful octagon minarets, one of which was still attached to a ruined mosque; considerable remains of the palace were also visible.

199 The principal object, which attracted our attention on entering the town, was the large Christian church to the south of the gateway, built in the form of a Latin cross, and in a good state of preservation. The pointed roof was formed of large slabs of stone supported on arches, and, with the exception of the cupola, was perfect. The entrance was at the west end, and on each side of it were numerous inscriptions in the Armenian character, which, when deciphered, will throw light on the history of the place. Indeed, there is hardly a building in Anni of any consequence which is not covered with Armenian inscriptions. The interior of the church consisted of one central and two side aisles; its length from the semicircular bema to the entrance was 107 feet, and the width 66 feet. The style might be called Byzantine, with a mixture of Saracenic; the round arches are raised upon lofty pilasters, which give them a very different character from the real Byzantine or low Saxon arch. This style we found prevailing universally in Anni, but in some instances with a greater variety of ornament and sculpture, and gradually approaching the rich Arabic or Moorish style. On each side of the bema, in which were twelve niches, was a small dark apartment or vestry, with a narrow staircase leading up to two similar rooms above. The church was full of cattle, which had taken refuge there from the mid-day heat.

200 A short distance to the west of the church was a high minaret with a long Arabic inscription, and 100 yards further south the remains of a large mosque, with its minaret still standing. It was built on the edge of the precipice overhanging the Arpa Chai, and was decidedly Saracenic; the roof was supported by low columns with flat capitals. The building was nearly square, one corner only being filled up in order to support the minaret; and on the outside were inscriptions both in Arabic and Armenian. At the south end of the town, near the apex of the triangle, was an elevated rocky spot, which in a Greek city would have been the Acropolis; here, however, we only found the ruins of three or four small chapels on the summit and sides of the hill, without any vestiges of its ever having been fortified. On its S.E. side was another chapel in rich style and good preservation, with a conical roof, a form which prevailed in all the buildings where the roof still existed. A slight wall extended round the hill at a little distance from the summit, but it was probably only intended to mark the limits of the town, as the steep nature of the ground rendered any other defense superfluous. Between this hill and the large church described above we found the remains of another church completely destroyed and leveled to the ground, but with many fine fragments of architecture lying amongst the ruins. From the general appearance of the fallen masses, which are less broken and less defaced by soil and rubbish than the others, it would seem to have been only lately thrown down.

Returning from the Acropolis along the western side of the town we examined several other interesting buildings, striking from their rich style, and well deserving the attention of the architectural antiquary. The first was an octagon chapel, thirty feet in diameter, surmounted by a dome, and having seven circular niches inside, the eighth being supplied by

the entrance; these niches are in shape rather more than a semicircle, thus giving the interior a peculiar and indented character. Within the architecture was extremely plain, but on the outside highly ornamental; rich traceries, flutings, and fretwork, with deeply-carved twisted beadings, were carried round the windows and under the cornices. Here also the roof was conical, and formed of large flat slabs, with their edges lapping over each other.

Another richly decorated church was situated to the N.E. of that last described, having attached to it a chapel with a beautiful arched roof, divided into several compartments, filled with mosaics of various patterns, formed of the different colored stones of the neighborhood, and having its walls covered with rich carvings and sculptured arabesques. The arches supporting the roof are circular, but pointed arches are produced by their intersections, and various other ornaments commonly called Gothic are occasionally introduced; and I could not avoid indulging in the conjecture that the origin of those rich styles called Gothic and Saracenic might be satisfactorily traced by studying the ornaments of the capitals, and of the numerous angles or recesses between the arches, in which a regular gradation may be observed from perfect simplicity to florid exuberance. 201

Near the west end of the walls, but within the town, we visited the remains of an extensive building, situated on the edge of the ravine; it had consisted of several stories, in each of which many apartments still remained. It has evidently been the palace of the Kings of Anni, at the period of their greatest power; the masonry is excellent, the blocks of stone fitting with the greatest precision, as is the ease with most of the buildings which are still standing, and which had been cased with large square blocks, the edges of which are as perfect as when first built. The gateway is in rich Saracenic style, the window over it has a pointed ogive arch, and the wall is adorned with rich mosaic patterns in various colored stones.

Many of the caverns in the ravines round the town were sculptured on the inside, showing architectural designs, or covered with rude, ill-carved figures. In one of those near the palace, the sides were cut so as to represent columns, capitals, and cornices, and the roof resembled arches and beams thrown across from the columns on each side. Below the principal church on the east side of the town we found the ruins of a high narrow bridge thrown across the Arpa Chai, leading into the province of Georgia. It is now impassable, the buttresses only remaining on each side; all communication with the Russian territories is thus cut off.

The history of this ancient city is very imperfectly known; but, situated on the frontiers of Armenia and Georgia, it became, in the fifth or sixth century, the capital of the Pakradian branch of Armenian kings. In A.D. 637 the Arabian Caliphs first invaded Armenia, and in 887 they conferred a tributary crown on the Pakradian family, who were then highly distinguished by the Mahommedan Governor of Armenia, and in 961 a branch of the Pakradian Kings established the kingdom of Kars. Shortly afterwards the Turkish hordes, bursting forth from central Asia, invaded Armenia and devastated the country. In 1046 a King of Anni had bequeathed his capital and kingdom to the Greek Emperor, and his family was transferred from the throne of Armenia to the proprietorship of a few towns in Cappadocia. 202

The invasion of the Tartar or Turcoman tribes became every year more destructive. In 1049 they sacked Ardzea, a city near the modern Erzeroum, and leveled its 800 churches to the ground. Fourteen years after their leader, Toghrul Bey, died, but was immediately succeeded by his nephew, Alp Arslan, who took and pillaged Anni with dreadful slaughter in 1063. He subsequently made over the city to a Kurdish family, which after a desperate

struggle was dispossessed by the kings of Georgia; since which period Anni has been neglected and abandoned by civilized inhabitants, left as a hiding-place for wild beasts and robbers, and the resort of wandering tribes, who combine the ferocity of the former with the deceit and craftiness of the latter.

203 . . . We would willingly have remained at Anni another day to examine its ruins with more detail, and to copy some of the Armenian inscriptions; but we had been warned against robbers from Karadagh if we spent the night here; and having already so far disregarded the advice which had been given us, we thought it prudent to be off early this morning. We accordingly started soon after six, passing over an elevated table-land, consisting chiefly of volcanic scoriae and lapilli, about 200 feet above the bed of the river, passing close to the village of Aras Oglu, three miles north of Anni. From thence our road led us over similar ground in a N.E. direction to the village of Maurek; here also we observed the ruins of an old church in the same style as those of Anni, but with only one pier standing, and half of the arch springing from it; about a mile to the W.N.W. was also a chapel of the same age, with a conical roof. Near Maurek we rejoined the high road from Kars to Gümri, when our direction changed to E.N.E., and we had several fine views of Mount Ararat in different positions on our right, with the mountains of Georgia in front.

A little way beyond Maurek I found a thin bed of pale yellow sand, filled with numerous shells, resembling those near Khorasan, overlying a bed of concretionary calcareous marl. These beds all dip a little to the N.W., under the black peperite, with which the neighboring hills are capped, and contain no traces of volcanic matter. I shall not here enter into any discussion of the manner in which these geological events took place, or attempt to explain
204 the theory of their formation; but I cannot help observing that the whole geology of this district of Armenia, connected with the immediate vicinity of Mount Ararat, seemed to me to coincide in a remarkable manner with the account of the Sacred Historian, from which it derives a charm and interest which is most satisfactory to the lovers of geological investigations.

At half-past nine, three miles from Maurek, we reached the banks of the Kars river flowing from the N.W., and had some difficulty in fording it, as two of the baggage horses were taken off their legs, and carried a short way down the stream. We then ascended the table-land between the river of Kars and the Arpa Chai, into which the former falls a mile or two below the ford, and soon saw the latter flowing through a wide valley on our right, beyond which the continuation of the plateau could be traced for a considerable distance, resting against higher hills. After descending into the plain of the Arpa Chai we advanced along the Turkish frontier for two miles, until we reached the village of Ghuraigel. Here we observed, as in most of the villages along this frontier, a large ruined oblong building of stone, and of peculiar construction. It resembled something between a church and a castle, and perhaps had served for both purposes; in one or two villages on the Russian side we also observed similar buildings, some of them quite insulated.

Soon after twelve we reached the heights opposite the Russian quarantine ford of Gümri, whence, by the help of our glasses, we distinctly saw the works which the Russians were erecting on the heights of Gümri, though for what purpose it would be difficult to say, as they cannot dread an invasion on the part of Turkey. The Arpa Chai here flows through rich and

extensive meadows, on each side of which, at a distance of rather less than a mile from the river, the hills rise abruptly, forming the table-land before mentioned, capped on both sides by a black volcanic | peperite, and constituting a strong line of defense on either bank. The Russians were not fortifying the town itself for the present, but they were erecting redoubts to a great distance, on the heights to the N.W., with bomb-proof buildings, barracks, and field-works: our observations were, however, imperfect, as we could not approach within two miles of the spot where their operations were carried on. 205

This table-land extends, geologically speaking, the whole way from Anni, except where occasionally cut through by rivers and valleys; it may also be traced on the Russian side to the foot of the mountains, a distance of nearly ten miles, where, to the N.E., we observed several villages or towns. The appearance of the peasants and villagers, whom we saw to-day, resembled that of the Georgians and Circassians, with their fur caps and tight dresses; the women, too, did not hide themselves at our approach; but the villages had an air of extreme misery and wretchedness, the inhabitants being more raggedly clothed than is usual amongst the Turks.

Leaving these heights we commenced our return to Kars, over the same undulating country for seven or eight miles, until we reached the village of Uzun Kilisah, where we halted for the night. This place also contains one of the fortified churches above mentioned, which was said to be Armenian. It was oblong, and without windows, having a doorway three feet high, built of large blocks of stone; but the roof had long since fallen in. The village was inhabited by Persians from Erivan, many thousands of whom came over when that city was taken by the Russians. According to the treaties concluded between Turkey and Russia, they were afterwards sent back, with the exception of a few hundreds, who still dwell in the villages in this neighborhood.

Wednesday, June 15.—Uzun Kilisah to Kars eight hours. We started soon after seven, and, after crossing a small stream flowing S.E., again came upon the Shelly formation before described, and passed many more wagons conveying | wood to Gümri. Between forty and fifty arrabah loads are said to pass every day, each load, consisting of one tree, being sold for fifty piastres or ten shillings. The peasants stated that it was expected that the whole would be completed in about seven years. At nine A.M. we forded the Kars river, very wide and deep, near a place called Yamuscli, three hours above the spot where we passed it yesterday. Half a mile below the ford was a narrow gorge in the hills on our left, through which the river flowed between perpendicular cliffs at least 200 feet high. For the next six miles we traversed an open uncultivated plain, until we reached a low range of hills capped with basalt, and apparently the north-western prolongation of those between Kars and Hadji Veli Kieui. Here we passed several wagons laden with cotton coming from Erivan by way of Gümri; and as we approached Kars, we saw a few instances of cultivation. The soil is light and rich, and much might be done to make it productive, were it not for that perpetual obstacle to all improvement in this country, a scarcity of water. We reached the town a little before four, having met close to the gates a party of Russian deserters whom the Turkish authorities were reconducting to the frontier; a practical proof of the influence and power which the Russians exercise over their neighbors. 206

. . . I halted this day at Charshambah to see Osman Pacha, and to procure a Tatar to 284

accompany me through Asia Minor. The house in which I lodged was close to the Armenian church, from whence a most terrific noise proceeded, which awakened me long before sunrise; it was in honor of the festival of St. John: the screaming, shouting, and yelling, which was called singing, exceeded anything I ever heard, and lasted until nine o'clock.

285 Charshambah contains 200 Armenian and 150 Greek houses; the Turks, with few exceptions, generally living in detached houses or villas outside the town. I here learned that a regulation had been lately made by the Turkish government, to the effect that no Greek, Turk, or Armenian, who has been once married and settled, shall be allowed to change his
286 domicile or to move his family; he may travel about either in the pursuit of business or in search of employment, but his family cannot go with him. This does not affect the unmarried. The object of so harsh a measure is said to be to facilitate the taking of the census, with which they attempt to combine an enumeration of the property and possessions of each individual.

295 . . . Having traveled N.W. six or seven miles from Koumjaas, we ascended a ridge of low sandy hills devoid of wood, and with little cultivation. These hills towards the south extended to the foot of a high range of mountains, while to the north they sloped away towards the plain about two miles off. Soon after four we descended into the plain of Bafra, and as we approached the town passed several chifliks and cottages in the plain, which became more frequent as we advanced. Near the town the ground was marshy, and we entered the place by a long and narrow causeway. It had a clean and quiet look, embosomed in gardens and trees, with nothing but the tall minaret of the mosque to announce that we were approaching a town of so much consequence. I was informed by the Greek papas, whose residence I found prepared for my reception, that it contains 1,160 houses, of which 1,000 are Turkish, 100 or 110 Greek, and 50 Armenian.

351 The amount of the population <of Tocat> was very differently stated: one person mentioned 8,000 houses; another, a chavasse of the governor, said 8,000 Turks and 10,000 rajahs, Greeks and Armenians. The Armenians are numerous, and have from 1,200 to 1,500 houses, but I should doubt the population exceeding 20,000.

354 Another instance of misrule which came to my knowledge at Tocat proved the existence of that fruitful source of complaint, which has been denied by the advocates of Turkish regeneration. I mean the monopolies which are avowedly sanctioned throughout the country. An Armenian arrived here about eight days ago, who, for a payment to the Porte of 30,000 piastres or 300*l.*, had purchased the sole privilege of buying, roasting, and selling coffee in the town and its neighboring dependencies. All the retail and wholesale coffee merchants have been ruined, and obliged to sell their stock, whether great or small, to this favored monopolist. Attempts are made to justify the job by alleging that the inhabitants are benefited by obtaining the article at a reduced price. But two hundred thousand oke of coffee are consumed annually in Tocat . . .

361 The town of Zilleh contains 2,000 houses, which, with the exception of a few Armenians, are all inhabited by Turks.

The population <of Amasia> is said to consist of from 3,000 to 4,000 Turkish houses, 750 Armenian, and 100 or 150 Greek. 366

Kalaijik, now nearly a heap of ruins, still contains from 500 to 600 houses, most of them Turkish, the rest Armenian. Not many years ago it was plundered by a celebrated robber named Kadi Keran, who quartered himself and followers on the town for seventeen days; from the effects of which it has not yet recovered. Turks and Armenians were indifferently plundered of almost everything they possessed. 413

The population of Angora is considerable, and is sometimes stated to exceed that of Tocat. My accounts varied much, one party making 6,000 Turkish houses, 4,000 Catholic Armenian (of whom Angora is the head-quarters in Asia Minor, whither they fled when driven away from Constantinople a few years ago), 300 Schismatic Armenian, 300 Greek, and about 150 Jewish houses—in all about 11,000; which would give a population of between 50,000 and 60,000 inhabitants. The reports of Catholic Armenians, although nearly the same in gross amount, vary considerably in the detail, and are probably more correct. According to them, Angora contains 9,000 Turkish, 1,500 Catholic Armenian, 300 Schismatic Armenian, and 300 Greek houses. 419

As an instance of the modes of communication and doing business in Turkey, I may mention, that on my arrival at Angora I received a bag of money for which I had written from Amasia to a friend at Constantinople. It was brought by a Government Tatar, who had arrived the day before. Fearing that the funds with which I had started from Trebizond might fail me before reaching Smyrna, and finding it impossible to procure money from the Armenian or other bankers, except at exorbitant interest, I wrote to Constantinople for 10,000 piastres, or 100*l.*, to meet me here, which were accordingly forwarded to me in gold.

The collection of inscriptions made during my stay at Angora was very numerous; many of them never before published. They were met with in all parts of the town, in the gateways and court-yards of private houses, but chiefly in the walls of the citadel. This is defended by a triple line of fortifications, all the gates of which are locked at night. The outer wall encircles a very large space, in which are upwards of 4,000 or 5,000 inhabitants, many of whom are Armenians; and is full of inscriptions; but it is the wall of the second or middle line, called the Utch Kaléh, which contains most. This is strengthened by numerous square towers, which, as well as the intermediate curtains, are in some cases built from top to bottom with fragments of white marble, once portions of bas-reliefs, inscriptions, funereal cippi with garlands, and the caput bovis, caryatides, columns and fragments of architraves, with parts of dedicatory inscriptions, resembling, indeed, very much the walls of a rich museum. The upper castle on the pinnacle of the rock is called the Ak Kaléh (White Castle); it contains but few blocks of marble, being built almost entirely of dark porphyritic trap, of which the hill consists; but some enormous blocks of this stone have the appearance of having belonged to ancient buildings. Here I also saw two gigantic statues of lions, couchant like those of Kalaijik. 423

During my stay at Angora I had no reason to complain of want of hospitality on the part either of the Turks or Armenians; the latter freely admitted me into their houses to copy inscriptions; and in one case I was obliged to have recourse to an Armenian house to read a 424

long inscription on the wall of the opposite castle by means of a telescope from the window. I was generally accompanied by a German physician of the name of Riga, in the service of the Pacha, who had been many years settled in Angora, and was married to an Armenian; but his pay from the Pacha was only 500 piastres a month. It is contrary to all the habits and practices of Turkish society or domestic life to pay an inferior; he is merely lodged and fed, and occasionally receives a present. The usual mode by which a Pacha, Agha, or Governor remunerates his followers, is by sending them to some neighboring town or district, to convey an order, to receive taxes, or to settle a dispute; in these cases the town, village, or district is charged with the payment of a certain sum to the bearer, according to the distance and importance of the business, the amount being generally written on the order. This explains how the Turkish governors are enabled to support so many and such large establishments.

The doctor and another gentleman accompanied me one day to visit the Convent of Schismatic Armenians, situated a few miles to the north of Angora; and thence to a spot called the Gardens, in a picturesque glen, and watered by a small stream, the whole of which is absorbed in fertilizing the lower part of the ravine. At the Convent we found five or six monks, who seemed to lead a comfortable and tranquil life; but their manners were rude and coarse, and their information on all points most limited. The bishop was absent; the authority of the convent is said to extend over a large part of Asia Minor as far as Tocat; but it is impossible to feel respect for men who had recourse to the vilest intrigues, in order to procure the banishment of their Catholic countrymen from Constantinople in 1829 and 1830. Their church is neat, and rather handsomely decorated with gilding, paintings, and colored tiles, which I was told are made at Kiutahiyah. All European merchants who die at Angora are
 425 buried in the cemetery I attached to the convent, and several English names attest the former existence of a flourishing factory. I also copied here many Greek and Latin inscriptions. In the chapel a curious window was pointed out to me, which appeared to be a yellow transparent alabaster. I believe it is called *pierre speculaire*.

On our way to the Gardens we halted at the vineyard of an Armenian merchant, where the horses were held by a poor Pole, whose life had been a series of sad and interesting adventures. Serving under Buonaparte in the campaign of 1812, he was taken prisoner by the Russians at the battle of Berezina; and after spending some time in Siberia was placed in a Russian regiment, and sent to the Caucasus to fight against the Circassians. Here he deserted, and was sold and resold as a slave for several years, until he fell into the hands of a Turk, who brought him to Angora, where he worked as a gardener for some time. Two years ago his Turkish master gave him his liberty.

At the Gardens, where we found a cool retreat from the sun, and enjoyed the Turkish luxury of reclining on carpets by the side of a small brook, we met with another remarkable character, an Armenian recluse, who lives here by himself, cultivating his garden with his own hands. The Pacha of Angora is said to have a great regard for him, and constantly visits him in his retirement. He was formerly one of the richest Armenian bankers at Constantinople, and director of the mint. Notwithstanding his enormous wealth, his extravagance and generosity enabled him to get rid of his whole fortune; he has since retired to this spot, where he leads the life of a hermit, only visiting the town to sell the produce of his garden.

426 I was detained at Angora longer than I had intended by a slight illness, and spent one

evening during my stay at the house of another European physician, Dr. Leonardi. He has been many years in this country, has married an Armenian wife, and wears the Oriental dress. He has a large family, and several young and beautiful daughters; I was much struck with the richness and elegance of their costume; for they were dressed in all their finery | and wealth 427 to do honor to the visit of an English Beyzadeh. The dress itself consisted of a long and tight petticoat of gold brocade, over which was a closely-fitting velvet jacket covered with gold embroidery, with large open sleeves. Round their heads they wore bandeaux of pearls and other jewels, with strings of gold coins, besides armlets and bracelets of the same description, and long chains of sequins round their necks; the eldest too had several strings of gold coins intertwined with, or attached to the ends of her long and flowing tresses; these have generally been given to them, and accumulating by degrees, are considered as their own property, and when they marry constitute their dowry. Dr. Leonardi himself was agreeable and full of anecdote: he narrated some wonderful stories of adventures which had befallen him in Syria, when traveling with Achmet Agha of Hadji Kieui, whose Christian name I now learned was Achille Guerra . . .

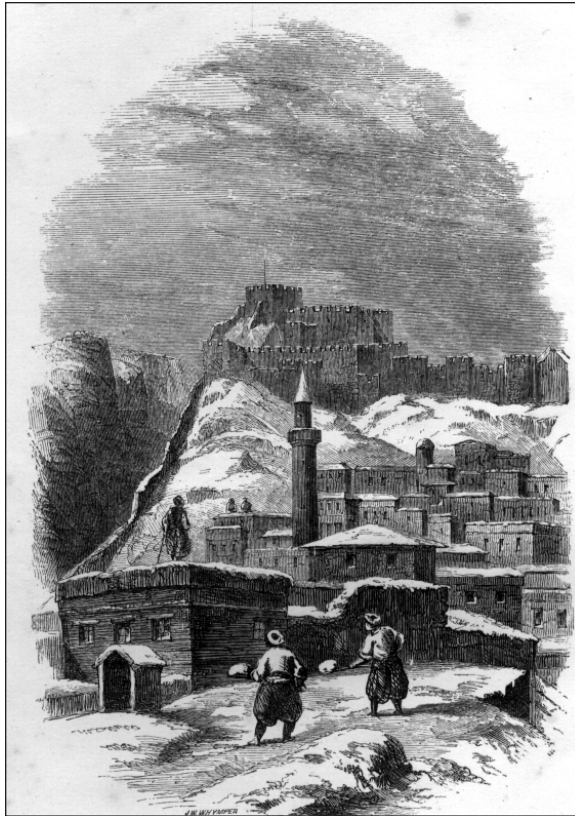
I have already mentioned that Angora is the chief residence of the Catholic Armenians in the Turkish empire. I paid a visit to their bishop, a quiet intelligent old man, and found several other priests with him, all of whom | understood a little Italian, most of them having 428 been educated in Italy; their easy and European manners, and superior intelligence, contrasted strangely with the stiff Turkish formality of their schismatic brethren. All their priests are now obliged to go to Rome, where their principal seminary is situated, before they can be ordained. Formerly this seminary was on Mount Lebanon, where they now only keep up a small convent. The present system has at least this advantage, that it brings them in direct contact with a civilized world, and with civilized ideas. The principal points on which the schismatic Armenians differ from the Catholics are the following:—

1. They do not acknowledge any of the Popes.
2. They deny that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, but from the Father only.
3. They do not admit a Purgatory.
4. They assert that the Savior died not only in his human person, but in his divine person also.

It is singular that the Catholic Armenians are not allowed to hold land, whereas the schismatics are permitted to possess a little, by which they support their convent. Yet, notwithstanding their privations, the Catholics enjoyed the greatest reputation for charity, and were decidedly the most wealthy of the two communities.

Great alarm and excitement prevailed amongst the Armenian population during my stay here, in consequence of the arbitrary behavior of the Turks, who had lately got possession of several Armenian children, and compelled them, by force or intimidation, to abjure their religion. One Imaum was particularly complained of as having shown great activity in this rage for making proselytes. For some days it was uncertain what was become of the boys; but before I left the town I understood that the Turks had succeeded in circumcising two of them. It was said that the Imaum, finding a stir was made about them, and fearing that, if the government was compelled to interfere, he might | lose his prey, went home and at once 429 operated upon them himself.

- 438 The town <of Sivri Hissar> covers a large space of ground, containing 2,000 Turkish houses, and 300 belonging to Schismatic Armenians; the houses are all flat-roofed, and, being covered with hard clay, can scarcely be distinguished from the surrounding country.



Kars.

*[From Sandwich's A Narrative of the Siege of Kars . . .
(London, 1856).]*

Justin Perkins—1805–1869

Residence of Eight Years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians; with notices of the Muhammedans.

Andover, published by Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, 1843

A.D. 1843

May 22. Our native passengers became tired of our slow progress, and proposed to resort to some expedient to procure a fair wind. It was affecting to observe the degrading superstitions, by which these benighted Muhammedans and nominal Christians are enslaved. The captain related to me some exhibitions of this description, that occurred on board the Shah, on his previous passage down from Trebizond. On board was a large number of Turks, Persians and Armenians. A long calm occurred, during which the captain manifested some impatience. "Why do you not send for a fair wind?" they interrogated him; adding, "you have no right to expect a good wind without using means to obtain it." Accordingly, they set about procuring a fair wind, each respective class in their own way. Among the Armenians was a priest, and among the Persians a moollah. The priest, at the request of the Armenians, dressed up two candles, with superstitious ceremonies and incantations, lighted them and sent them off, one before and the other aft, on cards large enough to float them on the surface. 83

Trebizond contains a population not varying far from 25,000, of whom about 3,000 are Greeks, 1,000 Armenians, a few hundreds Armenian Catholics, and the rest Muhammedans. The latter reside principally within the wall of the city, which is in a state of very good repair; while the Christians, both natives and Europeans, are limited to the part without it. 87

The Armenians at Trebizond have but one school, and this scarcely deserves the name. It was then under the care of the clergy, some of whom visited it every day. It consisted of about 120 boys and was taught by a deacon. All sat, *a la Turk*, upon the naked stone floor. The room was small, and had neither benches, tables, nor glass windows. Still, the poor boys, all with bright black eyes, seemed happy even there. A few of them had tattered copies of the Psalms, which were the only school books used. The teacher had one entire copy of the Bible, which, I was told, he read daily to the children. But in the absence of books and other apparatus suitable for a school-room, I was pained to observe the walls almost entirely hung with pictures and crosses. Three priests were present when I called to see this school. All appeared to be delighted with my visit. I told them and the children about our schools in America. "We wish," said the priests, "that our girls and all our children might learn; but we are poor, and oppressed by the Muhammedans." I inquired of the priests whether they would each accept from me a copy of a New Testament. "Most thankfully," they replied; "and we wish you to write our names, together with your own, in them, and we shall thus often be reminded with pleasure and gratitude of the giver." 89 90

June 18. We started at six o'clock in the morning, rode four hours, in an east and south-east direction, left ancient Pontus and entered Armenia, and reached the town of Baiboot. 106

Baiboot is the seat of a small pashalik, within the limits and subject to the more general jurisdiction of the pashalik of Trebizond. It is very romantically situated at the eastern end of the great valley we entered yesterday, in a niche among the mountains, just large enough for its convenient location. In approaching it from the west, it is entirely secluded from view by a low undulating ridge which bounds this valley on the east, and it is equally hidden on the other side by a higher mountain range, boldly terminated or rather interrupted, by the recess that contains the town. An imposing castle, perched on this mountain cliff overlooks it on the east, and a | considerable river, the Jorokh, which comes down a narrow valley from that direction, and here changes its course to north, runs through the center. Baiboot contains about six or eight thousand inhabitants, nearly nine tenths of whom are Muhammedans and the rest Armenians. The houses are mostly built of stone—a few of mud—and some of the two materials united. The building stone, is a soft yellowish limestone which is one of the most common rocks in the vicinity. Large stacks of stable manure molded into cakes of the shape, and about twice the size, of loaves of bread, were thickly interspersed among the dwellings, laid up for fuel. This was the only kind of fuel which we had seen for several days, and which we afterwards saw, among the peasants of both Turkey and Persia, until we approached Trebizond on our return . . .

Erzroom stands on a moderate elevation, at the eastern extremity of the great plain which we crossed in approaching it. It is a very venerable city—one of the oldest in the world—situated at the base of the Ararat mountain range, near the head waters of the Euphrates, and founded, as tradition says, by a grandson of Noah. It is the Arz, or Arza, of ancient times, which took the affix room from its belonging, at one period, to the Greek empire of Room; thus becoming Erzroom. It figures largely in Armenian history, having for some time been the capital of that ancient kingdom. It contains at present about 35,000 inhabitants, who are principally Turks, most of the Armenians having emigrated to Georgia, at the time of the Russian invasion. There were in the city when we passed through it, only 300 Armenian and 120 Armenian catholic families. The number of Armenians has since considerably increased, by the return of many emigrants from the Russian provinces. The city has seventy-five streets, running in various directions, which are broad for an Asiatic city, but very filthy; and each street has its mosk and lofty minaret, from whose tops “the faithful” *muezzins* summon the benighted inhabitants *five times* a day to the devotions of the Prophet. I do not recollect to have heard the call to prayers at 10 o’clock, A.M.—or at 4 o’clock, P.M. so regularly given in any other Muhammedan city. Its houses are generally built of earth, with occasional square sticks of timber in the walls to give them support, though many of them are built of fine hewn stone. There are some remains of an ancient wall and fosse around the city; but the citadel only is at present fortified; and this is said to be the work of the adventurous Genoese. The appearance of Erzroom is very | somber and uninviting, and from its great elevation—5,500 feet by the barometer, and near 7,000 feet by experiments in boiling water—above the sea, the weather most of the year, is extremely cold. As a residence it must be dreary, though its climate, almost as matter of course, is usually healthy. The city is well supplied with vegetables from gardens near it, but has no fruit except what is brought a considerable distance, from a more temperate region. Its moral aspect struck us as even darker than that of Trebizond, the people appearing still more shy, rude and degraded.

There are few objects of interest, in modern Erzroom. The principal remnant of antiquity which I observed is the *Jifteh Mineréh*, (pair of minarets,) a vast stone building, finely constructed, but now in a dilapidated state, which is supposed to have been originally an Armenian church, and subsequently desecrated, as so many others have been, by the Muhammedans, and surmounted by them with the two more modern brick minarets from which it bears its present name . . . The commerce of Erzroom is immense,—its local situation being exceedingly felicitous for transit trade. It is the grand thoroughfare between Europe, Asia Minor, and Syria, on the one hand, and Persia, and to a considerable extent, Georgia and Mesopotamia, on the other. The city was seriously injured, in its commercial as well as its other interests, by the Russian invasion in 1829. Many of the Armenians, whom they enticed or forced away, were its most enterprising merchants. Their houses and shops were left desolate, and much of their wealth became the spoil of the invaders, who plundered extensively both Armenians and Turks of whatever valuables they could carry away.

There stands Ararat, upon its vast pedestal, in solemn, silent majesty, the eternal 471 monument of the flood. The valley in which we were, was a cradle of the second world, perhaps the home of the patriarch; but its present inhabitants are wild and ruthless savages; and the foot of the mountain is associated in the minds of the natives of these regions as the lurking-place of the Jellalees. A very few degraded Armenians are scattered in dilapidated villages on different parts of the plain, who are trodden down by the wild Koords; and the town of Bayazeed, the ruins of the capital of the mighty *Bajazet*, containing perhaps from one to two thousand inhabitants, is occupied by a small garrison of subject Koords, under Beelul 472 Pasha, whose office it is to protect the passing travelers and caravans.

We proceeded, intending to reach Diadeen. After sunset, observing the horses of a caravan, grazing under the mountains, about two miles south of our road, we determined to join them and pass the night, instead of driving our already tired animals to Diadeen. This caravan consisted of 250 horses, laden, as were the previous ones we had met, with European goods. "Are you not afraid you will drain Europe?" I inquired of the muleteers; "Oh no; there is a caravan of 500 horses one day back of us," was their reply . . .

July 17. The muleteers from the west informed us, that the *plague* is raging in nearly all the villages on our way to Erzroom. We could do no more, nor less, than put ourselves on strict allowance, on the small stock of provisions which we had with us, deeming it not prudent to venture into these infected villages. The *Murad-chai*, or eastern branch of the Euphrates, passes down from the southern mountains near the town of Diadeen. How interesting is this region! I could almost live here contented, even amid its melancholy physical and moral desolations! Soon after we encamped on the bank of the Euphrates, opposite the Armenian convent of Utch-kileesia, an old Turk, who was traveling with his family, came up with us. They too feared the plague and shunned the villages, and they proposed to join our party. They drove with them a few goats, from which they engaged to supply us daily with milk, until we shall reach their home, which is within one day's journey of Erzroom . . . It was affecting, all the way through this region, to hear the hungry natives tell how long it had been, that they had not seen a piece of *bread*. Grass and herbs, boiled and mixed with yogoord, was their only food. Their famine-stricken state, doubtless, did much to prepare the way for the prevalence of the plague.

July 18. We rode to *Kara-kileesia*, a distance of thirty-five miles, following the Euphrates all the way, in the magnificent valley, which is almost a hundred miles long, and in the western
 473 part, at least twenty miles broad. This primitive country is too fair and fertile to lie neglected; but a decayed and half desolate village of poor Armenians and stationary Koords, at intervals of six or ten miles, are all the human habitations that appear. About midway between the convent and Kara-kileesia, is an old stone bridge, finely built, now somewhat dilapidated, but obviously the work of other men and other days. The Euphrates has left it and cut for itself a new channel.

July 19. We rode to Moollah Soleiman, about the same distance as yesterday. A little west of Kara-kileesia, the Euphrates changes its course, and passes by a ravine through the southern ridge of mountains, in the direction of Moosh, and thence onward to Diarbeker. Considerable streams enter it on this stage from the north, and one from the western end of the valley. The principal village, in this district, (Alazgerd,) is Toprak-kulaah, (earth-castle,) situated at the foot of the Ararat ridge, on the northern side of the plain. It has a strong fort on a lofty overlooking hill. It was formerly a large Armenian town, but most of its inhabitants went away with the Russians.

Moollah Soleiman, which I had on former journeys made my stopping-place, is situated at the north-west corner of the plain of Alazgerd. The inhabitants were digging graves in one place, and persons sick of the plague lay exposed here and there, with relatives weeping near them, all which gave us a melancholy impression and some apprehension. We passed by the village and pitched our tent in a ravine, near a small brook, on the side of the mountain. The vast plain lay stretched out beautifully before us, but in silent desolating, and we could not help contrasting its present condition with that of a century ago, when it was enlivened by two or three hundred villages. Russian encroachment, Turkish misrule and Koordish violence, have driven away the suffering Armenians, and their fair country now lies thus in mournful and naked solitude. In conversation with Mr. Brant, the British consul at Erzroom, he suggested to me the idea, that Alazgerd, in its present depopulated state, would be an excellent region for a European colony. I urged him to pursue the thought. How much might be contributed to the advancement of the civilization and christianization of Asia, by the existence of an enlightened, Protestant Christian community, on a distant plain of Armenia . . .

476 *July 24.* I called on Mr. Brant, the English consul. Since I was last here, he had built a fine specious mansion, in European style. My feeling, on entering it, was, that I was suddenly transported from the dreary desolations of Eastern Turkey, to the heart of Old England. There is no such residence east of Constantinople,—at least, until we reach the English palace at Tehran.

The Armenians are now coming into Erzroom, from various parts of Turkey. They number at present about one thousand families, one hundred and fifty of whom are Catholics. The town is still rapidly increasing in trade, as might be inferred from the number of caravans, (and I have by no means mentioned all,) that passed us on their way to Persia; and it is destined to be a yet more important center of moral influence.

Ida Grafin Hahn Hahn—1805–1880

Letters of a German Countess; Written During Her Travels in Turkey, Egypt, the Holy Land, Syria, Nubia, &c. in 1843–4.

In three volumes. Vol. I, London, Henry Colburn, Publisher, 1845

A.D. 1843 <Constantinople, Sept. 8>

On the Asiatic side, consequently separated by the whole width of the Bosphorus, lies the suburb of Scutari; and all these towns, united into one vast whole, are so situated that, land where you will, you have a hill to climb and a pretty steep one too. There are, therefore, several hills, and these do not belie the character of the Bosphorus: they are green; they are covered with countless groves of cypresses, and groups of plane trees. Above these rise, like swans above a green sea, the glistening cupolas of about three hundred mosques. Near each stands, like an unearthly watchman, at least one slender white minaret, frequently two, even four, and at Sultan Achmet's six. Under and among the trees, as in a wood that has been thinned out, lie the houses, all, excepting the residences of the ambassadors at Pera and some few palaces belonging to the government, of wood, even that of the Grand Signor, the barracks, the cannon-foundry, the habitations of the pashas; many painted with the most glaring colors, white, light red, light yellow; others embrowned by time like the houses in the Oberland of Berne; others again, especially those of the Catholic Armenians, colored black and dark gray. 106

Their Christian subjects, for instance Armenians and Greeks, they call rayas, and Giaur, infidel, is the contemptuous designation of the | Christians in contradistinction to the Mussulman, the true believer. 112 113

I could not abide permanently in this country—not endure the contempt with which the Mussulman looks down upon the Giaur. 117

<Constantinople, Sept. 11>

The Armenians are a peculiar people, spread all over the Levant as bankers and merchants, who have attained considerable influence here in particular by great wealth and great pliancy; for all the financial business of the State is transacted by the Armenians. The pashas, for example, farm their government to Armenians, who pay their taxes into the exchequer of the State, and then contrive, God knows how, to collect them again and of course with profit for themselves. Not much good is said of them. According to report, they are adepts in all sorts of artifices and intrigues, and more artful and crafty than the Greeks. There was once a kingdom of Armenia, between the Caucasus and the Euphrates, which the Persians conquered. The people afterwards dispersed, and externally they have adopted precisely the habits and manners of the Turks—the same way of living, the same costume, the same veiling of women—but no harem, for they are Christians. Some profess to belong to the Catholic church, most of them to the Armenian. They have their own churches and convents. In the streets, the Armenian women are distinguishable by their dark red slippers, from the yellow 129

ones of the Turkish women, and the black of the Jewesses. The Armenians wear black kaftans and large, black | globular head-coverings, which lie flat upon the forehead. Their houses are painted externally a dark color, to give them a mean look, while great luxury often pervades the interior.

Passing to-day a half open door way, and seeing some particularly beautiful roses beyond it, I stopped to look at them. A young man immediately made his appearance, and invited us in. In the court were seated two old gentlemen—wealthy bankers as our dragoman told us—in the dress described above, on low straw-bottomed stools, smoking in silence; they rose at our entrance, desired European chairs to be brought, and coffee and pipes offered. Though we declined the latter, we were obliged to sit down, and had abundant leisure to admire the roses, which shot up in pillar-shaped bushes to a considerable height, in the center of the small, exceedingly clean, court-yard, paved with large flags.

I premise these particulars concerning the Armenians, as there is a great deal of talk about them just now, because, about a fortnight ago, one of them was beheaded with great privacy. He had gone over to Mohamedanism and married a Turkish woman; he afterwards repented and intended to return to the Christian faith, or had already done so. For this reason his head was struck off. That a rigid government prevails here is not near so frightful to me as that its proceedings should be so secret. A man has committed some offense, away he is whipped, one scarcely knows how.

131 For the rest, the Armenians, at the beginning of the last century were once wholly expelled, on account of a love intrigue in which one of them was engaged, “who was of an amorous temperament, and possessed powerful means of conquest, in the flexibility of a pair of high, bushy eye-brows.” Is not that most amusing? The Armenian clergy then retired to Venice, where they founded on the Island of San Lazaro the well known convent, which is still famous for the books that it prints in numberless languages. That they could not do here without the Armenians is proved by the position which they have since regained.

The Armenian women are reputed to be very handsome, and, as they are permitted to unveil abroad if they please, I hoped to see a sample of their charms. But Sunday had not enticed many of them out. One large party sat together upon carpets and on the cushions of the araba, and were exceedingly amused by a mountebank, who, accompanied by a merry-andrew, displayed great dexterity in his sleight-of-hand tricks. For five minutes, one may look at such things with pleasure; but here they seemed to have made arrangements to watch them for hours; they drank coffee, ate sweetmeats, and the men smoked with as much gravity as if they were Turks. Perhaps because men were present not one woman was unveiled. I tasted some of the confectionery that is everywhere offered for sale; it looks better than it tastes. It is mostly | sugar-candy in cakes and balls colored with rose and orange water, excessively sweet and nauseous. Then almonds stuck upon a very slender stick, and coated with a sugary jelly-like substance—also nauseous. On the contrary, the fruits preserved with sugar are excellent. But they are not carried about, like the things just mentioned, on large circular boards; they are ranged for show in the shops, in a tasteful manner, under bells of rose-colored and white crape, adorned with flowers.

<Constantinople, Sept. 14>

153 All the coffee-houses are arranged nearly upon the same plan. A quadrangular,

whitewashed room, with as many windows as possible; along the room, wooden sofas covered with mats, or carpets; on the further side, the fire-place and places for cookery; in the middle of the floor, a small fountain; low stools, even European chairs, at the door the whole clean but mean; if at all pretty, standing under a spreading vine, the branches of which form an ante-room, or under a fine shady tree; such are the coffee-houses in Constantinople, which never suggest the idea that they have the slightest resemblance to those of Paris or Milan. 154 The low stools are chiefly occupied by Armenians and Greeks; the chairs being destined particularly for Franks.

<Constantinople, Sep. 19>

All the black houses of the village of Jenikoi show that they belong to Armenians, who like to conceal their wealth under this exterior. 192

<Constantinople, Sept. 21>

The excitement which pervaded the public mind in those days <during the destruction of the Janissaries under Sultan Mahmoud in three days, in 1826> is said to have been most intense. All knew that something was in agitation, but none knew what, how much, how far. The Franks were always told, "You may be quite easy; it is not aimed at you"—but they too were in the most painful alarm; for, if the Janissaries had proved victorious, the Franks would have fared badly. 209

It is incredible what outrages the latter had to endure from the former. A very short time before their destruction, so I was told by a person of unquestionable veracity, a Janissary met an Armenian merchant, and called to him "Come hither! I have bought a new yataghan, and I want to try on thy neck whether it is sharp." In such a case resistance was useless. The merchant submissively approached, and resorted to remonstrances and entreaties. After a long colloquy, under the bare, glistening weapon, the merchant at length said, "I am in thy power, do with me what thou wilt; my orphan children I recommend to thy generosity." On this, the Janissary suffered him to depart. Perhaps the whole was merely a joke; but the moral torture of being exposed to the brutality of such a joke was really too great. For the rest, if the Janissary had chosen to be in earnest, the head of the merchant would have fallen, the murderer would have put up his yataghan, and there would have been an end to the affair. 210

At that time, indeed, the Christian, whether rayah or Frank, was estimated no higher than a dog, and was under constant apprehension of insult. Madame Balbiani lived seven years at Pera, without ever venturing to cross to Constantinople, so unsafe was it then. But those days are past; if you but use a little caution, avoid wearing green, as I lately mentioned, and the like, you meet with none but childish affronts.

John Price Durbin—1800–1876

Observations in the East, chiefly in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor.
In two volumes. Vol. II, New York, Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1845

A.D. 1845

109 <Smyrna's> prosperity is to be attributed chiefly to the capital of the Armenians, and the commerce of the Greeks and Franks, that is, to the Christian population.

110 The city contains one hundred and forty-five thousand inhabitants, of whom eighty thousand are Turks, thirty-five thousand are Greeks, ten thousand Armenians, five thousand Franks, and fifteen thousand Jews. This gives a Christian population of fifty thousand, of which five thousand are Roman Catholics, and six hundred are Protestants.

. . . The Armenian females . . . dressed in the richest stuffs, may be seen sitting unveiled in the halls and corridors that open on the courts, or in the far-projecting windows of the second stories, from which they command a view of the entire street.

239 I find the population of the city <of Constantinople> and suburbs put down at 846,000, upon the authority of an intelligent Armenian connected with the government. The whole sum is made up as follows:

Turks	500,000
Armenians	200,000
Jews	100,000
Greeks	28,000
Franks	18,000
<Total>	846,000

241 The Armenians are remarkable for their wealth, their fairness in dealing, and their mild and submissive deportment. They are Christians of Asiatic origin, the remnants of the powerful and warlike people that inhabited the greater and lesser Armenia, lying between Turkey and Persia. Their country was repeatedly laid waste by the wars between these two powers, which dispersed them among the surrounding nations, and compelled them to engage in trade, commerce, and mechanical pursuits. They form the commercial class of Persia, and a million and a half of them are dispersed in Turkey. Of these two hundred thousand reside in Constantinople and its environs; and, owing to their skill, industry, and wealth, and the indolence of the Turks, they have possessed themselves of all the productive employments of the capital, from the plying of the caique, the selling of water, the building of houses, and the working in the precious metals, to the regulating of the finances, and the collecting of the revenues of the empire as bankers and government agents. Thus they have an influence in Constantinople which is almost omnipotent when concentrated and determined. Yet they rarely exert it politically, being contented to amass wealth by transacting the business of the capital and government, not caring who are the rulers of the country, in which, though they be subjects, they are not citizens.

Although the population and wealth of the Fanar are restored, perhaps increased, yet the 242
Greeks have not recovered their employment and influence in the government. To these the
Armenians have succeeded, and the Greeks have turned their attention more to trade and
commerce.

The principal Armenian quarter is adjoining the Fanar on the east, and extends along the 243
Horn to the | dress and customs. Indeed, the agreements are more striking than the
differences, which spring from diversity of religion rather than of race. Their affinities for the
Turks are much stronger than for their fellow-Christians of the Greek rite, and hence they are
treated with more indulgence than any other subjects of the empire.

. . . The principal Jews were once the factors and agents for the government, but, for some
delinquencies, they have been superseded by the Armenians, and hence they have turned their
attention to trade and the mechanical employments.

The Armenians dwell principally to the east of the capital, amid the mountains and valleys 277
of their ancient country.

. . . The influence of the Christian population in the East is increasing rapidly, partly from
the invincible inertness of the Mohammedans, but chiefly by means of the increased activity
and intelligence of the Christians. In agriculture, these are more prosperous than the
Moslems, and commerce and the mechanic arts are mostly | in their hands. They conduct the 278
fiscal affairs of the government almost entirely, and, of course, are the principal bankers of the
East. Though these remarks cannot apply to the great mass of the Christian population,
which is poor and degraded, yet it is true that these elements of power are in the hands of
Christians, and are therefore available for the promotion of Christianity.

Charles White—1793–1861

*History of the Capital of Asia and the Turks: Together with an account of the domestic manners of the
Turks in Turkey.*

Boston, reprinted for Isaac Edrehi, son of late British Consul in Jerusalem, 5618 <1856>

A.D. 1844

<Vol. I>

6 The silk bezestan <of Constantinople is> tenanted exclusively by Armenians . . .

8 . . . Tchokadjelar, (drapers,) <is> now entirely occupied by Armenian jewelers . . .

22 The “Thursday” market is so named from a weekly fair being held there upon that day. The articles exposed for sale are plain and printed cottons, linen of inferior quality, cutlery, small mercery, hardware, and the cotton or muslin handkerchiefs called kalemkery, the best of which are painted by the Armenian and Greek women of the Bosphorus villages. These handkerchiefs, repeatedly dipped into the sea during the process of painting, by which the dyes are fixed, do not lose their color by subsequent washing in cold water. They are worn by all classes, either twined round the fez, or, being attached round the forehead and tied behind, with the angles hanging down the back, serve as a bag for the long single tress of hair, which in most cases is allowed to remain pendent when in “negligé” dress. The principal venders and purchasers are Christians or Jews of the inferior classes.

39 With the exception of some few Jews, whose craft and persons may be distinguished by their mean appearance, and some few Armenians, the whole corps of boatmen are Turks and Greeks; the former preponderating in the city, the latter nearly monopolizing the Bosphorus.

41 The kayikjees are the reputed heroes of many romantic adventures. Numerous are the tales recounted of the loves of fair ladies, both Moslem and Christian, for these heart pirates—tales sometimes ending where they commenced, by a plunge in the Bosphorus; that is, if the discovered frail one be a true believer. In such cases, the cord or scimitar is the doom of the stronger sex, the deep sea bed that of the weaker. Money will counterbalance all crimes in Turkey save female frailty. For this, neither religious law nor social customs admit atonement. Tears, beauty, youth, gold—untold gold—are of no avail. The fish of the Bosphorus and Propontis could disclose fearful secrets, even in our days. Such, at least, is the common belief, though unsubstantiated by other evidence than gossiping stories, for the most part coined expressly to lead strangers into error.

An instance was spoken of, nevertheless, as having occurred in 1838, when the doom attendant upon the discovery of an intrigue between a Moslem woman and raya was averted by payment of money. This occurred to the son of a wealthy Armenian saraf (banker)—a young man distinguished for his handsome features. In vain the father sued, implored, and attempted to bribe the judges; they were inexorable. Sentence of death was passed, and

42 confirmed by the | sheik-ul-Islam, in the usual laconic manner; that is, in the form of a reply

to a question, thus—"Amr, a Christian and tributary subject, has been convicted of adultery with Ayesha, a Moslem woman, and condemned to death. Is this sentence legal?" "Perfectly legal I let death ensue, with speed." The father, in the mean time, knowing the venality, as well as the great influence, of Khosref Pacha, then all-powerful, applied to him. The ruling passion, strong at this moment, stronger almost than paternal love, showed itself in the banker. He commenced by offering 50,000 piastres, then 100,000, until, finding he could make no impression upon the rapacious Khosref, he gradually raised his offer to 500,000, and the youth was saved. Of the fate of the unhappy woman nothing was positively known. She was never seen again. It is generally asserted that her end was tragical.

<Vol. II>

The saka <water-carriers> form a distinct and extensive corporation, and are all, with few exceptions, Armenians and Turks.

Opposite to the glass-dealers are the shops of Armenian finjanjelar, who sell porcelain, 28
plated goods, and fine Bohemian glass. Among these articles is a varied assortment of the small coffee-cups, (finjan,) principally from Germany, made expressly to fit the stands or saucers called zarf. The latter are like egg-cups in form, and are either of silver filagree, brass gilt, or fine porcelain. Coffee-cups and saucers after the European fashion are scarcely known in Turkish houses.

Plates or dishes of porcelain or crockery are seldom used by Turks or schismatic Armenians; but Greeks and Catholic Armenians, who are gradually adopting European habits, are good customers; indeed, all rich Greek families of the Fanar and Pera have 29
adopted these habits as regards the table-services; but schismatic Armenians, with few exceptions, are still in a state of transition. There is also much demand for ornamental glass and china.

. . . Tchokadjelar, (drapers,) <are> all Greeks and Armenians.

35

According to regulation, no person below the rank of mir alai, (colonel,) or civil 37
functionaries of corresponding degree, are entitled to wear richly frogged coats, but this rule is constantly evaded. A firman, forbidding all adults to adopt this military dress, unless authorized to do so from rank, was issued by the Grand Vizir Izet Mehemet, in February, 1842. But the Armenians, especially the Catholics, who had assumed the coat, trousers, and fez, were so reluctant to resume their national attire, that interest was made by several wealthy bankers and others, and the firman remained a dead letter.

The jewel bazar, occupied exclusively by Armenians and Jews, is one of the busiest and 40
most wealthy portions of this vast labyrinth of streets. That part contiguous to "the bitter fountain," and running in a direct line past the north-east entrance of the Bezestan, is principally occupied by dealers in rings or other ornaments, mounted with imitation stones, for which there is great demand, especially for the interior. These imitations and other large stones of brilliant appearance, but of inferior quality, are called komshu tchatladan, (burst neighbor;) meaning that their glitter excites envy even to bursting.

All jewelers' shops are raised above the level of the pavement about four feet, and are open on three sides. They have an enclosed back-shop, where the work is carried on. In front is a narrow counter: on this stands one or more glass cases, in which articles are exposed for sale. Rich jewelry is not exhibited. It is either secured in the drawers of small lockers, placed at dealers' sides, or is preserved at Tchokadjelar Khan, where opulent jewelers hire apartments.

The only jewelry worn by the male sex is *youzook*, (finger-rings,) of brilliants, (brilanty,) rose diamonds, (*roza*,) rubies, (*yacoot*,) emeralds, (*zumrut*,) sapphires, (*geuk yacoot*,) opals, (*ainyshema*,) aquamarines, chrysopras, amethysts, and carbuncles (*selyân*.) These are either set plain, or ornamented with diamonds, and worn upon the little finger of the right hand. Little importance is attached to the setting.

The names given to each form are quaint. Thus the most valued are, sugar-loaf or Dervish cap (*Deda kulaf*); tombstone, (*mezar yappessy*,) oblong and oval; cupola, (*koobély*,) round oval; and square, (*punta*.)

Ladies also wear many finger-rings, but generally the forms are lighter and more graceful. Among the most fashionable are *Mehoor Suleimany*, (signet of Soliman,) consisting of two equilateral triangles of brilliants or other gems; *parmakhal halkassy* (finger-circle) of diamonds, rubies, &c., set like the hoop-rings of Europe; *tektash youzook*, consisting of a single large stone, in plain setting; and *gul*, (rose,) represented by a single stone, set round with small diamonds.

The principal articles of head-jewelry, worn by the fair sex, are *tepelik*, a kind of skull-cap, studded with diamonds, pearls, etc.; these are principally seen on the heads of wealthy Asiatic women; *ansilik*, resembling *Seigné*, *tchitchek*, (flowers or sprigs,) and *tchelenk* or *perushan* (*aigrettes*); *nazraskissy*, (for the evil eye,) consisting of three hollow pendants, in one of which is a small turquoise, in a second, the name of the Almighty, and in the third, a grain of alum, which latter is considered efficacious against sorcery; *yarmahy*, (crescents;) *yeldizena*, (stars,) united or separated; *patena* and *hadjilakoom*, pins studded with diamonds of various sizes and shapes. To these may be added *touhra*, most commonly that of the reigning Sultan, and diamonds set so as to form the talismanic word *Mashallah*, (as God wills it.) Strings or loops of pearls, held together by diamond clasps, are frequently fixed upon the *yeminy* (handkerchief) that is invariably attached across the front of the *fez*, the crown of which latter is also adorned with rays, stars, crescents, and *Mashallahs*, of brilliants and pearl drops.

Ladies also wear *kupa* (ear-rings) of pear-shaped pearls, or of rubies, diamonds, and emeralds, in the form of flowers; *abdest kupessy*, (ablution ear-rings,) so called from their being made of one large diamond, intended to represent a drop of water. Necklaces (*guirdanlyk*) most in request, consist of from ten to fourteen strings of pearls, twisted so as to form a coil, and clasped with brilliants or other precious stones. Venetian or Maltese gold chains are also much prized. From these are generally suspended *hammayil* or *nooshka*, (triangular or round gold locket for talismans,) and sometimes small Geneva watches, enameled, and set with diamonds.

Bracelets (*bilazik*) are less common, from the custom of wearing long loose sleeves, in order to facilitate ablutions; but latterly, this ancient fashion has been modified. Ladies of quality now frequently wear tighter sleeves, fastened at the wrists, which are ornamented with bracelets of pearls or precious stones, but rarely with those of chased gold. Some Turkish and almost all Armenian ladies wear bracelets, consisting of twenty or more strings of Venetian

chain, with large flat clasps studded with diamonds. Kooshak, (zones,) entirely studded with jewels, are sometimes made for the imperial harem, where the ladies also carry kessessy, (purses, or rather bags,) ornamented with gems.

The prodigal use of jewelry that distinguished the Constantinopolitan ladies in former times has been much modified; partly through the caprice of fashion, and partly from decreasing wealth among the higher classes. Indeed it is now the fashion for ladies of rank to divest themselves of these ornaments, and to transfer them to the heads of their children and favorite slaves.

Pearls, above all others, are employed in profusion to adorn the numerous long tresses of children of both sexes, whose fez are also richly ornamented in front with jewelry, whilst heavy loops of pearls are suspended from the center of the crown. Boys, generally speaking, wear 43 their hair in this manner until the period of circumcision, and girls are permitted to show their luxuriant pearl-woven tresses, until they attain the age of eleven or twelve. It is impossible to imagine creatures more beautiful than these dark-eyed lovely children, attired in all the fantastic colors of the rainbow—their raven hair and scarlet fez glittering with pearls and costly gems.

Turquoises, (perooza,) the fortunate stones of Persia, are little esteemed at Constantinople. They have not sufficient brilliancy to please the general taste, and being in great demand with Europeans, they are proportionately dearer than stones of greater intrinsic worth. Good turquoises are likewise extremely rare, and are becoming daily more so, from the diminished supply from Persia, and from the finest stones being purchased for the Russian market, and thence disseminated throughout Europe.

Armenian jewelers draw graceful designs, if furnished with an idea, and produce correct imitations of European fashions, with a certain admixture of Eastern originality, when provided with models.

The trade may be divided into several classes, all centering in one point—the selling jeweler—but each carrying on a distinct branch. These are the diamond-merchants, and dealers in precious stones, who draw their supplies of brilliants and roses from Holland, their rubies from Persia, their emeralds from India and Egypt, their pearls from the Persian gulf, and their opals much esteemed when fine, from Hungary. Of these, the most in favor are rubies. Nevertheless, the price of the latter is comparatively cheaper than in Paris and London. Emeralds of fine water are scarce. Among their merits is that of being preservatives against serpents, who it is supposed cannot resist their brilliant luster.

The second class consists of merchants or bankers, such as the great family of Duz Oglou and others, who do not employ workmen, but act as brokers or agents to rich Turks. They generally have a supply of ready-made articles for sudden demand, or receive and execute the commissions of employers.

Thence they are called donadijee, (purveyors.) When employed by wealthy pashas, 44 especially those in the provinces, these purveyors make large profits, the articles being purchased from them on credit, for which 1s to 25 per cent interest is frequently charged.

The third class are the working jewelers, (sadykiar,) who design and prepare the setting in a rough state. This done, the article is made over to the engraver, (kalemkiar,) who finishes the setting, and transfers it to the makhlaedjee, who inserts the stones. Being so far advanced, it is carried to the polisher, (pirdakjee,) and when finished, is returned to the master jeweler,

who, after calculating the weight of gold and value of stones when furnished by himself, adds about 20 per cent to the actual price of labor, as his own profit.

Another class consists of gumushjee (silversmiths) and zarfjee, who manufacture the eggcup-shaped holders (zarf) for coffee cups, (finjan,) and all kinds of silver articles, such as frames and cases for the small looking-glasses (aina) used by ladies, bottles for rose-water, cassolets for burning perfumes, talisman cases, and so forth. These articles are sold by the drachm, at from five to ten piastres. All these persons deal in coral, (merjian,) which is dearer than common silver; but there are distinct coral merchants, (merjianjee,) who sell rosaries, necklaces, amulets, spoon-handles, and fragments of coral for inlaying fire and side arms. Lapidaries and polishers, with few exceptions Jews, work in a small street branching from the drapers' market. The most celebrated diamond-cutter is an Armenian, principally occupied in working for the imperial family.

A curious anecdote is related of the melancholy fate that befell a rich Armenian jeweler, during the reign of Sultan Mahmoud I One of the great crown jewels, called Tchoban tashy, (shepherd's stone,) requiring new setting, was carried by the imperial Khazna Kiayhassy (intendant of treasury) to an aged jeweler, renowned for his skill and probity. In order to prevent all possibility of being robbed or disturbed during the time this precious diamond was confided to his charge, the jeweler shut himself up in his workshop with his son, and commenced operations.

- 45 Being fearful of breaking or injuring the stone, the old man worked with the utmost caution; but, in the course of the second morning, his hand unfortunately slipped, and, to his extreme terror, the diamond appeared to present a flaw, running from one side to the other. Knowing that his head would be the probable forfeit of his maladdress, the unfortunate man exclaimed, "I am lost, lost! the stone is broken!" and, falling back from his stool, expired before his son could rise and call for assistance. Excess of terror had produced congestion of the brain.

As soon as the son had ascertained that his father was no more, he turned towards the cause of his misfortune, intending to proceed without delay to the imperial palace, and if possible, save himself from the fate which he supposed might await him. But all fears for his own safety were speedily removed. Upon examining the diamond he found it uninjured. A gray hair from the father's eyebrow had fallen transversely upon the stone, and having been mistaken by him for a flaw, had produced the catastrophe.

This diamond, which still forms one of the most valuable jewels in the imperial collection, is said to weigh twenty-five carats. Its antiquity exceeds, if possible, its brilliancy, and in other countries would add to its worth. It is supposed to have belonged to the crown of Justinian, and to have been lost by him (A.D. 549) as he was proceeding in state from the palace of the Acropolis to that of the Hebdomon, now called Tekfur Serai, erected by Constantine.

- 48 Many inferior collectors, Armenians and Greeks, are to be met with at Pera. Experienced residents find these men useful, and monopolize their best discoveries. But travelers should be upon their guard against the roguery and artifices of these dealers, who do not scruple to pass off spurious coins, and these frequently so well imitated, as to deceive practiced eyes. The most honest and the only well-educated and trustworthy retailing antiquarian at Pera is a young Armenian, named Serope (Serafin) Alischan, whose father, a respectable apothecary,

was himself an esteemed collector. This young man, who speaks French with great fluency and correctness, may be heard of at the pharmacy of his brother in Aladsha Hammam, and will be found not only useful and intelligent, but ready to impart his information and lend his assistance to those who may consult him, in purchasing coins or other objects of antiquity.

Notwithstanding the universal use of carpets, the trade in indigenous and Oriental 77
produce has latterly decreased. The introduction of the cheaper manufactures of Europe, largely imported by Greek and Armenian merchants, has diminished the profits of the old carpet dealers, by circumscribing the use of Eastern articles, especially of those kinds used for covering floors.

The gate conducting from the internal portion of Ozoon Tcharshy is opposite to another 80
gate, opening into the eternal continuation of this long bazar, which eventually terminates near the dried fruit market. This prolongation is principally occupied by Armenians, who deal in cotton goods of inferior quality.

Among them are venders of kalemker; dulbendjee (muslin l sellers); kessajee (tobacco-bag 81
makers); shamdanjee (sellers of brass candlesticks); and miskjee (perfumers); with here and there shoemakers and tailors. Here also reside dealers in the small red skull-caps worn by the Asiatic women. These caps are made of scarlet shaloon, and the top ornamented with colored cotton braiding.

Three Years in Constantinople; or, Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844.

Charles White

Second edition. In three volumes. London, Henry Colburn, 1846

<Vol. II>

On re-entering the bazars by the gate opposite to Noory Osmanya Mosque . . . The first shops 31
are those of Armenian and Greek finjanjar (cup or porcelain dealers) . . .

The culinary art in Turkey varies, as it does elsewhere, according to the fortune and taste 89
of its patrons. Men cooks, principally Armenians or Greeks, are employed by the wealthy.

From the absence of running water, the mills of Constantinople are exclusively turned by 117
horses. Workmen, with few exceptions Moslems and Armenians from the province of Van, are brought up to the trade from generation to generation.

<The tandoors> are frames of wood, like a table without its horizontal planks. The 139
mangal, with the charcoal reduced to ashes, is deposited underneath. The frame is then covered with one or more blankets, or quilted coverlets, and sometimes with costly shawls or rich embroidered cloths. The family, seated on the floor, supported by cushions, or upon divans, assemble round this frame, and thrusting half their persons underneath, draw up the coverlets over their chests and chins. Turkish, Armenian, Greek, and Perote ladies will thus sit in listless during many hours.

In Turkish houses and in those of the so-called "Heretic" Armenians, where there is no

admixture of the sexes, and where ancient purity of morals is retained, these tandoors have no other disadvantage than those of encouraging drowsy waste of time, and perhaps causing maladies, resulting from impure and concentrated heat. But with Greeks, Perotes, and many "Latin" Armenians,* who are "progressing in civilization," the case is different.

159 Arabic talismans, or those in Kufic characters, are rare; but still more rare are the cylindrical or barrel-shaped seals of Babylon. The latter seldom find their way to Constantinople, where, from ignorance of, and indifference to, all subjects of antiquity, not immediately connected with their own faith, these interesting relics of ancient art are neither prized nor sought for by Turks. Some specimens may nevertheless be met with, but not in the engravers' bazar.

The dealers in such articles are Arabs, or Armenian merchants from the interior of Asia; and retailers are generally Greeks and Armenians, belonging to that class to whose rogueries there are only one or two exceptions named elsewhere. But strangers, visiting Constantinople, have little chance of purchasing additions to their collections of gems, intaglios, or antiques of any kind, save through the agency of these men, and even then they incur risk of being deceived with spurious specimens. It is well known that manufactories for such articles are established in Italy, and that their productions are forwarded for sale to the Levant. The Pera dealers have, moreover, their regular customers, who gladly purchase all rare or valuable articles, and leave the refuse to travelers.

176 The principal architects, at the present day, are Armenians, who for the most part employ workmen of their own faith. In these operations, however, carpenters are more necessary than bricklayers or masons, whose duties are limited to foundations and roofs—all intervening parts, excepting the edeb khana, kitchen chimney, and bath, being of wood.

186 The kazasslar, or dealers in puyskul (fez tassels) and silk twist, form a numerous and wealthy company. They are almost all Armenians, Greeks, and Hebrews. The orange of head-dress has added to their profits, as every individual, high or low, of both sexes, uses at least one fez tassel yearly. These are sold by weight at one piastre per drachm. Near to their shops are the manufacturers of the ornamental silk lace or braiding (arj), employed for trimming gowns and ferijeas. They are of various colors and patterns, neatly woven, and are considered as an essential finish to ladies' dresses. Some times they are of plain black, when worn with geranium colored silks; sometimes of many colors mixed, when added to silk plaids, now much in fashion in the harems; sometimes they are of gold, or gold and silk (klaptanly or ussain arj), when the entary consists of crimson or green brocade.† These braidings are of all prices and patterns, and are made exclusively by Armenians, whose small and delicate hands are well adapted for this work.‡

* The Catholic, or as they style themselves Latin Armenians, now designate the Schismatic Armenians as heretics.

† Arj, strictly speaking, means a costly article, a superfluity.

‡ It is somewhat remarkable that, whilst the hands and feet of male Armenians are comparatively delicate, those of the women are proverbially coarse.

One of the first objects that strike travelers upon reaching Constantinople is the unsightly kettle-shaped kalpak worn by Armenians. A head-dress more graceless and apparently inconvenient could not have been invented; and its ugliness is increased by the wearers' heads being shaved, except on the crown, upon which the kalpak is perched. The Jewel Bazar, entirely tenanted by Armenians, derives a most formidable and dismal appearance from these caps. It is difficult to comprehend the object of those who imposed kalpaks upon the Armenians, unless it was to add inconvenience to ridicule, and to destroy, as far as possible, every trace of the comeliness with which nature has lavishly endowed this handsome race. 187

Having one day asked an old Armenian what was the origin of the kalpak, and why this unseemly head-dress had been selected, he replied, "Are we not Rayas? Do not the Turks desire to blacken our heads as well as our faces?" Now it appears that the patriarchs of the Armenians, and not the Turks, were the first inventors of this lugubrious bonnet. Their object was to adopt and perpetuate a head-dress that might distinguish them from the Greeks, between whom and the Armenians there exists greater jealousy than between Papists and Protestants.

These caps are composed of fine black lamb-skin, stretched upon pasteboard forms. They are made by Armenians in Kalpakjylar Tcharshyssy. The skins are for the most part imported from Ourlak, in Russian Tartary, but the finest are brought from Khiva and Bokhara. A good kalpak costs from 150 to 200 piastres. The elderly Schismatics and a portion of their families rigidly adhere to these caps, but fez are gradually substituted among the Catholics and young Schismatics; and ere long all their faces will be whitened, in so far as depends upon the abolition of kalpaks. 188

These changes have not taken place without causing dissatisfaction and disquietude to the Porte. They have been considered as attempts on the part of Rayas to abolish the distinctions of dress, which at once point them out as dependents on the dominant race. It was in consequence of this that Izet Mohammed, Grand Vizir in 1842, issued a firman, forbidding all Turkish subjects not authorized by civil or military rank, and especially Rayas, to wear coats ornamented with frogs or braiding, and commanding those Rayas who had adopted the fez to resume the kalpak.

This firman, read in the Turkish mosques and in Christian churches, produced so much discontent among Rayas, that petitions were addressed by the syndics of the different esnafs to the Sultan, praying his Imperial Majesty to rescind the edict. The result was concession as regarded the kalpak, but it was enjoined that all Rayas should attach a strip of black ribbon to the side of the fez, or affix to it a brass gilt ornament denoting their trade or profession.

Thus, for instance, the fez of Armenian or Greek watch makers are sometimes ornamented with a watch-plate, encircled by a gilt scroll, indicative of their craft. The council of twelve Armenian bankers, who form the Mint or Finance Committee, under the direction of the Mailya Naziry (Finance Minister), are permitted to wear the Sultan's cipher in gold on their fez. This symbol of bondage sits lightly upon their heads, being amply counterbalanced by enormous profits.

The cross-alleys contiguous to the cap-makers' stalls are occupied by venders of ferijeess worn by all classes. This portion of female attire, without which no woman, unless a newly-purchased slave, can appear abroad, is of the same form for high and low. It is made of fine

broad cloth for winter, and of light merino, chaly, or serge, for summer. The prevalent colors are dark blue and olive, but lilac, light brown, and even dark red, are not uncommon. Green is reserved for Prophet's kin.

The shape of the ferijee is that of a large cloak, with the addition of a square cape falling from the neck to the ground. They are sometimes lined with white or black satin, and ornamented with tassels and an edging of velvet, ribbon, or braiding (arj). Women of the higher classes generally avoid glaring colors or additional ornaments. This is observable in the harems of sultanas and grand dignitaries. The ferijees worn by Armenians are of the same form, but they are limited to dark colors. The price of a ferijee of fine cloth varies from four hundred to five hundred piastres, and when lined and trimmed reaches one thousand . . .

Among kazasslar and iprikjee (silk braid and twist dealers), are shops of saltajee, whose wares cannot fail to attract notice. They deal in women's and children's dolmans and jackets, called saltamarca, an evident corruption of Santo Marco, and a relic of the old juste-au-corps, worn by the Venetians when they disputed possession of Galata with the Genoese. These
 190 jackets are of light cloth, velvet, or merino, of bright colors, richly | embroidered in gold and colored silks, without buttons, and with short half sleeves. They are worn over the entary in winter, and form a picturesque addition to the rich and original costume of the fair sex. They are, however, more in vogue in the provinces than in the capital. Ladies of fashion look upon them as gaudy and in bad taste. The latter, however, purchase them for their lovely children and female slaves, upon whose attire they lavish the richest resources of the toilet. This custom is what is termed the *grand genre* by the French; it being common for ladies of the greatest wealth and highest estate to limit themselves to printed cottons or figured muslins, while their children and slaves are dressed in rich silks, velvets, and brocades.

Upon quitting the labyrinth of shops on the eastern side of Ozoon Tcharsshy, many intricate alleys are seen in the opposite direction. These are tenanted by Armenian kapamajee (ready-made clothes men), clamorous to attract customers. They deal in entary (robes or gowns) for both sexes; shalwars (trousers) of silk, printed cotton, and figured muslin, for women; tchasgur (men's wide trousers) of crimson, amaranth, or violet cloth, or merino; yelek (waistcoats) of silk, embroidered with black braiding, and many other articles.

This portion of the bazar is one of the first points of attraction, as the kapamajee deal in the ready-made articles which are eagerly purchased for dressing gowns, though inconvenient in form and width for the destined object. These gowns are the common robe worn by those who retain the ancient costume, and are of Broussa or Selimya silks. The price of an entary of good quality is about ninety piastres; of shalwars forty-five, and of yelek thirty. Tchasgur
 191 cost from seventy to eighty, and | are better fitted for dressing gown trousers, than the short shalwar.*

* The following is a list of all articles composing the attire of both sexes:—
 Female Dress.

Entary—Gown. Shalwar—Trousers. Giumlik—Chemise. Dyslik—Linen drawers. Outchkoor—Waist girdle passed through hem of shalwar. Kooshak—Shawl waist girdle. Fotazy—Head dress, comprising fez and kalemker, handkerchief, or yeminy. Tchipskip—House slippers (embroidered). Tirlik, or tchedik—Yellow walking boots. Papoosh—Slippers. Ferijee—Cloak. Yashmak—Veil. Seimen—Wadded jacket, for winter. Kurk—Fur pelisse. These articles are worn also by Armenian women.

Little being known in Europe of the materials and component parts of Turkish ladies' dress, I will seek to describe them as briefly and clearly as possible, and this in the order which custom indicates their adaptation to the person. 192

1st. Giumlik, (shirts) are invariably made of the a cotton and woollen stuff called birunjuk. Formerly, the front was left open as far as the waist, and thus exposed more of nature's secrets than is accordant with European notions of propriety, notwithstanding the open-hearted candor of the lady of mature age and high degree, previously mentioned. But the fashion has been modified and the giumlik is now fastened at the throat by a diamond, pearl, or coral button, and closed over the chest with two or three similar ornaments. The sleeves are loose, and the whole is edged with satin. The lovely Balkis has the merit of having introduced this essential article of raiment.

2. Dyslik are of calico, very wide, drawn close round the loins with an outhckoor, and tied at the knee, whence their literal name (knee things). The use of cotton stockings is gradually spreading, but they are not common, though the lower orders wear coarse worsted socks during winter. The vanity of some fair stocking wearers having led them, when descending from arabas, to expose more of their ankles and superposed strata, than was considered correct, complaints on this score were made by sundry of the orthodox to the Sheikh Islam. This functionary, whose special duty it is to keep a watchful eye over Satan and his temptations, and to inculcate modesty and adherence to rules, issued a monitory firman in the spring of 1841.

It was thereby notified to those of the fair sex who I might adopt superfluous innovations (stockings), that they were intended as additional coverings to the person, and not as pretexts for attracting impure eyes to forbidden regions. This firman was not more ridiculous than the police order of his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, enjoining all female opera dancers to clothe the upper portion of their nether persons in azure blue "knee things." 193

3rd. Shalwars are loose trousers, nearly three yards wide at the waist, and diminishing to about eighteen inches at the extremity of the leg. They are drawn together and supported by an outhckoor, run through a broad hem, and richly embroidered at the ends. The extremities are fastened by loops below the knees, whence they fall in large folds over the ankles. Shalwars are made of various materials according to seasons, tastes, and fortunes.

First-class Odaliks of the palace are celebrated for the splendor of their shalwars and indeed of their whole attire. The pieces of silk or brocade, called caftan, required for their shalwars and gown, and measuring eight yards, commonly cost from one thousand to one thousand five hundred piastres. Shalwars render the same service to Turkish and Armenian ladies as petticoats and slips to those of Europe. Flannel is never used, and thus there is no danger of the eye being incommoded by those prosaic, anti-rheumatic additions to English

Men's Attire, Old Costume.

Giumlik—Shirt. Entary—Gown. Djubba—Cloth or camlet robe. Tchasgur—Trousers. Don—Linen drawers. Yelek—Waistcoat. Kooshak—Waist shawl. Outhckoor—Trouser girdle. Papoosh—Slippers. Mest—Yellow boots. Fez. Benish—Upper robe of cloth. Kurk—Pelisse, or caftan.

The Armenian dress of males is similar in all respects to that of Turks, save in the kalpak, in the slippers and boots being of dark crimson, and in the restriction to sombre colors. The Armenians also wear clumsy Tartar boots (djismy), shod with iron cramps, in winter.

ladies' attire, the sickly extremities of which are too often observed to emerge from well-merited obscurity.

4th. Entary (gowns) are most difficult to describe; the form, especially that of the skirt, being unlike any thing within the range of European fancy. The back is closed and adheres
 194 tightly to the figure. The front is | open, much cut away, and merely closed by three or four buttons at the waist; the sleeves are tight from the shoulder to below the elbow, and, being much longer than the arm, hang down and exhibit the sleeve of the *giumlik*. The skirt is at least two feet longer than the person, and is divided below the waist into three breadths, the ends of which are tucked up when walking and secured beneath the waist shawl.

Entarys are made of the same materials as shalwars, and are lined with calico or silk, and trimmed with *arj*. They are worn at home and abroad, and, in spite of their singular conformation, have a graceful and easy appearance. It is remarked by the bazar dealers, that, whilst the dress of Turkish ladies becomes every day more simple, that of Armenian women improves in richness. The most costly stuffs, native and foreign, are purchased by the latter, while the former content themselves with *chintzes* and cottons. This is partly ascribed to fashion; but the truth is, that a vast portion of the wealth of the capital has passed into the coffers of the Armenians; and *Rayas*, being now comparatively secure from confiscation and persecution, do not scruple to adorn their persons in a manner commensurate with their riches. The splendor of the Armenian ladies' toilet, at their marriage feasts and other ceremonies of rejoicing, can not be surpassed, albeit their taste is very questionable, and they are laughed at by Turkish women for their absence of art and fashion, as much as provincial women are criticized by the lionesses of Paris.

195 5. The *kooshak* is invariably of narrow shawl. It is fastened twice round the loins, and the ends are turned in, and rolled flat in front. The *kooshak* is a receptacle for pocket handkerchiefs, and sometimes for embroidered money bags. Few ladies wear watches, and none carry poniards. Fans are unknown and parasols rare. Both are replaced by *yelpazy* (hand-screens of feathers). The custom of tingeing the nails with henna has been abandoned by ladies of quality, who have for the most part adopted thread-gloves.

6. *Tchipship* are worn at home only. Yellow boots and slippers are reserved for going abroad. The customs attendant upon the use of these articles have been described when we visited the shoe market.

7. *Fotaza*. The head-dress consists of two parts—the *fez* and *yeminy* (handkerchief). The former are of the finest felt, broad at top, and ornamented with a rich blue tassel, spread over the crown and falling a few inches down the back. The *fez* is set back on the head, and the crown is frequently ornamented with rays of diamonds, rich embroidery, or coils of pearls. *Yeminy* are the colored muslin handkerchiefs, called *kalemkery*, described elsewhere. They are doubled across the front of the *fez*, so that the double is attached over one ear, and the ends, fastened above the other, hang down a few inches. It is upon these *yeminy* that ladies affix diamonds and other jewelry, worn in the hair by Europeans.

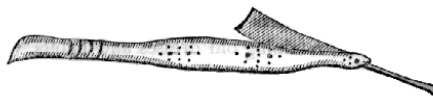
Such are the principal portions of the female indoor attire, which is completed in winter by a *kurk*.

Ferijees have been described. *Yashmaks* consist of two pieces of fine muslin. One of these is placed across the lower part of the face, so as to cover the chest, chin, mouth, and bridge of
 196 the nose, and is tied or pinned at | the back of the head. The other is drawn across the

forehead, so as to conceal the eyebrows and the whole of the head, and, being pinned behind the ears, falls down the back, beneath the ferijee. The yashmaks of Armenians are distinguished from those of Turks, by the former being so put on as to show the whole nose but not the mouth. This distinction is imperative. Were Armenians to wear yashmaks over the nose, they would be subject to reprimand as desirous to pass for Turkish ladies; and, were the latter to uncover this member, they would be mistaken for Armenians or something infinitely worse. In fact, none but the most unblushing portion of the sex ever infringe this custom.

Although Teriaky Tcharsshy has lost merit as the resort of opium-eaters, it retains its 229 reputation as the residence of most expert barbers. This profession, now principally exercised by Armenians, is generally united with that of coffee-house keeper. Although the fashion of wearing hair is becoming universal, the barber's trade is still lucrative, and the corporation extensive. This may be observed on passing the coffee-houses, of which more than 2,700 are said to exist in the city and suburbs. Their frequenters are numerous; two-thirds are elderly men, still retaining old dresses and habits. The barbers of Eyoub, however, are regarded as the most expert of the whole craft. The inhabitants of this most devout suburb adhere more rigidly than all others to ancient customs, and the barbers, almost all Moslems, have been as much celebrated since the conquest for their excellent lather and sharp razors as are the makers of yaoort and kaimak (sour milk and clotted cream) for their superior productions.

The address of the Constantinopolitan barbers is as remarkable as their implements are 230 apparently clumsy razor blades, made in England and Germany, expressly for the Turkey market, are imported wholesale by commission houses, and retailed in packets to the razor makers, whose principal abodes are inside the western wall of the Shahzadeh-Mosque court. The business of the latter is merely to fit the short, broad blade to its long, round handle of ivory, bone, or stained wood, ornamented at the end with coral or amber, so that the closed razor appears thus:—



The art of self-shaving being unknown in the East, oostoorajees' (razor-makers') customers are limited to barbers, who also purchase at the same shops the depilatory tweezers with which they extract superfluous hair from the cheeks, and thus give to the beard that regular form which is the characteristic of well dressed Stambol faces. With the above tools, a small Mambrino basin for lather, a strip of leather hanging to the waist for strop, and a colored rag for razor-cloth, the barber prepares for duty. The customer, having drunk his coffee and smoked his pipe, leans against the angle of the elevated wooden seat that runs round all coffee-houses; the barber, wearing a colored handkerchief as apron, throws a towel over the patient's shoulder, and, having sufficiently humected the head or face with soap-water, proceeds to business with extraordinary neatness and rapidity.

If the customer wears a beard the head is alone shaved, and the tweezers regulate the 231 cheeks. If the beard is not worn, as is the case with all officers under the rank of Pasha, and all persons attached to the Imperial household, the razor is applied, and the mustache is alone

spared. When the operation is completed, the patient is offered a small looking-glass, and he sees with satisfaction that his beard, mustache, and eye-brows are trimmed with mathematical precision; that not a single hair trespasses upon the line of demarcation, and that his head is devoid of all superfluities, save the small tuft at the summit, by which the common people suppose that their guardian angel will, please God, gently raise them into Paradise, when Izrafil shall summon the blessed with the echoes of his melodious trumpet.

The barbers' trade is not limited to the process of shaving. They are pedicurists, and sometimes tooth drawers, which latter art is announced by a triangular mosaic of teeth and glass beads suspended over their doors. The teeth are trophies indicative of their skill: the glass is intended as a charm against the evil eye. Barbers are all phlebotomists with lancet or leech. The former mode of depletion is less common than the latter. Leeches are sovereign specifics with the faculty, both native and foreign, and are perhaps essential in a country where the prevalent maladies are of an inflammatory character.

232 The leech fishery forms an item of government monopoly, and is farmed yearly by an Armenian company, under the direction of the sooluk eminy (leech inspector), whose business it is to estimate the value of the fisheries, to fix the amount of contract, and to account for proceeds. The exportation to Germany and Russia is | immense. Many commercial houses are engaged in this trade. The leeches of Anatolia are larger than those of Roomelia, and are more esteemed by the faculty, as they are said to be more eager to perform their duty, and more capable of extracting larger quantities than those of Roomelia.

The price paid to a barber for each leech in 1843 was one piastre (two pence), with a small fee for attendance. The latter is given with great care and address, and the operation is less troublesome than in Europe. In order to stop the hemorrhage, a coating of pounded coffee is applied. This produces the effect of a strong styptic without inflammation.

287 The family of Duz Oglou, the wealthy Armenian banker, and some others of the same nation, are celebrated for their stables. The Duz Oglou have no objection to sell, but their prices are exorbitant.

324 Upward of eight thousand five hundred hamals are registered in the books of the two hamal bashy, one of whom has his office at the custom-house, and the other at the ikhtisab konak (chief police office) at Galata. Two-thirds are Armenians from the province of Van and neighboring districts; the remainder are Moslems from the pashaliks of Trebizonde, Aidin, and the Taurus districts. They supply the place of wheeled vehicles, and are indispensable in a city where the progress or passage of carts would be impracticable.

Both Moslem and Armenian porters consider the profession as an heirloom, and generally rear up their sons to the same occupation, much in the manner that the Bosphorus Greeks monopolize the craft of water-men. The whole body is registered, in squads, having their appointed stations under a vekil (deputy). The whole are divided into two classes. The one called yook hamal, work singly and carry loads upon their backs, with the aid of a thick leather pad (arkaluk), fastened by straps crossing the shoulders. This pad hangs low down, and its projection forms a rest for the load. When in motion, the body is bent nearly horizontal, and thus the weight rests principally upon the loins. A stout man will in this manner carry from six to eight cwt.

The second class, called *suruk*, work in gangs of two, four, six, or eight. Each couple is provided with a pliant ashen pole (*suruk*) about twelve feet long, the ends of which rest upon the left shoulders. The load is suspended to the center of the pole, when two men are required; but when six or eight unite, it is first made fast to three pieces of wood exactly 325 imitating the bars used for leaders in coaches. The load is slung by cords to the longest or center bar, and each end of the smaller bars is affixed to a different pole. The bearers advance with a quick short step, four abreast, but somewhat obliquely. Each rests the right hand on the shoulder of him at his side. By this simple contrivance, and by keeping exact time and pace, eight of these sinewy men carry nearly a ton weight up the steepest and most tortuous alleys.

The number of porters at each station is determined by the *vekil*, who regulates the employ of hands to the demand, so that all may gain a fair livelihood. No *hamal* can ply at any station without the assent of this *vekil*. The usual fare is one piastre and a half each trip, for *yook hamals*. *Suruk* are paid in the same proportion, but are generally hired by the month by merchants and consignees. Divisions of men, working at each station, generally lodge together in the outskirts of the city and suburbs, and pay a fixed sum monthly to their *vekil*, who provides food and lodging. An equal portion of their earnings is thrown into a common purse and given to their chief, who, after deducting government tax and expenses for meals and lodging, divides the remainder fairly among them. Average earnings amount to eight piastres per day and expenses to four. Thus, at the end of ten or twelve years, the greater part retire to their native places with a considerable sum, part of which they previously convert into merchandise.

The internal regulations and by-laws of the corporation are severe. All infractions are punished by fine or ejection from the company; but their honesty and peaceable conduct are 326 as proverbial as their strength. They are entrusted by merchants with valuable parcels or bags of coin, and breaches of faith are unknown. The most athletic are those who unship and transport ox-hides, filled with Moldavian and Wallachian tallow. Powerful as they may be, they seem to stagger under the load. Their loud shouts of “*Saool! saool!*” (have a care) and their heavy breathing show their desire not to be impeded in their course, lest the dead weight should be increased by diminished impetus.

After passing *Oon Kapou* and the corn-factors’ sheds, rows of shops tenanted by common shoemakers, working braziers, grocers, and cooks, meet the eye, deafen the ear, and assail the nose. Then comes *Odoon Kapan* (wood store), where the whole supply of timber for builders, carpenters, and boatmen is piled. The merchants are exclusively Armenians, who carry on a flourishing trade, for which they are mainly indebted to the constant recurrence of fires, and to the obstinacy with which both government and people resist the adoption of masonry for building.

Charles Mac Farlane—1799–1858

*Turkey and its Destiny: the result of journeys made in 1847 and 1848 to examine
the state of that country.*

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A.D. 1847–1848

<Vol. I>

58 . . . The Armenians having, years ago, persuaded the Sultan that the proper way to improve the country was to begin by establishing in it all manner of manufactures, and so prevent the issue of money to England, France, and Germany; and that by importing a hundred or two of foreign workmen, and making them teach their arts to the people of the country, they could soon create a Turkish Manchester and Leeds, a Turkish Birmingham and Sheffield at Zeitoun Bournu, and produce (between that place and Macri-keui) every article that could be needed. Even if the plans had been honestly carried out by the Armenians, instead of being turned, as they were, into mere sources of jobbery and gaspillage, this would have been preposterous—a putting of the cart before the horse, a beginning at the wrong end with a vengeance!

104 I became convinced that although the houses of the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews were more numerous, the habitations of the Turks were less so than in 1828. The outward appearance of the city is deceptive; the Seven Hills of the Eastern Rome, with the valleys
105 between, looking, at a little distance, as if though they were completely covered with buildings. Within the city walls there are, in reality, numerous void spaces where no habitations have stood any time within the last century. Some of these desolate spots, in the midst of Constantinople, being traversed by roads seldom frequented, are perfect solitudes, where one may sit and muse on the mutabilities of glory and greatness, and the decay of empires, as among the ruins of Palmyra in the desert, and with scarcely more chance of being disturbed. Others of these open spaces are converted into orchards or kitchen gardens; the quarters they separate have different names, different inhabitants, very different habits. They are like six or seven large villages enclosed within the old walls of a city. Take away the mosques and the minarets, which show out always so beautifully, and sometimes so grandly, and you see hardly anything but small wooden houses, nearly everywhere going to ruin, and threatening to fall upon your head. Besides the old void spaces, we found many new ones caused by conflagrations of recent date; and of these last some were of considerable extent. If they occurred in a district (or village) inhabited by Greeks, or by Armenians, or by Jews, you were almost certain to see that they were gradually, and at times rapidly building new houses to supply the place of those which had been burned, but if they occurred in a wholly Mussulman quarter, and that quarter was not near to the Porte or the bazaars, the unsightly ruins remained as the conflagration had left them, and builder, or carpenter was rarely seen at work.

142 <In Brusa> One evening we climbed up to the new *Filatura di Seta*, an immense building erected by the potent Dooz Oghlous and their Catholic-Armenian associates. About hundred

and fifty women and girls were employed here in winding off silk from the cocoons. They were all either Armenians or Greeks. Turkish females cannot and will not be thus employed; they will rather do nothing and starve—and this was what too many of them were doing at Brusa, even at this season of the year. The Greek ladies were reported to be by far the quicker and cleverer, and the Armenians the more quiet and orderly. They could earn from nine pence to eleven pence a-day; and this was almost wealth, for the necessities of life were amazingly cheap even at this short distance from the capital. An exemplary order and cleanness reigned throughout the establishment, which was under the direction of two intelligent, well-informed Italians. The silk they produced was very superior in quality to the old Brusas; but it was all sent to the Sultan's own manufactory at Herek-keui, on the Gulf of Nicomedia, and there either wasted or worked up at a ruinous expense, or left to accumulate in dirty damp magazines. The wheels of this system ran somewhat off the trams; and before we left Turkey 143 this Filatura was shut up, and the hundred and fifty females were sent back to their primal state of idleness and poverty.

We thought of taking up our lodging for the day and night in one of the khans, but our 324 friend the French consul at Brusa had written to M. Garabet, a Catholic Armenian merchant of the place, and this cheerful and hospitable man, who was, moreover, an old friend of our Tchelebee, would have us to his house for a week or ten days at least. This house, to which we were forthwith conducted, was most clean and comfortable; the projecting windows of the drawing-room commanded a curious and interesting view of the straggling town, the ruined castle and towers, the mosques, the chasm, the opposite mountains, and the bold bare rocks which stand at the head of the Kara-dere. There was a cheerfulness about the house and all in it, the like of which I had never seen before among Armenians; but the lady of the house was a Greek, and her liberal minded husband was only an Armenian by accident of descent. This general cheerfulness was the best welcome. Wherever I find sulky servants, I suspect my host to be a churl and niggard.

In the afternoon we went to one of the new khans— a spacious not inelegant building standing on a quadrangle with an open corridor on each side and a pleasant, cool fountain and kiosk (with a cafe under it) in the midst of the square. The apartments were occupied 325 as counting-houses and store-houses for silk; but I believe that some of them upstairs were occupied as lodging-houses. Below, the silk merchants, all the Catholic Armenians, were sitting at their several doors, smoking their tchibouques and gossiping—having nothing better to do, for there were no demands for England, and trade had long been very dull. The other new khan, which stands by the side of this, is entirely devoted to the accommodation of travelers. Compared with some of the splendid stone khans which were built by the Turks in the days of their greatness and prosperity, and which are now abandoned and in ruins, it might be called a mean wooden building; but it was roomy and convenient, the corridors and apartments were as yet neat and clean; and there was good stabling on the ground floor for horses and mules and the pack-horses that brought in silk.

The more solid and splendid khan, for warehouses, counting-houses, &c., was built entirely by a clever, active, and enterprising Catholic Armenian, Sandalji Oglou, and at his sole expense. The contiguous one was erected with money furnished by the Billjik silk-merchants and actors settled in Constantinople, but according to the plan and wholly under

the direction of Sandalji-Oglou. But for his khan this second one would never have been thought of. The places which existed before were horrible. Sandalji-Oglou was also the good engineer who planned this broad, open, airy street—the one broad street we saw in all Turkey. His plan was violently opposed: the Turks of the place wanted to show what he could mean
 326 by taking | up such a wide space, and having rows of houses built so far apart from each other; the Armenian shop keepers, having no notion that a street was a street, unless it was narrow, close, and crooked, and had a dirty kennel in the middle, said that it would look like country and not town, and that they should lose their custom; but the persevering Sandalji overcame these prejudices—the street was formed, and was now extending in length, and the most thriving shops in the town were in it.

M. Garabet, our host, conducted us to a very neat Filatura, above the town, and on the southern side of the rocky chasm, where we found some thirty or forty Armenian girls and young women winding off silk. In busier times many more hands were employed, and there were reels in many of the private houses giving occupation and the means of a tolerably comfortable subsistence to many families, who nearly all grew silk on their own account, some more and some less. Sandalji-Oglou introduced the large wheels and all the other improvements on the old machinery and processes. Before his time the Billijik silks stood low in the market; they now almost rival the best Brusas, being only a very little less fine than the Demirdesh-Brusa silks. This Sandalji-Oglou has been the Man of Ross—and more—of Billijik. He too has made the water flow from the dry rock . . .

327 He had erected a dwelling-house for himself which might serve as a model; through his exertions, and in | good part by his money, the Catholic Church had been rebuilt or repaired. He had roused the Armenians of the place from their Eastern lethargy, and had infused into the whole community some portion of his spirit and enterprise. He had brought down the rate of interest at Billijik to 15 per cent per annum; and high as this interest may appear in England, it was very moderate in Asia Minor. By the last measure he had excited the bitter hatred of many of the seraffs: but by it he had given an impulse to industry, and it was mainly through it that the town and neighborhood had risen from a state of misery to its present state of prosperity. He had erected no alms-houses nor did he feed one. He had done what was better; he had improved the industry of the place, and taught the people how to gain their own bread. Unfortunately at the time of our visit, this interesting, rare man was absent at Constantinople. He was described to us as an active, fearless person, not much above thirty years old. He had begun life as a poor, unfriended youth, and had found his way to wealth and to high credit by industry and perseverance, and by acting upon the principles that men must live and let live, that, whether in interest upon money or gains upon merchandise, to be over greedy of gain is to incur the great risk of eventual loss. He was convinced that most of the seraffs were ruining the poor people without benefiting themselves. This is a man the Sultan ought to delight to honor; but Sandalji-Oglou, being no intriguer, had no friends
 328 either in the palace or at the Porte. Like other men of his class, he wears a small decoration on his fez, embroidered in gold; but Abdul Medjid ought | forthwith to send him his highest Nishan. He is a good Catholic without being intolerant, and perhaps the most wonderful of his achievements is the having prevailed upon the Catholic and Eutychean Armenians of the place to live in peace and amity with one another.

The Armenians are as bad as the Turks, and the Greeks are not much better than the Armenians. They wantonly destroy or maltreat whatever comes in their way; but it is their incessant hungering after gold—their incurable fantasy that every thing that is old must contain some of the precious metals—which has hastened and is still hastening the destruction of all ancient relics.

Billijik contains about 1,340 houses, of which about 1,000 are Turkish, 300 Armenian, and 40 Catholic Armenian. The Armenian families were so large, and those of the Turks so small, that the Christians appeared to be as numerous as the Mussulmans. The most enterprising, prosperous, and civilized portion of the community was certainly the Catholic.

<Vol. II>

A shrewd old Turk said to us, “Our pashas are as hungry as ever. Their posts are not sold quite so openly as they used to be, but they are hardly ever obtained without bribery, and they are not to be retained without intrigue, and a heavy annual outlay in the shape of presents to the Sultan’s women, to the people about the Court, and to some of the Ministers. The pashas rob the people, but few of them grow very rich or long keep their wealth. They begin by contracting enormous debts with the Armenian seraffs, in order to obtain their places and have the means of entering upon them with state and dignity; some Armenian or other becomes the seraff of each of these great men, receiving his money, keeping his accounts and all the rest; and I have noticed that whenever a man gets into debt with Armenians, he is sure never to get clear again. The Armenians are eating us all up; they are getting all the money of the country into their own hands, or under their control. The Armenians have as much to do with government appointments as they had when the places were publicly sold. I should like to see the man that can step into a high place, and keep it, without their assistance. This Reshid Pasha has appointed many poor fellows to office; but it was the Armenian gold that paved the way for these men at Court; it was the money of the seraffs which gave them their outfit—their horses, their fine dresses, their costly rings, their diamond-mounted pipes—and it is by jobbing with the seraffs that they keep up their interest over at Stamboul. The Armenians must have heavy interest for their advances; and when you want to leave a ruined estate and a family to poverty, only allow an Armenian to manage your affairs for you! Believe me, under this boasted new system there is quite as much extortion as under the old. In Mahmoud’s days these Armenian seraffs and rapacious pashas now and then had their heads taken off, which was some comfort to us, although we did not get back the money of which they had robbed us; but now they rob and plunder as much as ever, and the punishment overtakes them. Now the pashas always screen themselves behind their Shoorahs or Councils, and no one is really responsible; and the Armenians, with their nishans and their honorable decorations embroidered on their caps, hold up their heads higher than the best of us Osmanlees, and are even allowed to entertain the Sultan at dinner in their own houses.”

The Armenians had of late been making great exertions to promote education, as well here as at Constantinople and Smyrna; but their efforts at Brusa did not appear to be very successful, and they were always changing their masters and complaining that good teachers could not be procured.

168 These usurers <the Armenian seraffs>, as I have said before, have their hands in everything; from the purchase of a cargo of Newcastle coals for the use of the Arsenal, to the marrying of a Sultana—nothing can be done without the Armenian seraffs!

177/8 The Armenian seraffs are leagued together; they | have got nearly all the money of the country into their hands; they, and they only, really regulate the finances and all other business of the empire; they have over all the great Turks the power which the creditor has over the debtor; and they have most determinately but blindly made up their minds to keep up the enormous price of money. I will here quote the opinions of a very able Englishman, who had studied the subject on the spot during fourteen years. My friend Mr. L in his correspondence with a London journal, had repeatedly and severely criticized the seraff-system. An Armenian published in a Malta newspaper an apology for the seraffs. His letter—otherwise worthless—provoked the following rejoinder from my friend: “The occupation of the seraffs is notorious:—they are neither more nor less than usurers,—*usurers in the worst and widest signification of the word*. The ‘Barings of Turkey’ lend out their money at the moderate rate of 8½ piastres per month on every Turkish purse, or 500 piastres, which amounts to 20 per cent per annum. There is scarcely a servant of the Government that is not down for more or less in their books. But the 20 per cent per annum on their advances forms the least part of their gains. The time comes when each of their clients is enabled, through their money and their intrigues, to purchase a place or a Pashalik in the interior, and necessarily in the absence of anything like hereditary riches among the Turks, none but such as have their support and are involved beyond redemption in their toils, can have the remotest chance of advancement. An honest and uncontaminated Turk never for a moment dreams of

179 such a thing. Well, with the day | of appointment to a place, the long-expected harvest of the seraff begins—the hour of wholesale plunder is at hand. Not satisfied with charging the money he has actually spent in these secret negotiations, he puts down enormous items for imaginary presents of amber mouth-pieces, jewels, etc. to ministers, *mabainjees*, &c., and—on the imaginary not less than the *bona fide* disbursement—substantial and accumulated interest is, to the last para, required. Under these circumstances, he of course takes care not to lose sight of his debtor, so that every Turkish beast of prey that goes forth to the provinces is accompanied by his Armenian jackal! Now, perhaps, the amiable correspondent of the Malta Mail (his travels in this country having probably not extended further than from Stamboul to the Princes’ Islands) may here inquire, what mischief can possibly arise from transactions so pleasant and so profitable as these? If he likes, I will explain it to him—I have with my own eyes seen the consequences of these usurious measures. I have seen (in the year 1846-7) villages ruined and depopulated by hundreds—nay, I have witnessed the progress of depopulation itself. I have seen families in the depth of winter, men, women, and children, half or wholly naked, shivering with cold and perishing with hunger, driven from their habitations in the Pashalik of Mosul, and seeking refuge from the tender mercies and paternal government of the Porte, even in the territory of the ruthless tyrant Bedr-Khan-Bey! The man who was chiefly instrumental in bringing Mosul to its present forlorn and desolate state, was Keritlu Oglou Mehemet Pasha. Would you wish to know what has become of him? His story

180 is instructive, and I shall copy it | verbatim from the correspondence of the ‘Morning Post,’ under date of the 4th of October:—

‘Denounced by the European consuls and convicted before the council of State, of the most horrible crimes, he was degraded from his rank and title, stripped of his ill-gotten wealth, and sentenced to an ignominious death. But the Sultan’s clemency was appealed to, his life was spared, and the sentence of death commuted into one of exile. In less than three years *that* also has been remitted—he has returned to Constantinople; nor is that all—his rank has been restored to him, and—will it be believed?—all this is but preparatory to his being invested with another Pashalik! Thus it is certain more villages will be ruined and their inhabitants set adrift, either to die in the woods, or to join the wandering and robber tribes of the desert. For heaven’s sake let the Sultan keep some of his compassion for his unoffending subjects! Neither must it be supposed that the case of Keritlu Oglou is a singular or a solitary one. A great majority, not only of the provincial Pashas, but also of the Cabinet Ministers, have at one time or other been guilty of the grossest malversation. By what means then, you will ask, do they contrive not only to escape punishment, but recover their lost rank and places? The whole secret of the matter is, that they are over head and ears in debt, and that which in every other country tends to overwhelm a man, here has the contrary effect of buoying him up. The Armenian seraffs or usurers, who are all powerful, must, in order to refund themselves, find places for their debtors, however criminal, and hence the system of universal impunity.’ . . .”

Robert Walsh—1772–1852

Constantinople and the scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor.

Illustrated in a series of drawings from nature by Thomas Allom, with an historical account of Constantinople, and descriptions of the plates
First Series. Fisher, Son, & Co., London, <1850>

A.D. 1850?

- 12 The Turks permit the Jews, Armenians, Greeks, and Franks to plant their cemeteries with other trees, but reserve the cypress exclusively to themselves.
- 29 Brousa stands upon an area of eight miles in circumference, and contains a population of 75,000 people, of whom 11,000 are Jews, and Christians of the Greek and Armenian Church.

Constantinople and the scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor.

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- 5 In the beginning of the last century it <Smyrna> contained 28,000 persons, of whom 11,000 were Christians of the Greek, Armenian, and the Latin churches, which have their respective temples, monasteries, and bishops. The present population is estimated at 100,000.
- 42 The present population of Ak Hissar amounts to between six and seven thousand inhabitants, of whom 1,500 are Christians of the Greek and Armenian churches, which have each respectively a place of worship.
- 48 A distinguishing characteristic of the turban was a small red cap, called a fez, which covered the crown, and round which the turban was wound. When this ponderous head-dress was laid aside by the sultan, the fez was retained, as a remnant of Orientalism, but as its circumference was less than that of a saucer, its border was enlarged till it reached the ears, and it became the adopted and distinguishing covering of the head under the new regime. It was originally manufactured at Tunis, and cost the government such immense sums, that the sultan resolved to establish a manufactory of it at home, and extensive edifices were erected for the purpose. A number of African workmen were invited, and they succeeded in every thing except the vivid color, the preparation of which was kept a profound secret at Tunis. At length the process was discovered by an intelligent and enterprising Armenian; and the establishment, now complete in all its parts, exceeds, perhaps, that of any in Europe.

Aubrey Thomas de Vere—1814–1902

Picturesque Sketches in Greece and Turkey.

Philadelphia, A. Hart, Late Carey and Hart, 1850

A.D. 1850

The Armenian women are, as a race, the most lovely I have seen. Their eyes combine 268 something of the Turkish languor with the “lamping” irradiation of the Greek. Their hair falls in waves of the glossiest black down their fair brows, and their complexion has the freshness 269 of the rosebud’s inmost leaf. Their forms are tall, and characterized at once by stateliness and a suave and gentle grace. Their movements are modest, but marked also by a soft decision. Nothing can exceed the picturesque beauty of those Armenian women, which is much increased by their oriental costume, their crimson slippers, their cloaks of brilliant green or blue, and the long white veils which stream over their drooping shoulders. They are accused of being insipid in character, the fact probably being that they are submissive, mild, and unadventurous.

In spite of the ordinary error, which associates especially with Mahometanism, that subjection of the female sex, which has prevailed in the East ever since the patriarchal times, the Christian Armenians not only live in as complete a seclusion as their Turkish sisters, but are also in quite as strict a thralldom. Notwithstanding, I should think it likely that they are happy in their domestic relations. The subjection of women in the East did not arise originally from any want of appreciation of that sex, though perhaps from an undue appreciation of one element which enters into its composition; and, like every other bondage long and willingly endured, has probably been maintained in consequence of the benefits it has conferred.

In summer this spot [the Valley of the Sweet Waters beyond the district of Eyoub] is, even 289 more than the Asiatic Valley of Sweet Waters, the resort of all who love idleness or gayety. On these occasions it is not the votaries of pleasure only whom you meet there; the merchant is there likewise, and not a little of business is done. There the Greek makes his best bargain, and talks his customer out of patience, if not out of countenance. The Jew there realizes his profit, and there the patient Armenian meditates, and turns whatever happens to the best account. That race interested me much during my stay at Constantinople. They belong for the most part to the Greek Church, but they are divided into several distinct religious communities, and no small proportion of them are governed by a Patriarch, who, though he preserves many local peculiarities of worship, acknowledges the supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff. One recognizes them at once by their high and oval foreheads, round which the hair is shaven, their extreme pallor, which in some parts of the face seems tinged with a faint lilac, their singular smoothness of countenance, their expression of long suffering (they have clung in their captivity to their ancestral institutes with almost a Jewish fidelity), and a certain heavy gleam in the drooping eye, which resembles a dying lamp when the light has burned down to the oil in which it is mirrored.

318 In a secluded spot a cypress wood rises along the green steep between the two [ancient] walls [of Constantinople], and spreads far beyond the outer one. In its shadow the Armenians have made their cemetery. That mournful region is perhaps the least lonely part of the ancient fortifications. There, beside a new-made grave, a veiled and silent woman meets the traveler's gaze; sitting hour after hour, like one who waits beside a gate which will be opened to her at last. She is seen by him as he rides out at noon, and seen again on his return. There also the Armenian who has lost no friend, but possesses no country, sometimes makes his retreat in the stranger's land, and muses on his native mountains far away, bathing his memories in the cold and gloomy waters of the remote lake Vau <Van>. His recollections of country and of race must lose whatever of bitterness may attach to them elsewhere in the presence of those walls which report the adversities of fourteen hundred years, and constitute an empire's monument.

George Percy Badger—1815–1888

The Nestorians and their Rituals, with the narrative of a mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan in 1842–1844, and of a late visit to those countries in 1850; also researches into the present condition of the Syrian Jacobites, Papal Syrians, and Chaldeans, and an inquiry into the religious tenets of the Yezedees.

In two volumes. Volume 1, Darf Publishers Limited, London, 1987

A.D. 1850

The Armenians at Amasia number five hundred families, who possess three churches, and are under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Tocat, the person at present filling that See being a deposed Patriarch.

The bulk of the population of Tocat is Moslem; the Papal Armenians number 150, and the Armenians 2,000 families, with seven churches and two monasteries in the vicinity of the town. The Greeks are estimated at 1,000 souls, with one church and three priests included within the diocese of the Bishop of Neo-Cesarea.

One-fourth of the population of Siwas consisted of Armenians, who number here 1,050 families, with three churches, several priests, and a bishop. The Papal Armenians do not amount to more than fifty persons, and hold their services in a private house.

. . . After traveling over an uninteresting route for five hours and a half we reached the village of Oolash, containing about sixty Armenian families, engaged principally as agriculturists and shepherds. The mud hovels of these Christians were dirty and comfortless, and the poor and oppressed people themselves seemed equally miserable. There are three priests and a small church in the village, and I was informed that an American Independent missionary, who had preceded me by a few days on his way to Mosul, had distributed numerous tracts among the villagers.

After resting an hour we traveled over a wild and barren country, and at 3 P.M. put up at Kangal, a village containing twelve Armenian and twenty Mussulman families.

Kabban Maaden appears to be in a very flourishing condition, and we remarked that the Christians here did not complain of oppression. The town contains twenty families of the Greek rites with two churches and a Bishop, besides a monastery in the vicinity. The Armenians, who are under the Bishop of Siwas number four hundred families and possess two churches.

. . . Six hours after leaving Kabban Maaden, we reached the Armenian village of Arpaoot . . . a troop of Albanians had been quartered upon the poor Christians for the last fifteen days, and were still eating up their scanty provisions like a flight of locusts . . .

. . . Three hours after leaving Pelté we reached Mezraa . . . On our way, we passed the large village of Koolverk, near which is a monastery, both inhabited by Armenians.

- 34 At whatever town or village a Pasha and his suite, (in this instance it consisted of three hundred mounted followers), put up during their journey, the poor inhabitants are obliged to supply all their wants gratuitously, and not infrequently get abuse and stripes into the bargain. This is the third appointment to the pashalic of Kharpoot during the current year; and as every new governor generally attains to office by a large bribe, he naturally seeks to make good his advance with interest during his uncertain continuance in office; and to come at this, the poor subjects are ground to the dust by the fresh exactions of each succeeding tyrant who is sent to rule over them. They may talk of the Hatti Shereef, that vain chapter of privileges, in London or Paris, and praise the toleration and justice which it awards to all classes of the Sultan's subjects; but beyond the immediate eye of the ambassadors, this far-famed Magna Charta is no better than a mockery.
- 35 There are at Arghana Maaden 150 Moslem, 200 Greek, and 190 Armenian families. The Greeks have a church, four priests, and a school in the town, which is the only place on our road where we found this people speak their own native language; those we had met with hitherto spoke Turkish, which they write in Greek characters. They are reckoned within the diocese of Kabban Maaden. The Armenians, who also have a church here, are under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Arabkir. As might have been expected, they knew nothing of the English Church, and had only heard of us as being Lutherans.
- 36 We left Arghana Maaden at 6 A.M. and after traveling about five miles crossed another tributary of the Tigris over a good bridge. In three hours we reached Arghana, situated on the sides and summit of a high hill, and inhabited by 400 Armenian and 200 Mohammedan families. There are two churches in the town, and a large monastery built upon a craggy eminence, and commanding an extensive view of the wide plain which stretches to the south so far as the eye can reach.
- 41 Turkish and Coordish are the two languages generally spoken by the inhabitants <in Diarbekir>, Arabic being but little known. The population of the place is more than half Moslem, including Turks, Arabs, and Coords; of the Christians I shall speak more in detail.
- According to the last census, the Armenians of Diarbekir number 1,700 families, with two churches, a Bishop, and thirty priests; there are besides several villages of the same rite in the vicinity of the town. The churches, one of which has been lately rebuilt, are spacious edifices, and connected with each is a school in which 300 children receive regular instruction in ancient and modern Armenian. Bishop Ego being absent, I had a long interview with his archdeacon and with many of the priests, who were anxious to hear of our Church and people. They were surprised to learn that we had bishops in England, and that in other important respects we differed from the Independents.
- Until lately the Papal Armenians worshipped with the Chaldeans, but they have now built a splendid church. They number about seventy-five families with two resident priests, and their numbers are said to be on the increase.
- 46 We had now fairly entered upon the Coordish district, as nearly all the villages from Diarbekir to Mosul are inhabited by this race. So many and grievous were the complaints of

these peasants against the cruelty and oppression of their Turkish rulers, that the stand which they made a few years after under Bedr Khan Beg, the Emeer of Jezeerah, is not a matter of surprise. I frequently inquired why so many of their countrymen became rebels, and they uniformly replied in language to this effect: "What can we do? If we descend into the plains, build us villages, plant vineyards, grow corn and barley, and till the barren soil, we are so overwhelmed with taxation and impositions of every kind, that our labor, though blessed of God, is of no profit to ourselves. We continue poor and wretched, and are subjected to the most unheard of tyranny. Our inability to satisfy the demands of our rapacious masters is 47 looked upon as a crime, and in revenge our villages are razed, our very beds and implements of husbandry are taken from us, some of our people are murdered, and others are carried away captive. What, then, remains to us. We leave our homes, and seek refuge among our brethren in the mountains who are more out of the way of oppression; but even there we are liable every year to be hunted like partridges . . ."

The population of Mardeen is computed at 2,780 families, of which 1,500 are Moslem, 49 600 Jacobite, 120 Papal Syrian, 500 Papal Armenian, and 60 Chaldean. The Jacobites have two churches and four priests in the town, besides three monasteries in the vicinity. The Syrian Romanists worship in a private house, and have a Bishop and four priests here. The Papal Armenians have one church, a Bishop, and six priests, besides a convent not far from the town.

There are 1,800 Armenian families within the walls of Urfah, and 200 in the village of 325 Garamoosh, about three hours distant from the town. There are eighteen priests in the city alone.

Birejik contains a population of 1,500 families composed of Turks, Turcomans, Arabs, 350 Christians, and a few resident Jews. Turkish is the only language spoken except by the Arabs, who seldom speak any other than their own native tongue. The Christians, who are all Armenians, have a church and a priest. The bulk of the people are petty traders and craftsmen . . .

Théophile Gautier—1811–1872

The Travels of Théophile Gautier—Constantinople.

Volume Three. Translated and edited by Professor F. C. De Sumichrast

Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1912

A.D. 1852

59 A masked ball cannot offer a greater variety of costumes than Top Khaneh Square on a night in Ramazan . . . Turkish women, draped in white yashmaks and light-colored ferradjehs; Armenians, less carefully veiled, wearing violet and black shoes . . .

63 Usually the streets of Constantinople are not lighted, and every one is bound to carry a lantern in his hand . . .

76 The Constantinople tobacco dealers are called tutungis. They are mostly Greeks and Armenians. The Greeks come from Janina, Larissa, and Salonica; the Armenians from Samsoun, Trebizond, and Erzeroum.

86 One of the shops most frequented by strangers is that of Lodovico, an Armenian merchant who speaks French and most patiently allows you to turn over his wares. Many a long stay I have made there, enjoying excellent Mocha coffee in small china cups placed in holders of silver filigree in the old Turkish fashion. Rembrandt would have found here the wherewithal to enrich his museum of antiquities: old weapons, old stuffs, quaint goldsmith-work, curious pottery, extraordinary utensils the use of which is unknown.

135 Strangers have believed they have had love adventures because they have mistaken Armenian for Turkish women, both wearing the same costume save the yellow boots, and the Armenians imitating Turkish manners sufficiently well to deceive a stranger; but in reality Turkish life is hermetically closed, and it is very difficult to know what goes on behind the closely trellised windows in which are cut small holes as in the drop curtain of a theater, to enable those behind to look out.

194 Kassim Pacha is a pretty mean quarter inhabited by poor people, Jews and Armenians, and lies between the cemetery and the Arsenal. I went down the main street, bordered by stalls and hovels, the center being a filthy gutter, a sort of open sewer spanned by culverts here and there. The fire was still confined to the neighborhood of the mosque, the minaret of which was uncommonly like a candle with a tin extinguisher. I was afraid to see the minaret disappear in the flames, when a change of wind drove them in another direction, so that those who believed they were safe were suddenly threatened.

The street was full of negresses carrying mattresses rolled up, hammals bearing boxes, men saving their pipe-stems, frightened women dragging a child by one hand and carrying in the other a bundle of clothes, khavasses and soldiers armed with long poles and hooks, sakkas

traversing the crowd, their pumps on their shoulders, horsemen galloping off in search of reinforcements | without the least thought of foot-passengers; everybody bumping, jostling, 195 tumbling, with cries and insults in every language under the sun. The tumult could not have been worse. Meanwhile the flames were marching on, broadening the range of the damage. Fearing to be thrown down and trampled under foot, I made my way back to the Pera heights and climbing upon a Marmora marble stone, I gazed, in company with Turks, Greeks, and Armenians, at the painful sight at the foot of the hill.

The burning noonday beams fell vertically upon the roofs of brown tiles, or tarred planks of Kassim Pacha, one house after another blazing up like a rocket. First a small jet of white smoke would show through some crack, then a thin tongue of scarlet flame followed the white smoke, the house turned dark, the windows turned red, and in a few minutes the whole of the building fell in amid a cloud of smoke. Against the background of blazing vapor showed on the edges of the roofs, like black silhouettes, men pouring water on the boards to prevent their catching fire; others, with hooks and axes, were pulling down walls to contain the fire. Firemen, standing upon a cross-beam which had remained intact, were directing the nozzles of their | pumps against the flames. From afar these pipes, with their flexible leather hose and 196 their bright brass work, looked like angry adders fighting fire-eating dragons and hurling silver bolts against them. Sometimes the dragon vomited from its black bowels a whirlwind of sparks to drive back the adder, but the latter returned to the charge, hissing and furious, hurling a lance of water that sparkled like diamonds. After alternations of diminution and increase, the fire died out for lack of material. There was nothing to be seen but smoking ruins.

The next day I visited the place. Two or three hundred houses had burned down. It was not much, if one takes into account the extreme combustibility of the material.

I will mention merely the figures of the bombardiers (kombaradji), who formed part of the corps established by Ahmed Pacha (Count de Bonneval), a famous renegade whose tomb still exists at the tekieh of the Whirling Dervishes at Pera, one of the soldiers | of the Nizam 262 Djedid instituted by the Sultan Selim to counterbalance the influence of the Janissaries. It is from the time of this corps, formed from the remains of the militia of Saint Jean d'Acre, that dates the introduction of uniform among Ottoman Turks. The costume of the Nizam Djedid is very like that of the zouaves and spahis of our African army. A few specimens of Greeks, Armenians, and Arnaouts complete the collection. 263

The Prinkipo shore shows, on coming from Constantinople, as a high cliff with reddish 272 scarps topped by a line of houses. Wooden stairs or steep paths forming acute angles lead from the cliff top to the seashore, which is bordered by wooden bathing-huts. The explosion of a bomb gives warning that the steamer is in sight, and immediately a fleet of caiques and boats leaves the shore to meet the passengers, for the small depth of water will not allow vessels to approach close.

Rooms had been reserved for me beforehand in the only inn in the island, a clean, bright 273 wooden house shaded by great trees, from the windows of which the view extended over the sea to the very confines of the horizon; opposite was Kalki, with its Turkish village reflected in the sea and its mountains surmounted by a Greek convent. The water laved the cliff at the

foot of which was perched the inn, and I could go down in my dressing-gown and slippers and enjoy a delicious bath on a long, sandy beach.

In the evening the Armenian and Greek women rival each other in dress and walk on the narrow space between the houses and the shore. The heaviest and thickest silks are then exhibited, diamonds sparkle in the moonbeams, and bare arms are laden with those enormous gold bracelets with many chains peculiar to Constantinople, and which our jewelers ought to imitate, for they impart slenderness to the wrist and set off the hand to great advantage.

Armenian families are as fruitful as English families, and it is not uncommon to see a stout matron preceded by four or five girls, each prettier than the others, and as many very lively
274 boys. As the ladies walk out bare headed in low-necked dresses, the promenade looks like an open-air opera audience. A few Parisian bonnets are to be seen, as on the Prado at Madrid, but they are not numerous.

290 Buyoukdereh, which is seen from the Therapia terrace, is one of the loveliest summer villages in the world. On the curving shore the waves curl in gentle ripples; elegant dwellings, among which is noticed the summer palace of the Russian Embassy, rise on the seashore against a background of green gardens at the foot of the lower slopes of the hills that form the bed of the Bosphorus. Rich Constantinople merchants have here summer homes, to which they come every evening by steamer and whence they go back to town the next morning.

On the Buyoukdereh shore walk after sunset beautiful Greek and Armenian ladies in full dress.

296 I walked to the Sweet Waters of Europe at the upper end of the Golden Horn. Crossing the three bridges of boats, the last of which, recently finished, was constructed at the expense of a rich Armenian, I passed by the Naval Arsenal, where under the sheds are the frames of vessels like skeletons of cachalots or whales.

Austen Henry Layard—1817–1894

Discoveries among the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon; with travels in Armenia, Kurdistan, and the Desert: being the result of a second expedition undertaken for the Trustees of the British Museum.

New York, Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1853

A.D. 1853

Our journey to Erzerroom was performed without incident. A heavy and uninterrupted rain 6
for two days tried the patience and temper of those who for the first time encountered the
difficulties and incidents of Eastern travel. The only place of any interest, passed during our
ride, was a small Armenian village, the remains of a larger, with the ruins of three early
Christian churches, or baptisteries. These remarkable buildings, of which many examples
exist, belong to an order of architecture peculiar to the most eastern districts of Asia Minor
and to the ruins of ancient Armenian cities, on the borders of Turkey and Persia. The one 7
. . . is an octagon, and may have been a baptistery. The interior walls are still covered with the
remains of elaborate frescoes representing scripture events and national saints. The colors are
vivid, and the forms, though rude, not inelegant or incorrect, resembling those of the frescoes
of the Lower Empire still seen in the celebrated Byzantine church at Trebizond, and in the
chapels of the convents of Mount Athos. The knotted capitals of the thin tapering columns
Grouped together, the peculiar arrangement of the stones over the doorway, supporting each
other by a zigzag, and the decorations in general, call to mind the European Gothic of the
middle ages. These churches date probably before the twelfth century: but there are no
inscriptions, or other clue, to fix their precise epoch, and the various styles and modifications
of the architecture have not been hitherto sufficiently studied to enable us to determine with
accuracy the time to which any peculiar ornaments or forms may belong: Yet there are many
interesting questions connected with this Armenian architecture which well deserve
elucidation. From it was probably derived much that passed into the Gothic, whilst the Tatar
conquerors of Asia Minor adopted it, as will be hereafter seen, for their mausoleums and
places of worship. It is peculiarly elegant both in its decorations, its proportions, and the
general arrangement of the masses, and might with advantage be studied by the modern
architect. Indeed, Asia Minor contains a mine of similar materials unexplored and almost
unknown.

The churches of Varzahan, according to the information I received from an aged
inhabitant of the village, had been destroyed some fifty years before by the Lazes . . .

We reached Erzerroom on the 8th, and were most hospitably received by the British consul,
Mr. Brant, a gentleman who has long, well, and honorably sustained our influence in this part
of Turkey, and who was the first to open an important field for our commerce in Asia Minor.
With him I visited the commander-in-chief of the Turkish forces in Anatolia who had recently
returned from a successful expedition against the wild mountain tribes of central Armenia.

The city of Erzerroom is rapidly declining in importance, and is almost solely supported 8
by the Persian transit trade. It would be nearly deserted if that traffic were to be thrown into

a new channel by the construction of the direct road from Batoum to the Persian frontiers. It contains no buildings of any interest, with the exception of a few ruins of those monuments of early Mussulman domination, the elaborately ornamented portico and minaret faced with glazed tiles of rich yet harmonious coloring, and the conical mausoleum, peculiar to most cities of early date in Asia Minor. The modern Turkish edifices, dignified with the names of palaces and barracks, are meeting the fate of neglected mud. Their crumbling walls can scarcely shelter their inmates in a climate almost unequaled in the habitable globe for the rigor of its winters.

- The districts of Armenia and Kurdistan, through which lay our road from Erzeroum to Mosul, are sufficiently unknown and interesting to merit more than a casual mention. The map will show that our route by the lake of Wan, Bitlis, and Jezirah was nearly a direct one. It had been but recently opened to caravans. The haunts of the last of the Kurdish rebels were on the shores of this lake.
- 10 The hereditary chiefs looked upon their Christian subjects as so much property to be improved and protected, like the soil itself. They were a source of revenue; consequently heavy taxes which impeded labor, and drove the laborer from the land, were from interest rarely imposed upon them. The Government left the enforcement of order to the local chiefs; all the tribute received from them was so much clear gain to the treasury, because no collectors were needed to raise it, nor troops to enforce its payment. The revenues of the empire were equal to great wars, and there was neither public debt nor embarrassment. Now that the system of centralization has been fully carried out, the revenues are more than absorbed in the measures necessary to collect them, and the officers of government, having no interest whatever in the districts over which they are placed, neglect all that may tend to the prosperity and well-being of their inhabitants. It may be objected in extenuation that it is scarcely fair to judge of the working of a system so suddenly introduced, and that Turkey is merely in a transition state; the principle it has adopted, whatever its abuse, being fundamentally correct. One thing is certain, that Turkey must, sooner or later, have gone through this change.
- 11 From Guli we crossed a high range of mountains, running nearly east and west, by a pass called Ali-Baba, or Ala-Baba, enjoying from the summit an extensive view of the plain of Pasvin, once one of the most thickly-peopled and best cultivated districts in Armenia. The Christian inhabitants were partly induced by promises of land and protection, and partly compelled by force, to accompany the Russian army into Georgia after the end of the last war with Turkey. By similar means that part of the Pashalic of Erzeroum adjoining the Russian territories was almost stripped of its most industrious Armenian population.
- 12 Next day we continued our journey amongst undulating hills, abounding in flocks of the great and lesser bustard. Innumerable sheep-walks branched from the beaten path, a sign that villages were near; but, like those we had passed the day before, they had been deserted for the *yilaks*, or summer pastures. These villages are still such as they were when Xenophon traversed Armenia . . . The low hovels, mere holes in the hill-side, and the common refuge of man, poultry, and cattle, cannot be seen from any distance, and they are purposely built away from the road to escape the unwelcome visits of traveling government officers and marching

troops. It is not uncommon for a traveler to receive the first intimation of his approach to a village by finding his horse's fore feet down a chimney, and himself taking his place unexpectedly in the family circle through the roof.

Kosli stands at the foot of the hills forming the southern boundary of the plain of Hinnis, ¹⁴ through which flows a branch of the Murad Su, or Lower Euphrates . . . The Kurds and Armenian Christians, both hardy and industrious races, are pretty equally divided in numbers, and live sociably in the same filth and misery.

I stopped for a few minutes at an Armenian monastery, situated on a small platform ¹⁶ overlooking the plain. The bishop was at his breakfast, his fare frugal and episcopal enough, consisting of nothing more than boiled beans and sour milk. He insisted that I should partake of his repast, and I did so, in a small room scarcely large enough to admit the round tray containing the dishes, into which I dipped my hand with him and his chaplain. I found him profoundly ignorant, like the rest of his class, grumbling about taxes, and abusing the Turkish government. All I could learn of the church was that it contained the body of a much venerated saint, who had lived about the time of St. Gregory the Illuminator, and that it was the resort of the afflicted and diseased who trusted to their faith, rather than to medicine, for relief. The whole establishment belongs to the large Armenian village of Kop, which could be faintly distinguished in the plain below. The Kurds had plundered the convent of its books and its finery, but the church remained pretty well as it had been some fifteen centuries ago.

After a pleasant ride of five hours we reached a deep clear lake, embedded in the mountains, two or three pelicans, "swan and shadow double," and myriads of water-fowl, lazily floating on its blue waters. Piron, the village where we halted for the night, stands at the further end of the Gula Shailu, and is inhabited by Kurds of the tribe of Hasananlu, and by Armenians, all living in good fellowship amidst the dirt and wretchedness of their eternal dungheaps.

During my wanderings I entered an Armenian church and convent standing on a ledge of ²⁵ rock overhanging the stream, about four miles up the southern ravine. The convent was tenanted by a bishop and two priests. They dwelt in a small low room, scarcely lighted by a hole carefully blocked up with a sheet of oiled paper to shut out the cold; dark, musty, and damp, a very parish clerk in England would have shuddered at the sight of such a residence. Their bed, a carpet worn to threads, spread on the rotten boards; their diet, the coarsest sandy bread and a little sour curds, with beans and mangy meat for a jubilee. A miserable old woman sat in a kind of vault under the staircase preparing their food and passing her days in pushing to and fro with her skinny hands the goat's skin containing the milk to be shaken into butter. She was the house-keeper and handmaiden of the episcopal establishment. The church was somewhat higher, though even darker than the dwelling-room, and was partly used to store a heap of moldy corn and some primitive agricultural implements. The whole was well and strongly built, and had the evident marks of antiquity. The bishop showed me a rude cross carved on a rock outside the convent, which, he declared, had been cut by one of the disciples of the Savior himself. It is, at any rate, considered a relic of very great sanctity, and is an object of pilgrimage for the surrounding Christian population. Near the spot are several tombs of

former bishops, the head and foot stones of the same deep mellow red stone, and as
 26 elaborately carved as those of the old Tatar chiefs near the lake, although differing from them
 somewhat in the style of their ornaments; the cross, and the bold, square, ancient Armenian
 character being used instead of the flowery scroll-work and elongated letters of the early
 Mussulman conquerors. The bishop, notwithstanding his poverty, was, on the whole, better
 informed than others of his order I had met in the provinces. He had visited the capital, had
 even studied there, and possessed a few books, amongst which, fortunately for himself, and I
 hope for his congregation, he was not ashamed to include several of the very useful works
 issued by the American missionary press, and by that praiseworthy religious society, the
 Mekhitarists of Venice. The older books and manuscripts. of the church, together with its
 little store of plate, its hangings, and its finery, were gone. The last rummage was made by
 Mehemet Bey, the Kurdish freebooter of the castle on the lake, who, having been expelled
 from his stronghold by the exacerbated inhabitants of Akhlut, took refuge in the Armenian
 convent, and defended it for nearly a year against his assailants, living of course, the while,
 upon the scanty stores of the priests, and carrying off, when he had no longer need of the
 position, the little property he had pulled out of every nook and corner. The tyranny of this
 chief had driven nearly the whole Christian population from Akhlut. About twenty families
 only remained, and they were huddled together in the rock tombs, and on the ledges
 immediately opposite the convent. They are not allowed to possess the gardens and orchards
 near the lake, which are looked upon as the peculiar property of the ancient Mussulman
 inhabitants, to be enjoyed by their orthodox descendants, who employ neither care nor labor
 in keeping them up, trusting to a rich soil and a favorable climate for their annual fruits.

27 This connection between Eastern and Western architecture is one well worthy of study,
 and cannot be better illustrated than by the early Christian ruins of Armenia, and those of the
 Arsacian and Sassanian periods still existing in Persia. As yet it has been almost entirely
 overlooked, nor are there any plans or drawings of even the best known Byzantine, or rather
 Armenian, remains in Asia Minor, upon which sufficient reliance can be placed to admit of
 the analogies between the styles being fully proved.

404 I called in the evening on the bishop, and next morning, at his invitation, visited the
 principal schools. Five have been established since the fall of the Kurdish Beys, and the
 enjoyment of comparative protection by the Christian population. Only one had been
 opened within the walls; the rest were in the gardens, which are thickly inhabited by
 Armenians, and form extensive suburbs to Wan. The school in the town was held in a
 spacious building newly erected, and at that time scarcely finished. More than two hundred
 children of all ages were assembled. They went through their exercises and devotions at the
 sound of a bell with great order and precision, alternately standing and squatting on their
 hams on small cushions placed in rows across the hall. An outer room held basins and towels
 for washing, and the cloaks and shoes taken off on entering. Books were scarce. There were
 not more than a score in the whole school. The first class, which had made some progress,
 had a few elementary works on astronomy and history, published by the Armenian press at
 Constantinople and Smyrna, but only one copy of each. The boys, at my request, sang and
 chanted their prayers, and repeated their simple lessons.

Such schools, imperfect though they be, are proofs of a great and increasing improvement in the Christian communities of Turkey.* A change of considerable importance, and which, it is to be hoped, may lead to the most beneficial results, is now taking place in the Armenian Church. It is undoubtedly to be attributed to the judicious, earnest, and zealous exertions of the American missionaries . . .

The Armenian bishop of Wan was not wanting in intelligence and in liberal feeling; but, 407 like most of his order, he was profoundly ignorant.

. . . I visited the village of Amikh, where, according to my Armenian guide, Nikòos, an inscription was engraved on the rocks. I left the city on the 10th of August. Wan stands at a short distance from the lake, and the few boats which traffic along the shores anchor at a small Iskelli, or port, about a mile and a half from the gates. The greater | part of this village is now 408 under water, the lake having gradually risen during the last few years. The inhabitants pretend that this rising is caused by a periodical ebbing and flowing each continuing for seven years, and that the waters will again fall to their former level. It is certain, however, that, from some cause or other which I cannot explain, many villages on the borders of the lake are now partly submerged, and that there appears to have been for some years a gradual increase in the waters.

We made a short journey of three and a half hours to the pleasant village of Artamit or 412 Adremit, and encamped beneath its fruit trees in a garden near the lake. Our path on the following day led through a hilly district, sometimes edging a deep bay, then again winding over a rocky promontory. We crossed by a bridge the large stream which we had seen at Mahmoudiyah, and which here discharges itself into the lake. The feast of St. George had been celebrated during the previous day at the church of Narek, and we passed, as we rode along, merry groups of Armenians returning from their pilgrimage. The women, seated with their children on the backs of mules and asses, and no longer fearing the glances of haughty Kurds, had lifted their veils from their ruddy faces. They were dressed in scarlet cloaks, which half concealed their festive robes. To their platted hair was attached a square black pad of silk hung with tassels, and some times with coins. Most of the men carried umbrellas to protect themselves from the rays of the sun. In the midst of them we met, surrounded by a crowd of adherents, the Patriarch of Akhtamar, once the head of the Armenian Church, but now only recognized by a small section of Christians living in the province of Wan. He rode a mule, and was dressed in long black robes, with a silken cowl hanging over his head. Several youthful priests, some carrying silver-headed wands, followed close behind him. He was on his way to the city, and I thus lost the opportunity of seeing him at his residence on the sacred island.

On the shores of the lake we found many encampments of gypsies; the men to be distinguished by their swarthy countenances, the women and children by their taste for begging.

We passed through Vastan; in the eleventh century the residence of the royal Armenian

* The desire of a large number of the Armenians to improve their institutions, and to adopt the manners of Europe, is a highly interesting, and indeed important, fact.

family of Ardzrouni, but now a mere village. The convent boat was on the beach, three miles above the usual landing-place. Four sturdy monks were about to row it back to the island. As they offered to take me with them, I left the caravan to journey onwards to our night's encamping place, and with Mr. Rassam and the Bairakdar, we were soon gliding over the calm surface of the lake. Not a breeze rippled the blue expanse . . .

413 In the absence of the Patriarch we were received by an intelligent and courteous monk named Kirikor. His hair, as well as his beard, had never known the scissors, and fell in long luxuriant curls over his shoulders. It was of jetty black, for he was still a young man, although he had already passed twenty years of a monastic life. He led us through an arched doorway into the spacious courtyard of the convent, and thence into an upper room furnished with comfortable divans for the reception of guests. Tea was brought to us after the Persian fashion, and afterwards a more substantial breakfast, in which the dried fish of the lake formed the principal dish. Kirikor had visited Jerusalem and Constantinople, had read many of the works issued by the Venetian press, and was a man of superior acquirements for an Armenian monk of the orthodox faith.

The church, which is within the convent walls, is built of the sandstone of a rich deep red color that has been quarried for the turbehs of Akhlāt. Like other religious edifices of the same period and of the same nation, it is in the form of a cross, with a small hexagonal tower, ending in a conical roof, rising above the center. The first monastery was founded by a Prince Theodoro in A.D. 653; and the church is attributed to the Armenian king Kakhik, of the family of Ardzrouni, who reigned in the tenth century; but the island appears from a very remote date to have contained a castle of the Armenian kings. The entrance and vestibule of the church are of a different style from the rest of the building, being a bad imitation of modern Italian architecture. They were added about one hundred years ago by a patriarch, whose tomb is in the courtyard. The interior is simple. A few rude pictures of saints and miracles adorn the walls, and a gilded throne for the patriarch stands near the altar. The exterior, however, is elaborately ornamented with friezes and broad bands of sculptured figures and scroll work, the upper part being almost covered with bas-reliefs, giving to the whole building a very striking and original appearance. The conical roof of the tower, rising over the center of the cross, rests upon a frieze of hares, foxes, and other animals. Above arched windows are bands of rich foliage, and beneath them, at the base of the tower, a row of small vaulted recesses. The roof of the transept is supported by human heads. Beneath is a frieze, Assyrian in its character, and resembling the embossed designs on some of the bronze

414 | dishes . . . It consists of lions springing upon stags, and figures of wild goats, hares, and deer. Under the projecting roof of the aisle is a frieze, formed of bunches of grapes mingled with grotesque forms of men, animals, and birds. Next is a row of the heads of similar figures, projecting in high relief from the wall. They are succeeded by bas-reliefs representing Scripture stories from the Old and New Testaments, divided into separate subjects by medallions with images of Armenian saints. An elaborate border of scroll work completes the exterior decoration about half way up the building. The human form is rudely portrayed in these sculptures; but the general design is far from inelegant, and the ornaments rich and appropriate. I know of no similar specimen of Armenian architecture, and I regret that time would not allow me to make detailed drawings of the edifice

In a grave-yard outside the church are several most elaborately carved tombstones belonging to the early Armenian patriarchs. That of Zachariah, who died in the fourteenth century, and who was for one year Patriarch at Echmindsin and for nine years at Akhtamar, is especially worthy of notice for the richness and elegance of its ornaments.

In the portico is a circular black stone, like a millstone, with short cuneiform inscriptions on the two flat sides. They contain the name of the king who carved the great tablet of the Meher Kapous; near Wan, which Dr. Hincks reads Minuas. The inscriptions do not appear to record any events of importance.

A library of manuscripts, said to have been once preserved in the convent, no longer exists. Kirikor assured me that many works of value had been removed some years ago to the capital by order of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch.

The Patriarchate of Akhtamar, or Aghthamar, was founded in 1113 by an archbishop of the island, who declared himself independent of the universal Patriarch, residing at Echmiadsin. Its jurisdiction does not extend far beyond the immediate neighborhood of Wan, and the ecclesiastic who fills the office is generally even more ignorant than other dignitaries of the Armenian Church. The present Patriarch, I was informed, obtained his nomination 415 by bribing the celebrated Kurdish chief, Khan Mahmoud, within whose territories his followers mainly reside.

The convent and church are built on a small rocky island about five miles from the shore. On an adjacent islet are the ruined walls of a castle partly covered by the rising waters of the lake. Intercourse with the main land is carried on by the one crank boat which, whenever the weather permits, goes backwards and forwards daily for such provisions as are required by the inmates of the monastery. Khan Mahmoud took the place by collecting together the vessels belonging to Wan for the transport of his troops.

Late in the afternoon, accompanied by the monk Kirikor, I was rowed to the farm and garden belonging to the convent, near the village of Ashayansk. We had scarcely reached the land ere a violent storm of wind suddenly arose, and lashed the waters of the lake into high waves crowned with foam. The monks dragged the boat high on the beach to save it from being dashed to pieces. I was well satisfied not to have encountered the gale, with which our frail bark could scarcely have struggled. It was, however, but one of those mountain squalls which sometimes sweep down the deep valleys, and expand their fury in a short hour. By sunset the air was again serene, and the face of the blue lake once more reflected, like a mirror, the snow-white gulls and black cormorants that floated on its surface.

A few monks live on the farm, and tend the property of the convent, supplying the Patriarch with the produce of the dairy and orchards. They received us very hospitably. Kirikor rode with me on the following morning as far as the large Armenian village of Narek, in which there is a church dedicated to St. George, much frequented in pilgrimage by the Christians of Wan and the surrounding country. It was built by one Tateos Arakil, in the ninth century, according to the priest of the place; but, according to Kirikor, by a certain Theodorus in the time of King Kakhik. It has probably been added to and repaired at various periods; and there are parts, such as the belfry, which are modern, whilst others bear evident marks of antiquity. It is a strong solid buildings, of the same red sandstone as the tombs of Akhlat.

We had now left the lake of Wan, and our track led up a deep ravine, which gradually became more narrow as we drew nigh to the high mountains that separated us from the

unexplored districts of Mukus and Bohtan. We passed a large Armenian village named I
 416 Pagwantz, near which, on the summit of a precipitous rock, stands the ruined castle of Khan
 Mahmoud, the rebel chief. He was the eldest of seven brothers, all of whom governed under
 him different districts on the borders of the lake, and sorely oppressed the Christian
 inhabitants. Five were captured and are in banishment.

On both sides of the ravine were villages and ruined castles. Numerous streams from the
 hill-sides irrigated plots of cultivated ground. Ere long we entered a rocky barren tract,
 patched here and there with fragrant Alpine flowers. After climbing up a steep declivity of
 loose stones like the moraine of a Swiss glacier, and dragging our horses with much difficulty
 after us, we found ourselves amidst eternal snow, over which we toiled for nearly two hours,
 until we reached the crest of the mountain, and looked down into the deep valley of Mukus.
 This is considered one of the highest passes in Kurdistan, and one of the most difficult for
 beasts of burden. The flocks of the nomad Kurds of Bohtan were feeding in the gullies,
 cropping the sweet and tender herbs nourished by the snow. The descent was even more rapid
 and precipitous than the ascent, and we could scarcely prevent our scary horses from rolling
 down into the ravine with the stones which we put into motion at every stop. At the foot of
 the pass is a small Armenian church called Khorous Klissia, or "the church of the cock,"
 because a black cock is said to warn the traveler when the snowdrifts hide the mountain
 tracks.

There was no other pathway down the rocky ravine than the dry bed of the torrent. As we
 approached the widening valley the springs began to collect together and to form a
 considerable stream, through which we had to wade as we best could. A track, occasionally
 followed by the solitary foot-traveler, and by the shepherds in their periodical migrations to
 the uplands, had been carried here and there over the foaming water by trunks of trees. But
 these simple bridges had been washed away during a recent storm. Leaving the laden horses
 to find their way over the stones and through the torrent, I rode onwards with Hormuzd. We
 passed soon after a deep natural cavern, from which burst, white with foam and struggling
 through a bed of pink flowers, a most abundant spring. This was one of the principal sources
 of the eastern branch of the Tigris, here called the river of Mukus, which, according to an
 Armenian tradition, only issued from the rock about five hundred years ago.

A ride of eight hours brought us to the large scattered village of Mukus, the principal place
 of the district of the same name.

417 We were met, as we drew near, by the Mudir or governor, an active bustling Turk, who
 had already chosen, with the usual taste of an Eastern, the prettiest spot, a lawn on the banks
 of the river, for our tents, and had collected provisions for ourselves and our horses. The good
 Pasha of Wan had sent to the different chiefs on our way, and had ordered preparations to be
 everywhere made for our reception. The Tigris is here a deep stream, and is crossed by a stone
 bridge. The houses are built without order, on the slopes of the mountain, each family
 choosing some open place more free from stones than the usual rocky declivities to cultivate
 a small plot of ground. There is no room for them in the narrow valley. The place may contain
 altogether about two thousand inhabitants.

The district of Mukus, anciently Moghk, and one of the provinces of the Armenian
 kingdom, had only lately been brought under the authority of the Sultan. Like the rest of this
 part of Kurdistan, it had long maintained its independence under hereditary chiefs, the last

of whom, Abdel Bey, after several times defeating the Turkish troops sent against him, was at length captured as he was flying into Persia. Of its sixty villages forty are inhabited by Christian Armenians.

Shattak is a small town, rather than a village. It is chiefly inhabited by Armenians, an 419
industrious and hardy race, cultivating the sides of the mountains, on which are built their villages, and weaving in considerable quantities the gay-colored woolen stuffs so much esteemed by the Kurds. In nearly every house was a loom, and the sound of the shuttle came from almost every door. The large and flourishing Armenian communities inhabiting the valley between lake Wan and the district of Jezireh, appear to be unknown to modern geographers, and are unnoticed in our best maps. The difficulties and dangers of the road have hitherto deterred travelers from entering their mountains. The existence of this people in the very heart of Kurdistan might, if taken advantage of by the Porte, be the means of establishing an important trade, and of quieting and civilizing a country but recently brought under its rule. The mountains produce galls, wool (some of which has the same silky texture as that of Angora), the small under-wool of the goat called *teftik* (a valuable article of export), and minerals. In the bazar at Shattak I saw a few English prints, and other European wares I learned for sale from Wan.

The priests and principal Armenians of the place came to me soon after my arrival, and I learned from them that efforts had already been made to improve the condition of the Christian community, now that the oppressive rule of the Kurdish hereditary chiefs had been succeeded by the more tolerant government of the Sultan. A school had been opened, chiefly 420
by the help of Sheran, the active and liberal Armenian banker of Wan.

The town itself is called by the Armenians Tauk, by the Kurds Shokh, and when spoken of together with the numerous villages that surround it, Shattak.

Edmund Spencer—?

Turkey, Russia, the Black Sea, and Circassia.

George Routledge & Co., London, 1855

<First visited in 1836, then in 1854.>

- 163 There are altogether about 27,000,000 of inhabitants in the Turkish empire; 15,000,000 of these—if we include those scattered in different parts of Asia—are Christians of Oriental church; with the exception of about half a million Roman Catholics, the remaining 11 or 12,000,000 are Mahometans, from whom we may subtract at least half a million or more Armenians, Jews, and Gypsies.
- 172 . . . The fanaticism and dislike entertained by the lower class of Mahometans to a foreign Giaour, which we experienced in common with every other European traveler some years since on our first visit to Constantinople, no longer exists; the stranger may now wander through the town and its environs in any costume he pleases. He may enter to a Turkish restaurant, he may smoke his tchibouque with a Turk in a coffee-house . . .
- 174/5 The Armenian, who may be said to combine in his own person the character, habits, and manners of Turk, Jew, and Christian, is to be found here <in Constantinople>, as well as in all the other large towns in Turkey and Asia, where a penny is to be made. Notwithstanding the astonishing facility with which he adopts himself to the prejudices of the people among whom he lives; like the Jew, he hears about him the unmistakable stamp of nationality; and like the wandering people, he is also a wanderer,—the remnant of a once powerful people now dispersed among the nations.
- As traders, either in buying or selling, the Armenians are unequaled for tact and shrewdness; nay, they may be said to have reduced commerce to a science. In the bazaar his stall is neater, better stocked, and the articles better arranged than in that of many of his compatriots. There he sits, as silent and dignified as an Osmanli; and like him, names the price without seeming to care whether you purchase or not; but it is the bland smile over his countenance, the art with which he exhibits an article to the purchaser, and the graceful manner he lays his hand upon his breast while naming the price, that wins the good opinion of the stranger. It is therefore more than probable, after making the round of the bazaar, wearied with the taciturnity of the Turks, the loquacity of the mercurial Greek, the anxious desire of the Hebrew to sell,—he returns to the stall of the patriarchal, honest-looking Armenian, and pays a higher price than the article is really worth.
- 181 Rayah, Jew, Armenian, or Gypsy . . . all have caught the solemn taciturn manner of their lords . . .
- 209 It appears that Halil Pacha <son-in-law of the sultan through Cosrew's encouragement>, who was the son of Christian parents, was first a slave to a wealthy Armenian . . .

Robert Curzon—1810–1873

Armenia: a year at Erzeroom, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia.

New York, Harper and Brothers, 1854

A.D. 1854

The city <of Erzeroom> is said to contain between 30,000 and 40,000 inhabitants, but I do not myself think that it contains much more than 20,000 . . .

There are one or two Greek churches and two Armenian churches here, both very small, dark, cramped places, with immensely thick walls and hewn-stone roofs. They appear to be of great antiquity, but can boast of no other merit. Adjoining the principal one, in which is a famous miraculous picture of St. George, they were building a large and handsome church, which is now completed, in the Basilica form, with an arched stone roof. Cut stone being very expensive, and indeed, from the want of good masons, very difficult to procure, the priests bethought themselves of a happy expedient to secure square hewn stone for the corners, doorway, windows, &c., of the new cathedral. They told their flock that, as the ancient tombstones were of no use to the departed, it would be a meritorious act in the living to bring them to assist in the erection of the church. They managed this so well, that every one brought on his own back, or at his own expense the tombstones of his ancestors, and those were grieved and offended who could not gain admission for the tomb-stones of their families to complete a window or support a wall. The work advanced rapidly during the summer, and any large, flat slabs of stone were reserved for the covering of the roof. It promised to be, and I hear now is, a handsome church, strong and solid enough to resist the awful climate, and the snow which lies there for months every year. The Armenian inscriptions and emblems on the stones have a singular effect; but I think, under the circumstances, the priests were quite right to build up with the tomb-stones of the dead a house of prayer for those about to die.

The country houses of Armenia are constructed somewhat differently from those of the towns. When a man wishes—I can not call it to build a house, or erect a house, or set up a house, as none of these terms are applicable—but when a house is to be constructed, the following is the way in which it is set about. A space of ground is marked out, perhaps nearly an English acre in extent; then the whole space is excavated to the depth of about five feet: one part of the excavation is set apart for the great cow-stable; this may be fifty or one hundred feet long, and nearly as wide. Having got so far, some trees are the next requisite; these trees being cut down, the trunks are chopped into lengths of eight or nine feet, the general height of the rooms, and are placed in two or four rows, to be used as columns down the great stable; the larger branches, without being squared or shaped, are laid across from pillar to pillar as beams; the smaller branches are laid across these, the twigs on the top, till the entire trees are used up; the twigs are some times tied up in fagots, sometimes not: over this is spread some of the earth that was excavated from below; this is well trodden down, then more earth is added, and on the top of all is laid the turf which formed the surface of the soil

before it was moved. Round the stable, in no particular order, smaller rooms are formed; if they are large, their roofs are supported by columns like the stable. In a large house there are often two stables. The space of ground taken up by a rich man's house is prodigious, the turfed roof forming a small field. The lesser rooms in this subterranean habitation are divided from the stable and from each other by rough stone walls well filled up with clay or mud; their ceilings are contrived by laying beams across each other, two along and two across, in the form of a low pyramid, so that the ceiling is a kind of low square dome: the smaller rooms form store-rooms and apartments for the women. Each room has a rough stone fire-place opposite the door; and in the roof, generally over the door, there is one window about eighteen inches square, glazed with a piece of oiled paper. Outside, these windows look like large mole-hills, with a bit of plaster on one side surrounding the oiled paper, or glass, which transmits the

57 light. Inside, the window is perceived at the end of a funnel, widening | greatly toward the room, and contrived so as to throw the light to the center of the apartment, opposite the fire-place, where a fire of *tezek*, or dried cow-dung and chopped straw, is constantly smoldering. Over the chimney-piece hangs an iron lamp of simple construction, which, with the help of the fire, produces a dim light in the long nights of winter. There is a divan, usually covered with most beautiful Koordish carpets, which last forever, on each side of the fire-place; and large wooden pegs, projecting from the walls, serve to hang up guns, pistols, cloaks, and any thing else. Some of these rooms are rather roughly pretty in appearance; the floors are covered with tekke, a thick gray felt, and, among smart people, Persian carpets are laid over the felt, their beautiful colors producing a rich and comfortable effect. About half way up the chimney is a wooden door or damper, which is opened and shut by means of a string; and when it is very cold weather, and they want to be snug and fusty down below, this door is shut, and the room becomes as hot as an oven; the chimney does not rise more than two feet above ground, and has a large flat stone on the top to keep the snow from falling in, as well as the lambs and children; the smoke escapes by apertures on the sides just below the coping-stone. The chimneys look like toadstools from the outside, rising a little above the snow or the grass which grows upon the roof. These subterranean habitations are constructed, not on the side of a hill, but on the side of a gentle slope; and all the earth excavated for the house is thrown

58 back again upon the roof in such a manner that on three sides there is often no sign of | any dwelling existing underneath. The entrance is on the lower side of the slope, and there the mound is often visible, as it is raised four or five feet above the level of the hillside. There are no fences to keep people off the roof, which has no appearance different from the rest of the country. It is often only the dirt opposite the doors, the cattle, and people standing about, which gives information of a small village being present, particularly during the eight months of snow, and ice, and intense cold, when no one stirs abroad except for matters of importance. When a house is ruined and deserted, these holes are sometimes rather dangerous, as the horse you are riding may put his foot into an old chimney and break his leg, there being very frequently no appearance of a habitation below, while you are passing through the open, desolate country, of which the roof seems to be a part. There are stories, perhaps founded on fact, of hungry thieves lifting the flat stone off the top of the chimney, and fishing up the kettle in which the supper was stewing over the fire below with a hooked stick—a feat which would not be at all difficult if the cook was thinking of something else, as sometimes will happen even in the best-regulated families.

The most curious and remarkable part of the house is the great ox-stable, which often holds some scores of cattle. Out of this stable they do not stir, frequently, during the whole winter season, and it is the breath and heat of these animals which warm the house; besides which, they manufacture all the fuel for the establishment: they are fed upon straw, bruised to small bits by the sledge which is driven round the 1 floor to separate the corn from the husk 59 after harvest time. In one corner of this huge, dim stable, near the entrance door, a wooden platform is raised three feet from the ground; two sides of it are bounded by the stone wall of the house, in one of which, opposite the door, is the fire-place; the other two sides of the square platform have open wooden rails to keep off the cows. This original contrivance is the salemlik, or reception-room, where the master sits, and where he entertains his guests, who, as they stumble into the obscure den from the glare of the sun shining on the snow outside, are received with a yell by all the dogs, who live under the platform. This place is fitted up with divans and carpets; arms and saddles hung against the walls; the horses of the chief are tethered nearest to the rails, the donkeys and cows further off. Among the horses there is always an immense fat tame sheep; this is a universal custom in every stable in Turkey, under or above ground. Among some of the Koordish tribes, a young wild boar is kept in the stable with the horses—a remarkable custom among Mohammedans, who consider the whole race of swine as unclean beasts; this is the only case in which they are tolerated. A small flock of other sheep are sometimes scampering about, or kept from doing so, among the cows; chickens peck in the litter, and several grave cats have their allotted places on the divans of the chief, his wife, and others of his family. A vacant, that is, cowless space, is left between the steps leading up to the platform and the entrance door of the house; this part answers to the entrance hall, as man and beast pass through it on coming in or going out, immediately before the eyes of the 1 master of the house. From hence a sloping passage, about six feet wide, leads 60 to the open air; it has an outer door at the upper end, and an inner door below: this passage may be from ten to twenty feet long. The outer door is a common strong wooden one, but the inner doors all over the house are as singular as the rest of the arrangements. The house-door is of the usual size for the cows and horses to pass through, the others are not more than five feet high; they are constructed in the following manner: the bare wooden valve is first covered with ketché or felt, and on the inside the skin of a sheep, with its legs and arms on, just in the shape in which it came off the animal when it was skinned, being dyed red, is nailed over the felt. On the other side of the door, down the middle, is a long square pipe or box, in which hangs a heavy log of wood, attached to a cord fixed to the upper part of the door-case, which keeps the door shut, as it swings to again after it has been opened, and keeps out the drafts, and keeps in the warm air generated by cows, fires, and lamps, so that the atmosphere is always temperate within, while the cold is such without that men are frozen to death if they stand still even for a short time in the rigorous climate of an Armenian winter.

When the snows of winter have melted, and the air becomes more temperate, the 105 population of Erzeroum begin to revive. The women and children, who, like the bears, lemmings, and marmottes, have hibernated all the winter, now peep with red eyes out of their subterranean habitations; those streets situated upon hills, as most of them are, become torrents of melted snow, which cut deep ravines through the frozen mass which is piled up many feet on each side; narrow paths are gradually dug out from the low doors of the

Armenian man-burrows toward the central river of the street; the winking children creep out to blink their eyes at the sun, and enjoy the fresh air; fusty cows, who have been buried for eight months, come slowly staring out; every now and then a more adventurous infant is carried away by the stream, and its body quickly devoured by the ravenous dogs at the outskirts of the town; wolves, it is said, though I never saw one, prowl about, and eat the dog that ate the child, that came out to see the weather so mild, in the street by the house that (not) Jack built. Women now scream to each other in shrill voices, as they pitch down large wooden spadefuls of half-melted snow upon the heads of those who are passing in the street; knots of Tartars, Circassians, and Lazes, and Koords, in iron-heeled boots and white woolen trousers, tell lies to each other at the doors of the coffee-houses, which are answered with dignified exclamations of Wullah! Billah! nobody believing his neighbor's lie, but considering straightway how he can invent a deliberate falsehood to lay before the other liars in his turn. Every now and then one of these stories is true, when a cadaverous-looking Koord, hung round with arms and leaning on his lance, with the black ostrich feathers at the top, being a practical man with very little imagination, coolly relates the history of the sacking of a defenseless village, where murder unresisted, rapine, sacrilege in the burning of the mosques and spearing the children who run shrieking from the flames of their homes, bear with it the impress of truth, with the conviction on the part of any honest man (if there should be one in the party) that, although the rest are liars, the only truthful narrator is a brute of that atrocious kind, that the falsehoods of the rest are trifles, like chaff before the wind, in comparison with the real and true experiences of this infernal child of hell. Such as this are the Koords; their only virtue is that they are not cowards; but, although they *subscribe* to a nominal adherence to the Mohammedan religion, the most *liberal* Imaum would be ashamed to own them. The Yezedis, who worship the devil, are angels in comparison. Yet they are superstitious to a curious degree, as the foregoing anecdote of the Koord who was hung through giving evidence about himself testifies.

At the commencement of the summer the whole city of Erzeroom is engaged, even to desperation, in making *tezek*; you hear, smell, and see nothing else. How are you oh for *tezek*? *Tezek katch, chok tezek, tezek var bourda chok, chok, evet, tezek Effendim, katch gooroosh*: in short, no one cares for any thing except *tezek*, and he who has most *tezek* is the greatest man, and he who has but little *tezek* he is naught—no one cares for him, or, indeed, for any thing else except the one absorbing topic of *tezek*.

The cows, and bulls, and oxen having reappeared on upper earth, the Augean stable is cleared out. *Tezek*, the only fuel of Erzeroom, consists of the production into which the said oxen have converted their food for many months; it is trodden down hard, and is dug out by zealous Armenians, and brought exultingly to the tops of the houses; it is mixed with a good deal of the chopped straw with which horses, and oxen, and sheep are fed while in the subterranean stables; more chopped straw is added, mixed with water; and, except the higher class of grandees, such as the Pasha, the commander-in-chief, and the author, all true men were employed on the tops of their houses, treading the chopped straw into the *tezek* with their naked feet, their full Turkish trousers being pulled up and tied with a belt round their waists. With a stick to lean upon, they are there all day, trotting about, up to their knees in *tezek*, shouting to each other; Mohammed bringing some more water to pour upon it; Hassan staggering up the ladder with more *tezek* of the genuine unadulterated kind from the recesses

of the stable; Bekir with a great basket of chopped straw; and then all set to with a will, and tread steadily for an hour or two, as sailors do round a capstan, for the dear life, and when they get very hot they wipe their brow with a tezek sleeve, and their sleeve with a fold of a tezeky trouser, so that they become altogether tezekious before the sun sets upon their labors, and veils his nose, if not his eyes, under the clouds which hang over the eternal snows in the dreaded passes of the mountains of Hosha-bounar. The tezek being trodden into a stiff clayey state, about six or seven inches thick, is left alone for a day or two to dry; amateurs, however, scrambling up to the top of the house to see how it is going on, to pick a bit off, and look at it cunningly, and smell it, to find whether it has the true flavor. There are Armenians who are knowing in tezek, who understand the thing; and over a remarkably good batch a knot of the fancy will sit on little stools, and smoke their pipes, and discuss the question scientifically; telling tales of former celebrated heaps, and of Hadji such a one, who was famous in that line, and of one Bokchi Bashi, who had an astonishing talent in the preparation of inimitable tezek. 108

When it is all ready, it is dug out in square blocks, and carried down the ladders again carefully in open baskets, and piled up in the inner treasuries below, and stored for the fuel of the future winter. It is better for being old, when it resembles peat turf. It gets somewhat dusty in a year or so, and then rivals that sort of snuff called Irish blackguard in its capacity for making you sneeze, if you venture to move a clod of it to put upon the fire; it then burns clear and clean, without flame, and is very hot; but when more fresh—though that is not the word—more new, I may say—it produces a thick stifling smoke, very odoriferous, and not generally appreciated by those who do not love tezek for itself, or who are not at that time maneuvering to make you purchase an astounding bargain of the precious fuel of their own particular manufacture. 109

Erzeroom is not alone in the production of this article of merchandise. From thence through the whole of Tartary as we call it, or Turkistaun as they call it, this fuel is in universal use as far as the Great Wall of China. Great care is taken sometimes in the production of it for various artistic purposes. In Thibet it is called arghol, and in the very remarkable travels of M. Huc, it is related that that which comes from sheep and goats is more valuable for the purpose of smelting iron and other metals, as it gives a greater heat, and, instead of leaving any ash, melts into a vitreous mass of a bluish green color. I never saw any of this myself, though it may have been used at Erzeroom, for this place was lately famous for the workmanship in iron and steel by seven brothers, whose productions are valuable under the name of Yedi Kartasch, as Manton added a value to those guns to which his name was affixed. The tezek of oxen and cows ranks next; that of horses and donkeys last, from the quantity of smoke produced by it; that of the oxen, with the slightest possible flavor of donkey, was certainly most fashionable at Erzeroom.

The description of Armenia and the adjacent districts in the foregoing pages will have sufficed to give a general idea of the many difficulties to be encountered by those whose business leads them through this inhospitable region, where they meet with impediments at every step, from the lofty mountains traversed by roads accessible only to mules and horses, the extreme cold of the high passes and elevated plains, the impossibility of obtaining provisions, and the savage character of the Koords and other wandering tribes who roam over 178

this wild country. If a traveler, accompanied by a few followers, and assisted by firmans from the Sultan, finds this journey arduous in the extreme, how much more so must it prove to the general in command of an army, with many thousand men to provide for, with artillery and heavy baggage to encumber his march, on roads inaccessible to carriages or wheeled vehicles of any kind! and if to these is added an enemy on the alert to cut off supplies, to harass the
 179 long, struggling line of march, and to attack the passing | army in narrow defiles from behind rocks, and from the summits of precipices, where they are safe from molestation, it will be understood that the difficulties presenting themselves to military operations in these regions are almost insuperable. It is the inaccessible nature of Circassia, even more than the bravery of its inhabitants, which has enabled them to resist the overwhelming power of Russia for so many years. On the approach to Erzeroum these difficulties increase. From Georgia, Persia, and Trebizond, there is no other city or entrepôt where an army could rest to lay in stores and collect supplies for a campaign, with the exception of Erzeroum, which is the center or key to all these districts. If it was strongly fortified, as it should be, or was, at any rate, in the occupation of an active, intelligent government, the power who possessed it would hold the fate of that part of Asia in its hands.

No caravans could pass, no mercantile speculations could be carried on, and no large bodies of troops could march without its permission. They would, in all probability, perish from the rigors of the climate if they were not assisted, even without the necessity of attacking them by force of arms.

180 . . . I wish to draw attention to these circumstances, in order to explain the almost impossibility of dispossessing any power which had already obtained a firm footing in this district; and it is in order to fix herself firmly in this important post that Russia is now advancing in that direction, with a perfect knowledge of the advantages to be derived from this barren and unfruitful region, while she has the advantage of being able to send supplies to her forces by the Caspian Sea; for, once within her grasp, Persia is no longer independent; and, fettered as she is by her Russian debt, and what, in private affairs, would be called her heavy mortgage on her only valuable provinces on the shores of the Caspian—Geilaun and Mazenderaun—she must sink into the state of vassal kingdom, subject to the commands of her superior lord the Czar.

181 In a mercantile point of view, Russia would gain more by the construction of that canal
 182 than by the conquest of | Armenia, for it would enable her to develop the great resources of Geilaun and Mazenderaun, virtually belonging to her at this moment. The trade which in former times enriched the famous cities of Bokhara and Samarkand would be carried by caravans through Khiva, either now, or soon to be, the head-quarters of a Russian governor; from thence they would, with any encouragement, pass on their rich bales of merchandise to the Russian posts of Karagan, or Krasnovodsk, on the eastern shores of the Caspian, or to Asterabad on the south, and at these ports, now unknown to European navigators, ships might be laden which would discharge their cargoes at Liverpool, St. Petersburg, or New York.

. . . Russia has but little to gain by her territorial conquests in Asiatic Turkey until she takes Constantinople.

It is impossible to look back upon the history of Russia for the last 150 years without 185
 admiration and astonishment at the enormous strides which have been made by the giants of
 the north since that period. When Peter the Great acceded to the throne of Muscovy, there
 was no maritime outlet to his empire excepting in the icy shores of the Northern Ocean. The
 ground on which the metropolis of St. Petersburg now stands was not in the possession of
 Russia till the year 1721. Since the year 1774 Russia has acquired, quite in the memory of
 man, a territory from Turkey equal in extent to the whole empire of Austria, and much larger
 than the present possessions of the Turks in Europe. The following table of the progress of the
 Russian arms in the East will show at a glance how rapidly and steadily she has extended her 186
 power, her grasping hand, and her outstretched arm in that direction; and it can not be
 expected that, when she has rested and strengthened herself, and consolidated her resources
 in her newly-acquired territories, she will be prevented by any slight obstacle from further
 aggrandizement.

Russian acquisitions from Turkey

. . . The Crimea	1783
. . . Besarabia	1812

Russian acquisitions from Persia

. . . Ahalzik	1829
Georgia	1814
Ganja	1803
Karabagh	1805
Erivan, Mount Ararat, and Etchmiazin	1828 . . .

Few of these conquered or deluded nations have been able to bear the intolerable
 oppression of the Russian government, arising from the insolence of the petty employees, and
 more particularly the dreadful scourge of the conscription, by the aid of which, at any
 moment, children are remorselessly torn forever from their parents, whose sole support they
 were; families are on a sudden divided; one half sent off no one knows whither, never to meet
 again; none of these unhappy slaves knowing whether it will be their lot to become soldiers 187
 or sailors, but, in either case, they are driven off, like beasts, in flocks, by cruel, savage tyrants,
 who steal, as a matter of course, the money provided by the superior government for the food
 of the despairing conscripts, while they—brutal and drunken though they may be—are
 distinguished for their love of home, and the affection and respect they bear for their parents.

In the year 1829, Kars, Bayazeed, Van, Moush, Erzeroom, and Beyboort (which is coming 188
 very near) were occupied by the Russians, who evacuated that portion of the Turkish empire
 on the conclusion of the treaty of Adrianople. Trusting to the protestations of a Christian
 emperor, sixty-nine thousand Christian Armenian families were beguiled into the folly of
 leaving Mohammedan dominions, and sitting in peace under the paternal protection of the
 Czar. Over their ruined houses I have ridden, and surveyed with sorrow their ancient churches
 in the valleys of Armenia, desecrated and injured, as far as their solid construction permitted,
 by the sacrilegious hands of the Russian soldiers, who tried to destroy those temples of their
 own religion which the Turks had spared, and under whose rule many of the more recent had
 been rebuilt on their old foundations. The greater part of these Armenians perished from
 want and starvation; the few who survived this sharp lesson have since been endeavoring, by

every means in their power, to return to the lesser evils of the frying pan of Turkey, from whence they had leaped into the fire of despotic Russia.

By the treaty of Turkomanchai, 1828, the Czar became possessed of Persian Armenia, of which the capital is Erivan. In this district are contained the two great objects of Armenian veneration, Etchmiazin and Mount Ararat. This noble snowy mountain takes the place, in the estimation of the Armenians, that Mount Sinai and Mount Zion do among the followers of
 189 other Christian sects. The foolish legends which disgrace the purity of true religion usually relate to the object of local tradition which may be met with in the neighborhood of the monastery; consequently an attack of indigestion in an Armenian monk generally produces a vision of some nonsensical revelation about Noah's ark, which is still supposed to remain, hidden to mortal eye, under the clouds and snows of Mount Ararat.

Etchmiazin is an ancient fortified monastery, within whose walls resides the Patriarch of the Armenian Church, the spiritual head of that body, and who is looked up to indeed as the temporal chief of that scattered nation whose industrious children are settled in India, Constantinople, and in many other parts of the world, so that those who live and thrive abroad are much more numerous and more wealthy than those who reside in Armenia itself. The possession, therefore, of the person and residence of the Patriarch is a fact of no small importance in the history of Russian advancement. To undertake a pilgrimage to Etchmiazin is a meritorious act among the professors of the Armenian faith; and the influence exercised over the Patriarch is diffused, through the obedient medium of bishops, priests, and deacons, through all parts of Turkey, and many of the cities of India, to an extent which would surprise those who never have troubled themselves with the affairs of the Armenian jeweler or silversmith in an Eastern bazaar, for they are almost invariably dealers in jewels and precious metals; or serafs, bankers, among the native population; a position which renders their influence of no small consequence in every city where they reside. By these means, among
 190 others, the political interest of the czar is nourished and extended on the Persian Gulf, at Bombay, Bushire, Madras, and many another place, in the same manner as the sway and power of the Roman pontiff is upheld, and that by no weak and trembling hand, in Ireland, England, London, and the House of Commons.

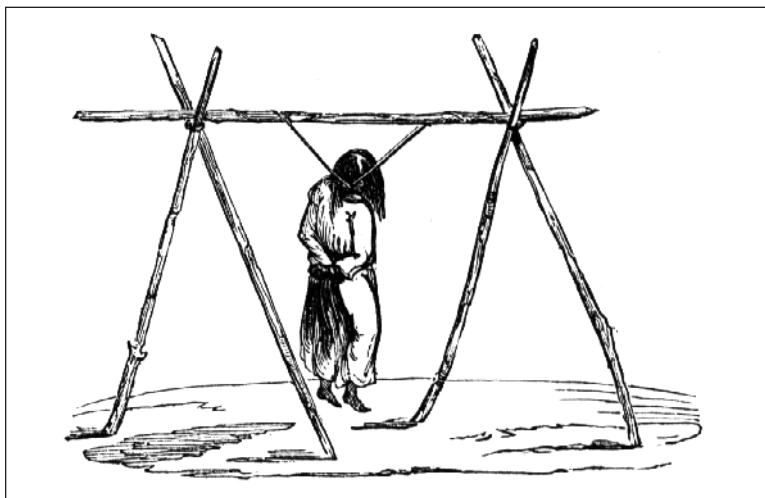
192 But the Czar is not an aged monk; he is not wanting in energy or strength; and he will not fail to pull the strings which hang loosely in the hands of the Armenian patriarch. If he pulls them evenly and well, he will advance his interests far and wide, even in the dominions of other Princes, who may hardly be aware of the influence exercised in their states from a source so distant and unobtrusive. The danger in his case is, that he may use too great violence, and break the strings from too severe a tension, raising the storm against himself which he intended to direct against others.

209 The country which was called Armenia in ancient times is now divided into two portions; the smaller of the two belongs to Persia, but the larger part is contained in the Turkish province or pashalik of Erzerum. It does not possess any communication with the sea, and is a wild and mountainous district. Although not of any high importance for mercantile productions, it has continually been an object of jealousy to the neighboring empires of Persia and Byzantium—or, in our time, Persia and Turkey—from the high road between those

empires necessarily passing through it; the power of cutting off supplies, and permitting the passage of caravans laden with the rich productions of other lands, being vested in the hands of the military governor of Erzeroom. The number of inhabitants of this pashalik is estimated at 1,000,000; there were probably more in earlier times. The principal cities are—Erzeroom, the capital, containing about 30,000 souls. The population of Kars is considered to be about 20,000, Van 20,000, Moosh and Beyboort about 8,000 each. The Turkish governor of the pashalik has generally an armed force of 25,000 regular soldiers; but it would be easy for him, with sufficient funds, to raise a more considerable force of irregular cavalry, and infantry armed with rifles, the use of which weapon is well understood by the hardy mountaineers and hunters, whose manners in some respects resemble those of the Tyrolese. The greater half of the population are Mohammedan Turks or Osmanlis, followers of Osman. The word Turk is never used in this country, and is more generally applied to the Turkomans and some of the tribes on the Persian border, who are of Calmuc or Tartar origin, and a completely different sort of people from those whom we call Turks. The Christian population consists of a small number of Greeks, Nestorians, and Roman Catholics, the greater part being descendants of the ancient possessors of the soil, and professing the Christianity of the Armenian Church, which I have attempted to describe above. Their manners and customs are the same as those of the Turks, whom they copy in dress and in their general way of living; so much is this the case, that it is frequently difficult to distinguish the Turkish from the Armenian family, both in Armenia and at Constantinople; only the Armenian is the inferior in all respects; he would be called in China a second-chop Turk. He is more quick and restless in his motions, and wants the dignity and straightforward bearing of the Osmanli. More than 100,000 Armenians are settled at Constantinople. These are not so ignorant, and are, even in appearance, different from those of their original country, who are a heavy and loutish race, while the citizens are thin, sharp, active in money making arts, and remarkable for their acuteness in mercantile transactions. Each Turkish village elects its *cadi*, a sort of mayor; an Armenian Christian village elects its elder, who is called the *Ak Sakal*, or White Beard; he is the responsible person in all transactions with government, and sometimes holds an arduous post. 210

The women live in a harem, like the Turkish women, separate from the men. The mistress of the house superintends the kitchen, the making of preserves, and salting winter stores; they wear the *yashmak*, or Turkish veil, at Constantinople, where the Armenian ladies are celebrated for their beauty, and their fine eyes, and black, arched eyebrows. In Armenia, the women, when they go out, wrap themselves up in a large piece of bunting, the same kind of stuff that is used in Europe for flags; being of wool, it takes a fine color in dyeing. The ample wrappers of the women are sometimes of a bright scarlet, sometimes a brilliant-white or blue. The effect of this veil is much more pleasing than those of Constantinople or Egypt. The Armenians are not bad cooks: some of their dishes are excellent; one of mutton stewed with quinces leaves a very favorable impression on the recollection of the hungry traveler. The country people live underground in the peculiar houses which I have described; they are an agricultural peasantry, tilling the ground, and not possessing large herds of sheep or cattle, like the Turkomans, Koords, or Arabs; they are a heavy-looking race, but are hardy and active, and inured from youth to exercise and endurance, but even in these respects they are excelled by the Mohammedan mountaineers. 211

212 The superiority of the Mohammedan over the Christian can not fail to strike the mind of an intelligent person who has lived among these races, as the fact is evident throughout the Turkish empire. This arises | partly from the oppression which the Turkish rulers in the provinces have exercised for centuries over their Christian subjects: this is probably the chief reason; but the Turk obeys the dictates of his religion, the Christian does not; the Turk does not drink, the Christian gets drunk; the Turk is honest, the Turkish peasant is a pattern of quiet, good-humored honesty; the Christian is a liar and a cheat; his religion is so overgrown with the rank weeds of superstition that it no longer serves to guide his mind in the right way. It would be a work of great difficulty to disentangle the pure faith preached by the Apostles from the mass of absurdities and strange notions with which Christianity is encumbered, in the belief of the villagers in out-of-the-way places, among the various sects of Christians in the dominions of the Sultan. This seems to have been the case for many centuries, and it has produced its effect in lowering the standard of morality, and injuring the general character of those nations who are subjects of Turkey and not of the Mohammedan religion. For, of two evils, it is better to follow the doctrines of a false religion than to neglect the precepts of the true faith.



The execution of a Kurd witnessed by Robert Curzon.
[From R. Curzon's *Armenia: a year at Erzeroum, and on the frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia* (London, 1854).]

Warrington Wilkinson Smyth—1817–1890

A Year with the Turks, or Sketches of Travel in the European and Asiatic Dominions of the Sultan.

New York, Redfield, 1854

A.D. 1854

<In Chamurlu> The people were, with one or two exceptions, all Turks and Armenians . . . 57

The climate of Diarbekir is excessively hot; situated as it is on a flat of black rock, the sun 72 acts upon it with great power. Our cell in the Khan proved almost intolerable; the stifling heat, even at night, almost annihilated sleep, for we did not at first adopt the better course of taking up a position on the roof at night.

The town is reported to have contained, a century since, 100,000 inhabitants, whose numbers are now diminished to 20,000, whilst the hand-loom, a source of its former wealth, are reduced to a very small number.

. . . It was too late to reach the mining town of Arghaneh Maden that night. I therefore 78 occupied the extra time by a visit to the Armenian convent, which, crowning the rocky peak above the town, can, from the plain below, scarcely be distinguished from the lime stone crags on which it rests. The road is very steep, and in some parts a false step would be dangerous. Towards the summit some patches of vineyard supply the monks with a tolerable red wine; and above these the road rises by steps hewn in the solid rock, and winds about the mountain till it brings the traveler to the gate on the northern side, where he is received by one or two of the brethren, and some of the poor Armenians from the village.

The building has no pretensions to beauty, but according to tradition, was founded by one of the Apostles, although the reverend gentleman who informed me of it had no very clear idea which it was. It is an irregular cluster of edifices, with a small court, a dark cupolated church, with abundance of pictures and lamps, and a couple of rooms in the Turkish style for the reception of visitors. Nothing, indeed, is particularly striking except the extensive prospect, which comprehends the great plain of Diarbekir, for miles beyond the city, the 79 dark ridges of the Karadja mountain, and on the other side the numerous towering peaks and crests of the Taurus, of which a few still gleamed with patches of snow.

The monks of Arghaneh appeared to be the most illiterate and ignorant of all that I had seen, and looked upon it as an extraordinary piece of curiosity that I should request to see their library, which after all consists but of one book-case full of Armenian books, a great portion manuscripts on various subjects. The Superior, from whom I might have obtained more information, was absent.

Arghaneh Maden consists of some eight hundred houses posted along the declivities . . . 80

The regeneration of Turkey must remain only an empty sound, until the important point 89 of provincial government is totally remodeled. That the pashas are nominated for an

undetermined period, which may be only a few weeks or months, is the first great evil, for it acts as an incitement to commence their career by a system of exaction and pillage, intended, in the shortest possible time, to secure themselves a fortune.

Secondly, the mode of levying the taxes, by which they chiefly enrich themselves, is one which it is only wonderful does not lead to more frequent disturbances and insurrections. The amount is arbitrary on the part of the government, and the people never know how much they must expect to pay. Again, the mode of gathering them is so corrupt and unjust, that, whilst every one employed pockets a share of the spoil, the peasant is obliged to pay twice or thrice the sum which is received by government as the tax. To see a pasha, whose coffers are filled with gold, surrounded by crowds of attendants, who pass their time in utter idleness, and who, not receiving any wages from him, exact all they can from their inferiors, is to look upon a specimen of the mode in which the great bulk of the laboring class is oppressed. Nor is it a marvel that the free Koords, when they see this system still in action, should prefer a vagabond life, and occasional marauding excursions, to the partial civilization they might acquire by a settled life in villages.

94 Mr. Braun had in the mean time been attacked by a fit of illness, and was obliged to place himself in the hands of the Armenian doctor, whose chief remedy appeared to consist in making a smoke of certain nostrums, and wafting it towards the nostrils; a performance suggestive of the “wonderful lamps” and magicians of old.*

97 Notwithstanding its singular situation, Charput is a large and flourishing town, where well-built stone houses of two stories, adorned with projecting balconies, where a bustling market, and a mosque in process of erection, abounding in elegant tracery, told of something different to the usual neglect of later days in Turkey . . . I passed the night at the village of Erzurud, where the inhabitants, Turks and Armenians, were even more than wont, polite and obliging.

109 The middle of July was come, and my line of march had to be considered. I had intended to make for the high land of Armenia, along the right bank of the Euphrates, and to this end the secretary of Ismael Pasha, at Diarbekir, had furnished me with the following route:

From Kebban, or Gumush Maden, to Eghin	12 hours
From Eghin to Kamakh	20 hours
From Kamakh to Erzingan	12 hours
From Erzingan to Tergian	12 hours
From Tergian to Erzeroum	18 hours

But I could not learn that anything of interest existed along this road, except the pretty town of Eghin, inhabited almost exclusively by Armenians of property, who are wont as children to leave their birth-place and seek their fortune in Constantinople; then, after amassing, as merchants, scribes, or bankers, a certain amount of wealth, return again, unless

* As “there is nothing new under the sun,” I was the less surprised, on returning to England, to hear of the similar performance of a gallant amateur, at the West-end of London, who undertakes to cure most disorders by burning his lamp under the nose of the patient.

some unlucky accident renders them a head shorter, to enjoy their gains amid their native scenes, at Eghin. The scenery of the Euphrates, about that part, is of the most surpassing grandeur, and forced from my Tyrolese friend the confession that he had never, even in his adored home, seen its equal.

. . . Before sunset we arrived at the inconsiderable village of Gangal, inhabited by Koords, 122
Turks, and Armenians, the latter of whom, although amounting to only ten families, had just erected a church of squared stone, the first Christian place of worship in the district, in a style which, dictated, no doubt, in part, by necessity, reminds the visitor of a block-house or a prison. The governor was unwell, and we established ourselves in the house of an Armenian, who furnished a sort of niche for us with carpets, and a couple of mattresses and pillows, on which Braun at once laid himself, attacked by a smart fit of fever, whilst I sallied forth to admire the singular house architecture.

The cottages occupy a large surface of ground, and consist of but one story, roofed in with rough trunks of juniper-trees, over which is piled a quantity of earth; the ascent to the top 123
of such a cluster of edifices is aided either by a portion which has fallen down, and formed a ramp, or by stairs; and in some parts of the village it is a much more simple task to walk in a straight line over the houses than to make the *détour* through the streets. Groups of the inhabitants sit there in the evening; and it would be easy to forget on what foundation we were walking, were it not for an occasional hole, from which a light curling smoke gave indication of the supper preparing below.

The house in which we took up our abode was one of the largest. A broad and high gateway led into a dark earth-floored space, on the right of which was the niche allotted for our apartment, whilst the rest was occupied with logs of wood and a wheeled carriage; for here at length some bullock cars, huge machines rolling on two huge trucks, presented the first specimens of a conveyance on wheels which I had seen for months. From this large vestibule one door led to the stable, another to the dwelling-room of our hosts, both dark and bearing the appearance of no great comfort, although a large family seemed to stow away very happily on fragments of carpet spread on the bare earth.

On entering the dirty streets <of Siwas>, a Kawass of the Pasha met us, and stalking on to 126
the house of a rich Armenian, ushered the whole with their horses, into the court-yard, much to the surprise of the good man of the house, who was inclined to be surly, till reminded that, if we left him and went elsewhere, he would be on the Pasha's black list. He gave us a neat little room, and did his best to conceal his anger, though it was evident that our being Christians, aided little in reconciling him to our presence.

The Armenians of Siwas have lately commenced to build a church on a large scale, which, 129
although not very classical in style, is well constructed of squared stone. They possess, besides, two or three smaller buildings, used as churches.

Passing a huge, castle-like monastery of the Armenians <on our way to Tocat>, and then 130
a long ascent among rocks of white alabaster, we mounted to the surface of an extensive and bare table-land, covered by scanty dry grass, and with its monotony broken only by the

distant peaks of some mountains on the north and north-east. But even here, over and over again, the disastrous results of Turkish misrule are brought to mind by the melancholy group of cypresses and tomb-stones which mark the site of a former village, where the houses can, at best, be recognized only in fallen heaps of rubbish.

- ¹³⁴ The population of Tocat is estimated variously at 20,000 and 40,000, the mean of which, 30,000, will probably lie near the truth. Of this number some 2,000 families are Armenians, the rest chiefly Turks; and after these follow a few Anatolian Greeks and Europeans.

Ivan Gavrilovich Golovin—b.1816

The Nations of Russia and Turkey and their Destiny.
 London, Trübner & Co., New York, John Wiley, 1854

A.D. 1854

Asiatic Turkey is divided into Asia Minor, Syria, Armenia, and Mesopotamia. Asia Minor has 122
 a population of nearly 6,000,000 on a superficies larger than that of Germany.

The Yezidis belong to the race of the Koords, whose language they speak, and who have 128
 given their name to Koordistan and are to be found in great numbers in Armenia. They are a
 rapacious and warlike tribe, who have only, in recent times, submitted to the Porte. The
 Nestorians and the German Colonists of the Caucasus suffer most from their invasions.
 Forming the vanguard of the Turkish army, they always commence the war against Russia, but
 unable to resist regular troops, they are easily routed by small numbers, and put to flight, they
 fall upon the Turkish line, to pillage the camp.

Whilst the Armenians begin to accept the Turkish fez, the Koords retain their conical cap
 of white felt, | with one handkerchief or more over it. The jacket and waistcoat worn by the 129
 Koords are Turkish, but the shirt is long. They are armed with a saber in a black leather
 sheath, a long gun, and a small round target strengthened with plates of iron or brass one over
 another.

Armenia derives its name from Aram, the son of Shem, and was called by the ancient 130
 Romans Albania, probably from the light-colored beards of the inhabitants, which are still
 numerous among them. Armenia belonged at different times to Assyria, Media, and Persia,
 was conquered by Alexander of Macedonia, and governed by his successors; it afterwards
 belonged to Pontus, and then formed a Roman province. At the end of the eleventh century,
 Armenia became independent, and was governed by its own kings. In 1522, it was conquered
 by the Turks, whilst the eastern part of Great Armenia remained Persian, and is now a Russian
 province. The population of Turkish Armenia is estimated at 2,400,000 inhabitants.

Lamartine calls the Armenians the Swiss of the East, but I think they are more like Jews,
 money being their grand object. The *sarrafs*, or Armenian bankers, manage the finances of the
 Asiatic and Egyptian pashas, and enough has already been said of that Armenian who was
 inexhaustible in the discovery of expedients for procuring money for the Bey of Egypt. In a
 moment of anger, Mahomet Ali | having ordered him to be drowned, and repenting 131
 afterwards, was greatly rejoiced to find that his orders had not been executed. Like the Jews,
 the Armenians are dispersed throughout the whole world: 40,000 of them live in Calcutta,
 Bombay, and Madras; there is a colony of them in Nakhitchewan, in the Government of
 Ekaterinoslav in Southern Russia, visited by Mr. Oliphant. The descendants of the 24,000
 families that Shah-Abbas carried away by force from Armenia to Persia in 1600, still live in a
 suburb of Ispahan. Again, like Jews, the Armenians chiefly attend to the manufacture and sale
 of jewelry; agriculture is in a very low state, from want of roads. Yet the Armenians possess a
 monopoly in supplying Turkey with gunpowder, a privilege enjoyed by the family of Dadians.

I cannot but foretell to the Armenians the same fate as to the Jews, the loss of their nationality and of their religion. Their independence left them four centuries ago, and the Armenian creed does not differ sufficiently from that of the Greek church to allow it to exist as a separate faith. They reject the human nature of Christ, and in their ritual preserve certain traces of the faith of Sesostrius, or the Magi relics of their state under the ancient monarchy of Persia, as, for instance, a certain veneration paid to fire. Even yet in Catholic countries, in the feast of St. John, there is the custom of burning straw and pitch, a manifest relic of the ancient
 131 worship of the sun. The principal Armenian patriarch lives at Echmiadzin, which belongs to Russia, and great concessions have already been made by him to the Russian synod and the Czar. The two other patriarchs, at Sis and Agthamar, are not of the same influence; yet the Patriarch of Sis has a greater number of souls under his charge.

The Armenian clergy are poor and without learning, at least those of the lowest order: the learned priests, called vartabieds, have had a great many degrees to take.

There are 40,000 Catholic Armenians, originating in the fourteenth century, in the time of Pope John XXII, who sent there a Dominican friar, one Bartholomew the Little. Mr. Curzon, in his *Armenia*, asks, whether he was consecrated bishop of Nakchevan. No, we answer, but at Vagarsabat. The see was afterwards transferred to Sis or Sisid in Cilicia, but is now at Bezoummar in the Lebanon. The patriarch receives £44 per month.

Humphry Sandwith—1822–1881

A Narrative of the Siege of Kars and of the six months' resistance by the Turkish garrison under General Williams to the Russian army: together with a narrative of travels and adventures in Armenia and Lazistan; with remarks on the present state of Turkey.

London, John Murray, 1856

A.D. 1856

Viewed from the deck of the vessel, Trebizond is picturesque in the extreme. The houses of wood are clustered together on the side of a high hill, and on the east of the town a promontory juts out, terminating in a steep and rugged cliffs. The country all around is rich in vegetation, and the climate healthy. It is difficult to tell the amount of population, but it is probably upwards of 20,000 . . .

Much has been lately written about Erzeroom, and the subject has been well exhausted in Mr. Curzon's entertaining book on Armenia. I must, however, say a few words on a city which I have visited four different times, and in which I have spent several months of *ennui* and impatience, snowed up, and thrown on my own resources, compelled to amuse myself within the four walls of a house, with rather too select society and a somewhat meager library. Those days are gone by; and although I like Turkey much, for many reasons, I trust it may never be my fate to pass another winter in this region, Siberia in all except champagne and Polish society.

Erzeroom is one of the most important of the cities of Asiatic Turkey. Its Governor is a Vizier, and rules over the Sanjaks or Provinces of Erzeroom, Childir, Kars, Bayazid, Van, and Moosh. The population of these districts has been roughly estimated at 800,000. The province of Erzeroom itself is divided into fourteen *cazas* or districts—namely, Erzeroom, Upper and Lower Passin, Kighee, Kozleejan, Melazgheerd, Khinis, Terjan, Erzingian, Sheyran, Kelkit, Baiburt, Tortoom, and Ispeer, containing about 1,500 villages, in most of which a European has never trod. With regard to the population, it is most difficult to form anything like a correct estimate, but according to Mr. Cavert's calculation it may be reckoned as follows:—

Mussulmans	30,000
Orthodox Armenians	5,000
Catholic Armenians	2,000
Greeks	200
Russian subjects, containing principally of Armenians and a few Georgians and Jews	1,000
Persians	900
Garrison force	6,000
Total population	45,100

A correct census, I believe, is not desired by the Turks, who are conscious of a very sensible decrease in the Mussulman population in many provinces, and naturally would not like to

publish the fact. In the spring of this year (1855) only 1,000 men were raised throughout the whole province of Erzerum for the army, and this too in time of war, when several thousands were required. This city contains twenty-eight khans, thirteen public baths, and seventy mosques, which fact proves it to be one of the strongholds of Mahometanism. The Christians
 61 have a Roman Catholic, a Greek, and an Armenian church; | the two last have, it is said, received handsome sums from the Emperor of Russia.

66 The house-architecture of Asia Minor is peculiar, and as I am writing at this moment in a large Armenian house in Erzerum, I cannot do better than describe it. The house externally has a most gloomy aspect, built as it is of dark-colored stone, and having very small windows. You enter by a low door and find yourself in a stone passage. On your right is a door which
 67 opens into a stable; on your left are sundry odd-looking rooms, | such as kitchens, pantries, &c., all excessively cold and damp. A stair on your left leads you into the upper rooms. Now all these apartments are built side by side, like so many small independent houses, and each has room of its own, so that when you step outside you find a separate roof for each room, the lower ones leading to the upper by stone steps. In the spring of the year the whole population of the city, chiefly women and children, bring out their cushions and mattresses and sun themselves on these roofs; and a most gay and beautiful sight it is, from the brilliant costumes and bright colors in which the women delight. You can walk along the terraces from house to house over nearly the whole town, and if you are stopped by a street it would not require a very long leap to clear the chasm. The interior of the rooms is often very gaily decorated with painted roofs, which, though curious, are utterly wanting in artistic taste; they resemble very bad Persian painting. A native room possesses but little furniture—a carpet and a sofa are, strictly speaking, the whole of it; but the wealthier Christians and some of the Turks have latterly adopted much of European luxury, and it is not infrequent now to find chairs and tables. Moreover, the very recent introduction of glass windows has much increased the comfort and healthiness of the houses. Every Eastern city is famous for some gift of Providence. If you ask a whirling dervish what Mossul possesses, he will tell you “good bread”; and if you ask what is good in Erzerum, he will answer “the water”; and in truth this city is blessed with an abundance of clear good water . . .

126 We had from time to time deserters, chiefly Polish, from the Russian army, and many more of these poor fellows deserted than ever reached Kars. The rest were caught by the Armenian subjects of the Sultan, and taken back to Gumri, where they were disposed of
 127 according to | martial law. Nearly all the villages between us and Gumri were inhabited by Armenians; nor did the Czar, throughout the whole of his vast dominions, possess more staunch and zealous partisans than these Ottoman subjects. Our indignation at their open and industrious partisanship in favor of the enemy was somewhat modified when we heard of the wrongs and oppression which had been abundantly heaped upon them. The Bashi-Bozooks had brought in crops of their heads occasionally during their forays . . .

128 . . . The Armenians, like all those living under persecution, cling together, and help each other in any great misfortunes; and should an Armenian be caught *flagrante delicto*, he would not want for a round sum which, in the shape of a bribe, would pave the way to his escape

from the fangs of Turkish justice. Thus it was that we had a community in the center of our camp entirely devoted to the enemy; and had they not been a spiritless race, entirely broken by centuries of oppression, there is no knowing to what danger we might have been exposed from this cause alone.

. . . I must not omit to mention the original, or rather aboriginal, inhabitants of this region 162
<Kars>, namely, the Armenians; but before speaking of their habits and customs I must say a few words on the provincial government of Turkey, to which they are subject

On reading the pages of certain Ottomaniacs, as Lord Carlisle calls them, we might suppose that the provincial government of Turkey was all that could be desired, since it is really municipal and partakes much of republicanism or self-government, excellent in theory or in a highly moral state of society, but in corrupt countries about the worst that could be devised.

The highest provincial, as well as military, rank in a province is that of a Mushir; a personage who rules over a large pashalik or eyalet such as Erzeroom, for that city is the capital of a large province.

This province is subdivided again into kaimakamliks or sanjaks. Kars, for example, is a kaimakamlik, and its governor is a pasha, though of a rank lower than him of Erzeroom: 163
indeed the Pasha of Kars is the kaimakam or lieutenant of the governor of Erzeroom, and is under his orders.

The kaimakamliks or sanjaks are again subdivided into *mudirliks* or *kasas* (districts). The mudirs, who govern petty towns and districts, are small rogues, and would not be presented with a pipe by the Mushir during a visit, perhaps not even by the Pasha of Kars, but would sit on the edge of a chair during the interview and answer "*evet Effendim*," with an obeisance, on each observation from the great man, and would be lavish in such terms as "your slave," "the dust of your feet," &c.

The *mudirliks* are again divided into villages, each being governed by a mukhtar or head man, who is probably a native of the village, rides a good horse, possesses a silver-mounted saber, which is always wrapped up in leather except on state occasions, and an embroidered jacket, which also is only produced once a year, on the occasion of the Bairam. This last is the only good fellow amongst these governors; he is an honest agriculturist, with very simple ideas,—to wit, that there is a great pasha at Erzeroom whom he fears and worships as the Yezidees do the Principle of Evil, also that there is in Stamboul a great Padishah (greater even than the pasha), which Padishah is only less than Allah himself, since he is the Caliph, the shadow of the Almighty, and dispenses crowns to the seven *krals* or kings of Frangistan, and summons these, his vassals, with their forces to aid him when the Ghiaours or Muscovites from the north presume to rise in rebellion.

In each pashalik, or kaimakamlik, mudirlik, and village, there is a *Mijlis*, or municipal 164
council, which is supposed to arrange the affairs of, and govern the inhabitants. In these municipal councils Christians are supposed by very credulous Ottomaniacs to have a voice.—I believe that one or two are admitted to a seat in the mijlis of the pashalik, to carry out a theory, but I never heard of one being hardy enough to open his mouth.

The governors are members, but not presidents, of these councils; the *cadi* also is a member. The council regulates the taxes.

The mijlis, or council of the Mushir, sends the demand for the sum required to the kaimakams; these apportion it to the mudirs, who divide and apportion so much to each muktar, or chief of the village, who must collect the money.

These municipal councils fix the price of bread, corn, &c., for their own districts. Unfortunately for the sake of justice and fair play, the members of the council are always tradesmen, and generally contrive the prices to suit their own advantage. They also hear criminal cases, and farm the taxes.

165 Now in Turkey, where there is no free press and no expression of public opinion, the working of these municipal councils, so fine in theory, does but multiply the oppressors of the people. Instead of one tyrant in the form of a Deribey, there are fifty smaller ones, each bent upon enriching himself at the expense of the community.

The mudir or kaimakam appointed at Constantinople may possibly be an honest man, and may have come with a determination to resist oppression; but no sooner does he attempt to thwart the designs of the mijlis, than the members unite against him, and send to Constantinople a *masbata*, or round-robin (an instrument of irresistible force in Turkey), praying for his removal, and accusing him of all sorts of crimes and misdemeanors. This petition is always attended to, since the mudirlik or kaimakamlik is a most valuable piece of patronage at Constantinople, for it brings in a certain money-value to some great pasha, who sits in his *yali* on the Bosphorus and dispenses places at so many thousand piastres each.

The criminal cases are tried before the mijlis, the money cases by the kaimakam or cadi; and these latter are entitled to five per cent on the sum awarded to the successful client, when the debt is above a certain amount. Collusion, I am told, frequently occurs; a false charge is made by a man, the debt is awarded to him, and the corrupt judge receives his five per cent or more. But this species of corruption is by no means confined to Turkey, nor does it depend
166 upon this form of adjudication. If a Turk is condemned to pay a Christian, he refuses to submit to the decision of the Cadi, and carries his case to the *Mehkémé*. This *Mehkémé* is a tribunal, of which the Cadi is the president, and of which the decisions are guided entirely by the Koran; the Mufti being referred to in cases of difficulty. Here the Christian is not recognized as a fellow-citizen; he is a *rayah*, or conquered being, whose existence is only tolerated by his paying a ransom yearly for his head, viz., the *haratch*. It would be monstrous, indeed a great sin, to admit *his* evidence, therefore, the Mussulman's yea, yea, and nay, nay, are sufficient to overthrow all Christian asseverations or testimony.

In February, 1854 <1856>, a firman was published, to the effect that Christians were henceforward to be considered as fellow-citizens, and their *information* taken in all courts of justice throughout the empire. Mark the word *information*, which was used instead of *oath*, that the religious prejudices of the people might not be shocked. This new law was published in the European papers, and sundry hopeful comments made upon it; but we knowing ones understood that it was what both English and Turks call *bosh*; that it was but a sop thrown to the barking diplomatic Cerberus, and never intended to be acted upon. Since then, I have been nearly two years in the provinces, both in European and Asiatic Turkey, and have seen Christians frequently wronged, but have never heard of their evidence being taken. Each Pasha, when questioned concerning this firman, declares he knows nothing of it, no firman
167 of the kind has ever been officially communicated to him; he must act according to his instructions, he cannot take cognizance of firmans conveyed through European consuls.

Yet there are extenuating circumstances which must be taken into account when speaking of Mussulman intolerance. The Christians are a conquered race, and their conquerors are ignorant and fanatical; these facts we can neither deny nor explain away. The Turkish ministers who are really enlightened, and anxious to lessen these evils, are placed in a most difficult position. They see and deplore the evil, but a root-and-branch remedy is in all cases most dangerous, for they have to take into account the deeply-rooted prejudices of a whole Mussulman population; they therefore work gradually; and I am quite of opinion that very much has been done towards alleviating the position of the Christians, though as yet not half enough. While then we cannot be too severe on those Turks in authority who do their utmost to retard the good work, there is strong ground to hope that the amelioration of the Christians is really progressing.

When any public works are undertaken, the *mijlis* fixes the price of labor and the number of men to be employed. These latter are supposed to give their time and labor in lieu of taxes; and in no department is there such injustice and plunder. The bill of costs to the Government is signed by each member of the *mijlis*, each taking his share of the proceeds of speculation. All the wrongs, the unjust exaction of labor, double taxation, truck system, and other burdens grievous to be borne, fall on the unfortunate peasant, who is thereby ground down to the lowest stage of poverty, and can never hope to improve his position. The theory of the election of the members of *mijlis* is, that the notables of the town are elected by the popular voice, but in reality they are always the creatures of the Pasha. 168

It was once my luck to see a *mehkémé* sitting, not exactly in council, but at least in their council chamber; and as the anecdote will illustrate the provincial government of the country, I shall introduce it here. It so happened that I was making a tour with a certain distinguished British official, whom I need not name, in a certain Turkish province; and we arrived at a town governed by a *kaimakam*, or pasha of two tails. Now the arrival of any European of rank always excites considerable sensation in a town, and he is sure of having deputations and complaints from Jews or Christians who beg for his interference. My friend had very many of the best qualities of John Bull about him, and the numerous stories of Turkish oppression and Turkish insolence which we had met with on the road had considerably raised his ire. He looked on the wretched towns and the squalid people, the ruined villages and the ragged tawdry grandeur of the governors, and then “wondered what the deuce the Turks had to be proud of, and why they thought themselves so much better than the Christians.” On our arrival at B—— we had nothing to complain of on the score of politeness. The authorities knew that my friend was a great man, whose reports went for something with the ambassador and the Government, and to such all Turkish officials bow the knee. Presently some respectable-looking but cringing Armenians called and begged to be heard by the English lord. Their story was as follows:—An Armenian tradesman, about to leave the town for another city, had been trying to change some paper-money into gold, the former not being current at the place of his destination. An officer, hearing of this, went and offered the Armenian gold for 5,000 piastres in paper (about 40*l.*), ten per cent *agio* being deducted. This offer the Armenian accepted, and gave the officer the paper-money, the latter promising to return immediately with the gold. Some time having elapsed, and the officer not having made his appearance, the Armenian went to look after him, and with much trouble succeeded in recovering, at various installments, 4,060 piastres. The Armenian then applied to the Turk’s 169

commanding officer for the payment of the remainder, who recommended that the affair should be taken to the mijlis. The Turk seeing that the proofs were rather strong against him, insisted on his right to be tried by the mehkémé, where he knew that the Koran would serve him in his need. Accordingly the Armenian and the Turk were confronted before this religious tribunal; and there the Turk, grown bold as a Mussulman, declared that, far from owing the Armenian anything, the latter wished to rob him; that he (the Turk) had placed the above-named sum in the hands of a third person to be changed into gold, and that the Armenian had taken it for that purpose, but that the gold was not forthcoming. "Do you swear to this?" asked the President. "I swear it on the Koran," answered the Turk. "It is enough." The Armenian had brought witnesses, but they were all Christians, their evidence was impossible; 170 so the hapless Armenian was obliged to refund all the gold he had previously obtained, and found himself a ruined man.*

On hearing this story, my friend started up indignant. His resolution was formed. If he could not gain justice, he would at least tell these scoundrels "a bit of his mind"; so he sent his compliments to the Governor, and requested, as a great favor, that he might see the members of the mehkémé in council assembled, as he had something to say to that body. This extraordinary request doubtless put the Pasha to some embarrassment; but coming as it did from an English official of high rank, at a time, too, when England had espoused the cause of Turkey, it could hardly be resisted,—at all events the Pasha durst not refuse; so he sent word that the members of the mehkémé would be assembled at three o'clock that day, and would be happy to see his Excellency the English lord—(all great Englishmen are called lords in Turkey as elsewhere).

In the afternoon, at the appointed hour, we repaired accordingly to the seat of the mehkémé, or council-chamber. This was a moderate-sized Turkish *salaamlık*, or receiving room, about 25 feet in length, furnished on each side with a long sofa; the floor was raised and boarded, with the exception of six feet at the lower end, which was not covered by a carpet, and served as a standing place for the domestics. A cone-shaped fireplace was at one end of the room. After taking our seats, chibouques were served to us, after which the 171 members of the mehkémé were ushered in. Coffee was next brought, of which we all partook. Five men composed the tribunal, and these were doubtless fair specimens of the municipal corporation of a Turkish town. The first was the mollah, a very sleek, clean-looking man, with a long cloak of fine cloth, an immaculate white turban, and nicely-dressed smug beard; after him came four other individuals, all dressed in the old Turkish costume, wearing capacious turbans and ample cloaks. All these sat with their feet doubled up under them, and their hands clasped in front of them in token of respect.

After a short delay, occasioned by the presence of the servants handing round the coffee, my friend began his address. He asked these Mussulmans if they had not been appointed to distribute justice and to protect the poor subjects of the Sultan? He asked if the Christians of that province were not the most industrious, the most submissive, and the quietest portion of the Sultan's subjects; and as such, were they not deserving of the protection of the laws? "And do you dare, do you presume, to rob and oppress these people, because they are Christians—because they are of the same faith as those great nations, England and France who are now

* This happened some months after the Firman accepting Christian evidence was issued.

pouring out their blood in your defense? Is this the return we get—our religion insulted, our fellow-Christians trampled on and plundered, by you who are placed here to see justice done?” Warming with his subject my friend was eloquent, and his eyes glared on his guilty victims as he harangued them. He then called in the Christian, who trembled in every limb, and presented a picture of the most abject fear; he had brought his witnesses, but his cause was pleaded in such a way, and by such a pleader, as never yet had been heard in a Turkish court of injustice. The excuses of the members were feeble; the Pasha, who was present, was frightened and scandalized; in short, the latter personage was only too glad to hush up the matter by immediately taking the affair into his own hands, ordering that the Armenian should be paid his money, and that the Turkish officer should “eat stick.” The members of the mehkémé, conscious of their rascality, retired in dismay; they had not only done wrong, but they had been found out; and they dreaded the consequences, if the matter should be taken up by the ambassador at Constantinople. They were safe, however, for other and greater events were passing at the time; but let us hope they received a lesson which may be a protection to other poor Christians. 172

I suppose a mixture of fanaticism and venality influences the judges on such occasions. These were men whom a pound sterling would influence in their decision; and it is probable that the officer gave them a share of the spoil while they soothed their consciences, if they had any, by the conviction that they were acting up to the precepts of the Koran, and merely spoiling the Egyptians.

While on this subject I cannot do better than give an example of the way in which the feelings of this class of the sultan’s subjects are rudely trampled on by Mussulman intolerance. Here is a faithful translation of a *teskére*, or permit of burial, given by the Cadi of Mardin, in the spring of this year, 1855, to a Christian applying for it. He has given and does give scores of the like a kind to all the Ghiaours in his jurisdiction. Here it is:— 173

“We certify to the priest of the church of Mary, that the impure, putrefied, stinking carcase of Saideh, damned this day, may be concealed underground.

“Sealed. El Said Mehmed Faizi.

“A.H. 1271. Rejib II.”

(March 29, A.D. 1855.)

Perhaps scarcely any people in history have suffered so much from ruthless and tyrannical conquerors as the Armenians. That Mussulman monster of cruelty, Timour Leng, crossed and recrossed these high table-lands, leaving behind him the ashes of villages and hecatombs of slaughtered human beings. After him came hordes of Turkomans, who, divided into the two great clans of the White and the Black Sheep, ate up the country between them. These, again, were conquered by the Persians on one side, and the Osmanlis on the other—a change of masters, but scarcely for the better. The Saracens and Greeks took away multitudes of captives, and the Egyptians carried off 60,000 into Egypt. Abbas the Great, by way of defending his frontiers from the Turks, coolly drew a broad entrenchment of perfect desert through Armenia; and, in our own times, Russia transported in 1828 many thousand Armenian families into Georgia. Numbers of these perished by the diseases of a climate to which they were unaccustomed, and many returned to their native hills; but many more remained. It is a matter of dispute as to the means used by the Russians for inducing an entire 176 177

population to leave their homes; some say it was effected by terrorism, and some by persuasion; but, doubtless, many causes were in operation. Persuasion was probably used, for the Czar wanted his waste lands in Georgia cultivated; and promised immunity from taxes, grants of land, and privileges to the emigrants. While the Russian army occupied Armenia, the proud Osmanlis, who had been browbeating the Ghiaours for ages, were now in their turn compelled to submit to every indignity. The Russian soldiery had free license to insult the inhabitants, and it was not unusual to see a soldier seize a respectable Mussulman by the beard, spit in his face, and buffet him from pure wantonness. One day a party of soldiers conceived an amusing idea, which they immediately put into practice. They composed a
 178 Turkish funeral procession, with a dead dog as their corpse, and carried it into one of the principal mosques, calling on the name of Mahomet. In short, the Turks of Erzeroum had to submit to the same bitter humiliation as the Jews, when the unclean animal was slaughtered by the soldiers of Titus in the Holy of Holies. Perhaps the most galling measure of all was the disarming of the Mussulmans and the arming of the Armenians. How bitter must have been the feelings of the domineering Turk, when he saw his former slaves strut past, bristling with arms and ready to insult him, while he, poor fellow, was in the position of a despised rayah! Ages of oppression and of galling contumely had but ill prepared the Armenians for the position they then held. The proud overbearing of a conquering race is bad, but the unbridled indulgence of retaliation is worse; it deepens the gulf of bad feeling, and creates sore and jealous heartburnings that endure for ages. There is at this moment a feeling among the Christian populations akin to that encouraged by the Russians. The Turks are cowed; they have a powerful enemy in front, and have allies to assist them whom the Koran has always taught them to regard as their natural foes; who, moreover, assume a right to dictate: in short, their capital is occupied by foreign and infidel troops, and in their presence the native Christian feels protected and becomes occasionally insolent. It is devoutly to be hoped that such feelings will be discouraged by those who, after defending, must of necessity assist in the reform of the empire.

When the domineering Armenians saw the armies of Russia retiring within their own
 179 enlarged frontiers, they began to tremble for the consequences of their swagger, and feared a tenfold vengeance. This feeling, doubtless, largely aided the emigration. As it happened, however, the Turks were dismayed at the consequences, both immediate and prospective, of the departure of so many thousand industrious inhabitants. Large tracts of land, the property of Turks, were thrown out of cultivation, whole bazaars of handicraft workmen were closed, and the first necessities of life became excessively dear. Feeling all this, and foreseeing worse things to come, the Turks with one accord determined to forget the past and treat the Christians with kindness, and for a time, I am told, they acted on that resolution.

Like all forced and unnatural emigrations, great misery and loss of life attended the departure of the Armenians. Messrs. Smith and Dwight, who were eye-witnesses, thus describe this remarkable exodus:— “Deeply affecting it was to see the inhabitants of a whole province thus deserting the home of their fathers, bearing in all their appearance such evident marks of the oppression from which they were fleeing. They were clothed in rags; their furniture consisted of a few dirty mattresses, cushions, coverlets, and rugs, a cradle or churn, a pail or wooden bottle, a few copper pans and kettles, and in some cases a small chest. A few cattle and sheep accompanied them. Mothers with infant children generally found a place in

an empty cart, but in some cases they were mounted upon a horse, a mule, or an ass, with the heads of their little ones projecting from baskets or bags upon either side of the animal; in others the tender charge was fastened alone upon the baggage | in a cart or upon the back of a beast; and not unfrequently the mother walked with it slung in a pouch upon her back. Most of the rest, men, women, and children, were on foot in the mire, which in some parts of the plain was deep. All had the same hardy, sunburnt, coarse complexion. In none, not even in the females, all of whom, except the marriageable and newly-married girls, were unveiled, did we discover that fair and interesting countenance which distinguishes their countrymen in Smyrna and Constantinople. They were equally inferior, too, in form, being lower in stature, and of a broader and coarser frame. Nearly all bore marks of a desponding spirit. What had brought upon them this extreme of penury? Their country is hardly inferior to any in the world for the cultivation of grain and the raising of herds and flocks, and their sobriety and orderly conduct is acknowledged by all. It can be nothing else than the blighting influence of Mahomedan oppression that be caused them to wither away.” 180

In person the Armenian peasant is broad-shouldered, with short and heavy limbs, large feet and hands, large head and coarse features; in short, there is a general resemblance in form amongst those inhabiting the elevated plateau of Asia, the same heavy form being common to the Tartar tribes of Central Asia. The Armenian's features differ widely, however, from the last, inasmuch as he has an aquiline nose, good arched eye-brows, oval face, and well-formed lips; in short his face is of that model which ancient ethnologists have termed the Caucasian; whereas the Tartar from Bokhara has but an apology for a nose, which seems to have been beaten | into his face; his cheek bones project, and his orbits are small, and slope upwards 181 exteriorly. Wherever you find the Armenian, the same kind of physical form is observed: they are seldom tall; their features are always disposed to be exaggerated, especially the nose, which, invariably aquiline, often assumes formidable proportions. In Constantinople the features of these people are often handsome; but although the complexion is fine and delicate in those who are gently nurtured, there is still a certain coarseness of form and feature which marks their origin. Never have I seen that classic and intellectual beauty so frequent amongst the Greeks.

In moral qualities the Armenians much resemble most other conquered races. They are sharp traders, and not remarkable for truthfulness; they are submissive and patient to an extraordinary degree, and appear to be contented with their position as rayahs, provided their masters are not too hard upon them. They present the greatest possible contrast to the Greeks, who, with much higher intellectual powers, are restless, discontented, plotting conspirators. The Armenians resemble the Jews in many points; like them they are a scattered race; like them they preserve their nationality in every quarter of the globe whither their mercantile pursuits may lead them; and, like them, they are jealous of the admission of strangers into their quarters or families. In Constantinople they are rapidly adopting European usages; civilizing themselves, in short, without however losing their religion or nationality.

The Armenians, besides being sharp traders and money-lenders in the towns, are in their own province the principal agriculturists. The land at present cultivated more than suffices for the wants of the population: there is abundance of bread, and barley is grown sufficient to feed the horses of the province and thousands of mules that pass through it in the Persian 196

caravans. The want of roads would render the labor of the peasant vain, were more land brought under the plough. It occasionally happens, in consequence of unseasonable frosts or flights of locusts farther south, that a famine exists over a tract of country, separated by some rocky ridges from fields of plenty. On these occasions the high price of grain tempts the
 197 agriculturist to send over his spare horses and 1 camels laden with wheat, which is quadrupled in price by the carriage. The decrease of the population, especially the Mussulman part of it, which is unquestionable throughout the whole of Turkey, is sufficient to account for the decrease of cultivated land. The causes of this decrease are various; many may be gathered from the pages of this book, faintly depicted though they be, and many must purposely be left untold.

In this country, almost destitute of wood, that article forms a most important item in the household expenses of the better class of Kars; none but they presume to burn it. The large pine-forest on the Soghanli Dagħ is three days' distance, and the only source of their supply. Huge trunks of trees are dragged over the country by oxen; the forward extremity of each beam is connected to the yoke by means of strong thongs of raw hide or iron chains, and the middle is supported on a stout axle and wheels, made in the forest by woodcutters, without the aid of any iron nails; for these carriages are only intended to last during the journey to town, after which they are broken up and sold for firewood.

The mode of transporting agricultural produce from village to village, over the plains, is by small, rudely-made carts termed *arabas*, built very low, and with wheels far apart. The axle-trees turn with the wheels, which of course causes a great loss of *ox*-power. Two English friends of mine made a desperate attempt to introduce wheels turning *on* and not *with* the axletree; but although they had a model araba made, and went to some expense in its construction, their philanthropic labors were in vain; the peasants determined to do as their fathers had
 198 done 1 before them. As all these plains are bounded by mountains, these wheel carriages are useless beyond the plain; and therefore cannot be employed to carry corn from one province to another. When the ground is deeply covered with snow, the wheels are removed from the body of the vehicle, and a rude kind of sledge constructed. I am told this is quite a modern innovation.

All the poorer classes, both of towns and villages, burn *tezek*, or cakes of prepared cowdung, which makes excellent slow-burning fuel. The agricultural animals to be met with in Armenia are the horse, ass, ox, buffalo, and sheep. The last is of the broad-tailed species, and the mass of fat contained in that appendage is highly valued in cookery, and bears the same price as butter. The wool, though not fine, is unmixed with hair. In the winter all domestic animals are confined to the house or stable (for these are convertible terms in Armenia), and they are fed solely on straw, hay, or rushes. April is the lambing season. The lambs are only allowed to remain with their dams for two or three weeks, after which they are sent to graze, and allowed to suck but twice a day; and after two months they are weaned. The milk of the sheep forms a leading article of diet with the villagers in the form of yoghoort, butter, and cheese. Wethers are made when they are one year old. Goats feed among the mountains throughout the whole of Asia Minor. In the summer they are shorn of their hair, which is manufactured into sacking, ropes, &c., by the villagers; and in this province especially a fine soft under wool, called *tific*, is made into beautiful warm stockings and
 199 gloves. The horned cattle here, as 1 all over Turkey, are uniformly small. Their flesh is

wholesome, but seldom eaten. Indeed many tribes of Kurds have a religious horror of eating the flesh of any animal which cultivates their fields. It is almost as sacred to them as to the Brahmins. Oxen are fed in the winter on vetch, meal, linseed-cake, chopped straw, and rushes. They are shod with small triangular shoes made to fit their cloven hoofs.

Horses are never used for ploughing or drawing carts. The horse of Armenia is a small, contemptible-looking animal, but when mounted he shows mettle. He is seldom more than from twelve to fourteen hands high; but a stout peasant on his back, with a load of market produce, is carried gaily over the worst of roads through a long day's journey. In form he is a compact little beast: and though not handsome, it is difficult to find fault with any particular point . . .

The whole of this vast table-land is most healthy. The complexions of the inhabitants are striking. The cheek of a woman resembles a very ruddy apple. The finest rouge would fail to imitate the deep ruddy glow of health which paints the cheek of the peasant-girl, seen as she peeps from the door of her hut at the passing stranger. This bright complexion is a great beauty; nor is it the only one, for the eyes are very fine, the teeth good, and the face oval and well-shaped: the busts of the young | girls are good; but the coarseness, the want of any refined 200 expression, and the dirty and ragged dress, destroy all romance about these maidens.

The diet of the peasant of these plains, both Christian and Mussulman, consists chiefly of preparations of milk, especially the universal *yoghoort*, the result of fermented milk, hardened into a sort of jelly, and containing the solid portion of the milk. Another preparation is *airan*, which is made by boiling buttermilk until it curdles, then pressing it into balls, and drying it for winter use. Butter is made from unskimmed milk or from *yoghoort*, butter from cream alone. It is churned in long, narrow, wooden cylinders, which are swung to and fro lengthwise, and with regularity. In some places the churn is a one-handed jar, which is placed on a cushion and rolled backwards and forwards until the butter forms. Those peasants who only possess a few cows or sheep, generally agree to take by turns the milking of their united flocks. Preparations of milk, as stated above, form the staple diet of the poorer peasantry, but they do not confine themselves to these. During the winter much animal food is consumed in the form of two varieties called *pastoorma* and *kavoorma*. The former consists of slices of meat seasoned with garlic and sun dried, and a most atrocious aliment it is. *Kavoorma* is prepared by cutting meat into small pieces, which are fried and then preserved in jars of mutton fat. I have eaten and found it excellent on a journey. Possibly the sharp appetite caused by Asiatic traveling might have had something to do with my relish for this Eastern luxury.

The town of Kars swarms with bees, which are kept | in long wicker baskets, and are fed 201 with honey during the whole winter, great care being taken to keep them in a dry warm place. I remarked the other day a hive swarming, and an old man seated on the roof of a house, making loud music with a key and saucepan, alluring them to settle.

The natives of these regions are skillful in their contrivances to keep themselves warm during their long winter, heat being one of the most precious of their possessions and wonderfully economized. Their fuel of cow-dung, added often to reeds and turf, warms the little space where the family sit; but all the rest of the house is taken up by their numerous cattle, whose bodies give out a large amount of animal heat. Besides all this, the houses are generally excavated from the sides of a hill, the earth of which thus forms three sides of the

dwelling, and the roof, composed of beams laid across and covered with bushes and earth, is during the winter piled up with stacks of rushes, hay, or tezek, so that the dwelling is well-nigh impervious to cold. Ventilation is not much cared for. The winter is comparatively an idle time, though there is generally some employment going on out-of-doors as well as within. Those who are in the neighborhood of a marsh or forest carry fuel to the nearest town on their sledges, while the women weave mats and coarse cloth, cotton shirts, woolen mats, and gloves for home consumption. In some parts the women produce very handsome textures. I remember some years ago buying, in an obscure village near Van, some fancy work of colored wool superior to most Berlin manufacture of the kind.

202 A peasant here has enough to eat, I believe, at most 1 times; very coarse fare, it is true, still he does not hunger except in seasons of scarcity, which occur but rarely. He cannot, however, rise beyond this point; he cannot possess more than what is barely necessary for his existence: his taxmasters take care of that: and should he by any chance be possessed of money, it is carefully buried, and perhaps thereby lost for ever. These people are warmly clad, and in this climate clothing is of consequence. If you descend from the table-land into the plains of Mesopotamia and Syria you will find a shirt to be the sole garment of the men and women during the greater part of the year, and boys up to twelve and thirteen years of age are running about stark naked,—but this is because clothing is not required for any purpose but that of decency. In Armenia, on the contrary, you will find every man warmly clad from head to foot; the stockings, gloves, woolen cloaks, &c., are made in their own cottages; the common cotton of their shirts is mostly bought from the bazaars, having been imported from England and America; colored cotton handkerchiefs, and similar produce, are from the looms of Manchester. But as I have said, the greater part of their clothing is of home manufacture.

A thin population and boundless fertile plains prevent any one from suffering from hunger. Under a more humane and enlightened government the population would doubtless rapidly increase, as each man would find wealth awaiting his labor. As it is, the population is kept down by constant emigration. A young man at the age of fifteen, or even younger, is betrothed, perhaps married, to a girl of thirteen; they begin the world with nothing, so the
203 young husband shoulders his knapsack 1 and goes to Constantinople to earn some money. For the expenses of his journey he probably has to borrow a certain sum on which he pays a tremendous interest. The chances that this couple ever meet again to propagate children are but small. He has to undergo a life of great labor and exposure in a city not famous for its hygienic condition; and he lives in the most unhealthy quarter of it; so he probably catches a fever or pleurisy, crawls into his den, and dies. The young wife or betrothed girl remains in her village: as I have before mentioned, the women, who seldom stir out of their close fetid hovels, are peculiarly liable to typhus: a climate naturally most healthy is vitiated by the perverse and dirty habits of the people; and thus, probably, early death cuts off the youthful pair.

In this way I account for the population being kept down in so remarkable a manner, in the midst of broad fertile plains that might be flowing with milk and honey. The peasantry cannot rise above the point of bare existence; consequently their children, having no capital to start with, are obliged to emigrate. There are, moreover, no great agriculturists in the country to employ the thews and sinews of the province, and no roads to facilitate the exchange of native and foreign commodities.

The Mussulman peasantry, in addition to all these evils, have to give many of their sons to the army, where, under such leaders as Ahmed and Zarif Mustafa Pasha, their chances of return are small indeed.



Types of Turkish soldiers.
[From Edmondo de Amicis' *Constantinople* (New York, 1878).]

Albert Smith—1816–1860

Customs and Habits of the Turks.

Boston, Higgins & Bradley, 1856

A.D. 1856

- 53 The other way comes a group of keen Armenian merchants, each swinging a chaplet of beads about, or counting them, restlessly, and half unconsciously, with his finger. This will be a feature you cannot fail to notice before you have been an hour in Constantinople. The chaplet, or tesbeh, contains ninety-nine wooden beads, divided into three rows by little oblong pieces of turned wood. It is used in certain forms of the Mohammedan religion; but the active minds of the Armenian and Greek traders require something to expand their irritability upon, and so they all carry these beads, constantly whirling them about, or rapidly reckoning them up by twos and threes, all the while they are conversing or smoking.

Abdolonymee Ubicini—1818–1884

Letters on Turkey: Account of the Religious, Political, Social, and Commercial Condition of the Ottoman Empire; the Reformed Institutions, Army, Navy, &c., &c.

Translated from the French of M. A. Ubicini by Lady Easthope

London, John Murray, 1856

A.D. 1856

<Part I. Turkey And The Turks>

Turkey in Asia comprehends four great divisions, subdivided into eighteen eyalets:—

15

I. On the west, Asia Minor, called by the Turks Anatolia, forms a vast peninsula, equal in extent to France, bounded on the north by the Black Sea, on the west by the Archipelago, on the south by the Mediterranean and part of the chain of the Taurus, and on the east by an imaginary line drawn from Trebizond to the Gulf of Alexandretta. This territory was gradually acquired by the Ottomans between the commencement of the fourteenth and the conclusion of the fifteenth centuries, during which time they successively incorporated with themselves the numerous principalities which had arisen on the ruins of the Seldjudician empire. Anatolia comprehends eight governments-general, namely—

Khoudavendguir, comprising part of the ancient Bithynia, Phrygia, and Mysia; the capital of which is Broussa (the ancient Prusium), which was wrested in 1326 from the Greek emperors by the Ottomans, under whom it became the first city of their empire, and the cradle of their power;

The eyalet of Kastemouni (the ancient Paphlagonia), formed from the principality of the Kizil Ahmedli (the Red Ahmeds), conquered by Bayezid I in 1392;

Aidin, formed from a part of Isauria, Lydia, Ionia, Caria, and Pisidia, conquered by Mourad II in 1426, from the Aidin-Oghli, or descendants of Aidin, who had held sway there from the year 1300;

The eyalet of Karaman (containing part of Isauria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycaonia, and Cappadocia), reft by Mohammed II, in 1475, from the descendants of Karaman, who had possessed this territory from the middle of the thirteenth century;

Adana (Cilicia Petræa), subject for two centuries to the Turkoman dynasty of the Ramazan Oghli, fell under the Ottoman yoke, under Bayezid II;*

Bozoq and Sivas (Cappadocia), formed from the ancient principality of Bourhaneddin;

17

Trabezoun (Trebizond), formed from the ancient provinces of Pontus and Colchis, was conquered in 1470 by Mohammed II, from David Comnenus.

II. The eastern division, Turkish Armenia and Kurdistan, extends to the frontiers of Persia. From Armenia have been constituted the two eyalets of Erzeroum and Karbrout, which fell, with the Greek empire of Trebizond, under the Ottoman rule. Kurdistan is a mountainous district, peopled by nomadic and warlike tribes, who received from the Turks the appellation of Achiret. The authority of the Porte in this province was long merely nominal; the actual

* Bajazet.

subjection of Kurdistan began with the expedition of Hafiz Pasha in 1837, and was not completed till ten years later, by the overthrow of the beys, Mahmoud of Van and Beder khan of Djézireh.

III. Syria, termed Cham by the Orientals, extends from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, and comprehends the five eyalets of Haleb (Aleppo), formed from the ancient Osroene and Coelo-Syria; of Saida (Phoenicia and Palestine); of Cham (Syria properly so called); of Mossul (Assyria); and of Bagdad (Babylon).

IV. Finally, Arabia (Arabistan) contains the two eyalets of Habesh and Haremi Nebevi (Medina, literally the sanctuary of the Prophet): the first, formed from Western Arabia and Ethiopia, and in which is situated the Grand Sherifat of Mecca; the second, limited almost to the territory of Medina,—all the rest of the country being occupied by the wandering tribes of the desert.

- 19 The population of Turkey is composed of fourteen distinct races, who may be thus classified:—

Races	In Europe	In Asia	In Africa	Total
Ottomans	2,100,000	10,700,000	—	12,800,000
Greeks	1,000,000	1,000,000	—	2,000,000
Armenians	400,000	2,000,000	—	2,400,000
Jews	70,000	80,000	—	150,000
etc.				

- 40 Under the three first sultans the Ottoman kingdom was divided into minor governments, called Livas or Sandjaks, that is to say, standards or ensigns, whose chiefs, Mir-livas or Sandjak-Beys, were distinguished by a single horse-tail (Tough). These chiefs were subordinate to two governors-general, the one of Roumelia, the other of Anatolia, names under which all the Ottoman dominions in Europe and Asia were at that time known. They bore the title of Begler-Bey or Mir-miran, and were entitled to the distinction of being preceded by two or three horse-tails.

- 41 But subsequently, under Sultan Murad III,* the empire was divided into more extensive provinces (Eyalets), | each formed of several Livas. The governors of these Eyalets were styled viziers (or pashas with three horse-tails), and the commandants of Livas were raised to the rank of Mir-miran or pasha with two horse-tails. At the time when D'Ohsson, from whom we take these details, wrote, the empire was divided into twenty-six Eyalets, forming 163 provinces, which included 1,800 districts, called Cazas, departments or jurisdictions, some of them being formed of a single city and its dependencies; others, of cantons (Nahizehs), with many towns and villages. This division lasted until 1834. Sultan Mahmoud then made a new division of the imperial provinces into twenty-eight governments, thirty-one sandjaks, and fifty-four independent woiwodes.

* Sometimes called Amurath III.

At present, the Ottoman empire contains thirty-six General Governments, called Eyalets, subdivided into provinces (Livas or Sandjaks); the Livas into Kazas or districts; the Kazas into Nahizehs, composed of villages and hamlets.

Turkey contains . . . eighteen <Eyalets> in Asia . . . the official names of these, with their subdivisions, are as follows:—

. . . Adana	Adana	43
	Tarsous	
	Uzeir	
	Kara-issali	
	Marach	
. . . Bozok	Bozok	
	Anquara (Angora)	
	Kiangri	
	Kaïsarié (Cesarea in Capadocia)	
. . . Sivas	Sivas	
	Amasia and Tchouroum	
	Yeniil	
	Divrik	
. . . Trabezoun or Trebisonde	Trebizonde	44
	Gueunyé	
	Kara Hissar Charki	
	Djanli	
	Gumuch Khané	
	Ordu	
. . . Erzeroum	Erzeroum	
	Tchildir	
	Kars	
	Bayazid	
. . . Kurdistan	Van	
	Mouch	
	Hakkiari	
	Mordin	
	Versem	
	Diarbekir	
. . . Kharbout	Karbrount	
	Ma'aden	
	Malatia	
	Behisni	
. . . Haleb (Aleppo)	Aleppo	
	Aintab	
	Rakka	
	Kilis	

At the head of each Eyalet is a Governor-General (*Velî*), the supreme head of the 45

administration. His powers are very extensive. By a ferman issued January, 1852, he can suspend and remove, on his own responsibility, the governors of Livas, the Mudirs of districts, members of municipal councils, the chiefs of the police, and all the civil functionaries of his government. He can call out the military power, and the Receivers-general of the revenue, the Judges, and Tax-collectors, are all under his jurisdiction, subject to the final decision of the Porte. The Governor-general is assisted by a permanent council (*Medjlisi Kebir*), which holds its sittings in the chief town of the Eyalet, meeting weekly on appointed days. This council is composed of—

- 46 A president and two secretaries, named by the Porte, and generally appointed from Constantinople;
 Of the *Defterdar*, or receiver-general of revenue;
 Of the Chief Ecclesiastical authority, whether Greek, Armenian, or Grand Rabbi;
 Of the Kodja Bashis, or delegates from the Turkish and Christian municipalities.

Each Liva, except the one under the direct superintendence of the Veli, is governed by a *Kaimakam*, who is subordinate in every respect to the Governor-General, whose lieutenant he in fact is. This functionary, assisted by the military Commandant, is inspector of the recruiting service or conscription, which occurs every five years. He performs, along with the members of the civil tribunals and the Medjilis, or Provincial Council, the magisterial duties of the province, and presides over the collecting of the taxes, which is entrusted to a separate commission annually nominated by the municipality. In addition to any military force that he may require, the *Kaimakam* has under his immediate orders a company of the *Zabtiyeh* (police force), composed of twenty *Kavass* (gendarmes), twenty *Seymens* (riflemen), and twenty *Suvaris* or horsemen.

- 47 The *Kazas* are entrusted to the Mudirs, assisted by a Council of Notables (*Vudjouhs*), and directing at the same time the administrative and financial department of the district. Formerly the Mudirs were appointed directly by the Porte in all those districts where they received a salary above one thousand piastres; elsewhere they were nominated by the Governor, and their appointment confirmed by the Porte. At present they are all without exception appointed by the Governor, who is personally responsible for their conduct. The *Nahiyèhs* are administered by a *Moukhtar* or *Kodja-Bashi*, elected by the inhabitants, and performing the double duty of Mayor and Receiver.

In the revenue department each Eyalet has a *Defterdar* (Receiver and Paymaster-general), and each Liva a *Mal-mudiri* (particular receiver), and who has the superintendence of particular dues, as the customs, ports, quarantine, capitation, passports, salines, and fisheries, &c. His accounts are annually audited by the Governor and members of the Provincial Council, and transmitted to the Defterdar. The latter sends them to the Council of the Eyalet, which likewise examines them and draws up a report, and this report, with its vouchers, is transmitted by the Veli to the Minister of Finance.

The “Mal-mudiri” presides in the finance department over each Mudir of the district. All payments made to the different Exchequers of the province are rendered valid by a receipt to which his seal is attached. The Defterdars perform the same duties as the Mal-mudiri in their particular departments.

<Sequel of Finances—Budget of receipts>

267

TITHES.

Legally speaking, <tithes> are not a tax, but a quit-rent received by the State, as the landowner, from the tenant. This rent is of two kinds, according to the two species of productions obtained by agricultural industry, namely, the tithe of the different productions of the soil (*uchur*), and that upon cattle. The former is levied on all the produce of the earth, both cereals and fruit; the latter on all animals connected with rural economy, such as sheep, pigs, bees, &c.; horses and horned cattle are excepted. This is peculiar to Roumelia and certain districts of Asiatic Turkey; in the other parts of the empire the inhabitants are subjected to a higher tax to make up for the indemnity.

VERGU.

The Vergu corresponds to our *income-tax*. It is a tax raised on the presumed fortune of all private persons. This tax is not uniform: in Roumelia it does not amount to more than ten per cent; in some districts of Anatolia it rises to twenty-five or thirty per cent. This inequality may be explained in the following manner:—

As the revenue may be composed of taxes on objects already subjected to tithe, as cereals, olives, flocks, &c., it often happens that the same object is subject to both these taxes. For instance, on a crop representing a value of 1,000 piastres the Government first takes 100 under the head of tithe, and then 175 on an average under the head of Vergu; while for a 268 house representing a similar value only 175 would be paid under the head of income-tax.

All houses belonging to the Vacoufs are exempt from taxation, because they are applied, or supposed to be applied, to religious purposes.

The levying of the Vergu, the amount of which is fixed by the superior authorities of the empire, is effected through the medium of the municipalities which have existed throughout Turkey from time immemorial, and which hand over the produce to the agents of the Government.

In agricultural localities the distribution is regulated by the number of ploughs; public notoriety serves to estimate the fortunes of individuals who are engaged in trade or commerce.

By virtue of very ancient privileges Constantinople and its precincts are exempted from 269 the payment of the Vergu.

CAPITATION-TAX (KHARADJ).

The Kharadj is of two kinds: the first is a voluntary tribute which a Christian country at peace with the Porte has engaged to pay while submitting voluntarily to its power. Such is the tribute paid by the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the apportioning of which among the inhabitants was entrusted to the Princes or Hospodars, who were answerable to the Porte for the annual payment of the whole amount agreed upon. The other is the Capitation or Poll tax, which affects every Raiah or non-Musulman subject in the Sultan's dominions. According to a Ferman issued by the late Sultan Mahmoud in the month of April, 1834, the Kharadj was fixed at fifteen, thirty, or sixty piastres annually per head, proportionally to the fortunes of the payers, and is levied on every male adult Raiah; women, children, aliens, sick and infirm persons, the poor, and priests of all confessions, being exempted. Taking into account these exemptions, and calculating the average contribution of each remaining individual at twenty-five piastres per head, the gross annual amount of the Kharadj being computed at forty millions, let us divide that amount by twenty-five, and the

result will be 1,600,000, as the number of taxable Raiahs in Turkey, actual contributors to the Kharadj, leaving 7,400,000 as the number of the rest; and giving a total of nine millions of individuals of both sexes and all ages who compose the Raiah population subject to the
 270 Sultan—an estimate which agrees pretty exactly with that given in the | early part of this volume. Nor does any material change appear to have taken place since the fifteenth century, for in a learned work by a French author of that day we find the following note:—“A census was made at the time of Sultan Bajazet; there were found under his rule one million one hundred and ten thousand Christians paying tribute, not reckoning the other Christians who are his vassals, nor the children of the Christians who are young and not yet of a proper age to pay the tribute.”

The mode of apportioning and levying the *Kharadj* has undergone many variations. It was formerly collected by agents called *Koldjis*, whose proceedings were always more or less arbitrary. Systems of registration are unknown to Turkish authorities, and the registers of non-Musulman municipalities are unrecognized by them; they therefore had recourse to a singular method of ascertaining whether the Raiah youths had attained the tax-paying age prescribed by law. They took the measure of a lad's neck with a piece of cord, made him hold both ends between his teeth, and then try to pass his head through the circle thus formed. If the operation was accomplished without difficulty the boy was declared liable to the lowest rate of taxation, which was thenceforward gradually increased till it reached the amount beyond which no augmentation was lawful. The Ferman of 1834, already mentioned, by entrusting
 271 the collecting of the Kharadj to a commission composed of the authorities of each | district, the Cadi, Musellim, Voivode, or their delegates, conjointly with the Papas and Kodja-Bashis of the Christian communities, abolished many of the old abuses, though it did not entirely suppress them. In 1850 the present Sultan completed the measures of his predecessor by the publication of a new decree ordaining that, for the future, the heads of the different communities, both Jewish and Christian, should be the sole agents between their co-religionists and the exchequer, for the collection and payment of the Kharadj.* Thus the tribute has not only been lightened, but its very nature has become gradually modified, and a great relief has been afforded to the Christians. Originally the Kharadj was imposed on the conquered as a pecuniary penalty, substituted in lieu of captivity or death, to which the law of Islam declared all persons liable who should reject its doctrines or resist its arms. The humiliating features which once rendered this tax so peculiarly odious to the Raiahs have now disappeared, and it has come to be regarded on all hands (a circumstance to which we desire to call particularly the attention of the reader) as an equivalent for the conscription to which Musulmans only are subject.

<Part II. The Raiahs, including the Greeks, Armenians, Latins, Israelites, etc., etc.>

246 Between the Euxine and Caspian Seas we find an elevated region of great extent, commanded

* In future, the personal or poll tax will be collected in each province by the primates (Kodja Bashis) of the Four Nations; they will take into account the circumstances and means of each individual, and will remit the proceeds into the hands of the Patriarch, or the Khakham-Bashi, by whom it will be paid into the Imperial Treasury.—Edict of June, 1850.

by Mount Ararat,* which rises in the center, and bounded by Mingrelia, Imeret, Gouria, Georgia, Chirvan, Ghilan, Aderbaidjan, and Kurdistan. The northern portion is intersected in every direction by ramifications of the chain of the Caucasus, the southern by those of the Taurus. Towards the west, and still more enclosed by mountains, lies another district, now detached from the first, though formerly annexed to it by the conquest, and which extends from the shores of the Euxine into Asia Minor, following the right bank of the Euphrates as far as the neighborhood of Diarbekir.

These two regions, occupying a territory four hundred and twenty geographical miles in breadth by nine hundred miles in length (and watered by four great rivers, 1 tributary to three seas, viz. the Tigris and Euphrates, which empty themselves into the Persian Gulf; the Araxes, flowing into the Caspian Sea; and the Phasis, into the Euxine), were, and are still, known by the names of Great and Little Armenia. 247

<From 1393, the death of the Armenian monarch Leo VI in Paris> . . . the history of Armenia becomes blended with that of the Ottomans, successors of the Seldjoucides, afterwards with that of the Mamelouks, and finally with that of the Asiatic Greeks. The ancient territory of Haiasdan, conquered by the Sultans, was divided into pashaliks. The eastern portion only, contiguous to Persia, continued subject to that power; whilst in the southern part the emirs, or Kurd chieftains, protected by the mountains of the country, divided it into a number of small, independent principalities under the nominal sovereignty of the Porte. 252

The taking of Constantinople by the Turks produced a favorable change to the Armenian nation. By command of the conqueror, Joachim Archbishop of Brousa removed, with a great number of Armenian families, to Constantinople, where he was raised by Mohammed to the rank of Patriarch of his nation, with full authority over all Armenians established in Greece and Anatolia, and invested with rights and privileges similar to those which had been recently granted to the Greek patriarch. The Sultan having also accorded to the new colony a vast and commodious quarter in the suburb of Galata as a residence, many families, whom the calamities of war and religious persecution had driven into other countries, flocked thither to enjoy, under the protection of the patriarchal throne and the tolerant rule of the Sultan, repose and prosperity which had long been unknown to their nation.

The political state of the Armenians under Ottoman rule presents even fewer incidents and vicissitudes than that of the Greeks. Peaceable, industrious, and contented, connected by interest with the Turks, whose language, costume, and habits, they adopted without sacrificing their faith—losing more and more all memory of their former country—they might have appeared almost unconscious of their own national existence, had they not been from time to time roused from their lethargy and recalled to a sense of vitality by convulsions arising from the rivalry of parties or the violence of persecutions. 253

These convulsions, not produced, as might have been supposed, by the vexations or intolerance of the Turks, but by the violent efforts of the Roman Church to detach the Armenians from their schism, and bring about unity of religion, led to an explosion at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

* This great object of Armenian veneration is now included in the dominions of Russia.

Up to that time the Armenian Church and nation had enjoyed a profound peace. We find indeed towards the end of the sixteenth century (1587) that the Bishop of Sidon was sent as ambassador by Pope Sextus V to the Greek communities of Syria, namely, the Armenians, Melkites, Jacobites, and Chaldeans, with a view to reestablish the authority of the Holy See over these four schismatic churches. But this effort was not crowned with success, although the legate of the Pope, after having for a long time negotiated with the Armenian Patriarch of Cilicia* respecting the union of the churches according to the statutes of the council of Florence, finally persuaded him to sign a confession of the Catholic faith.

276 The see of Constantinople had scarcely existed a century and a half, when Joachim, archbishop of Broussa, was summoned thither by Mohammed II, eight years after the taking of the city. We find it mentioned for the first time in the acts of the council of Sis, held 1307, where the name of a certain Hesychius figures among those of the bishops present, bearing the title of bishop of Stimbola (Stamboul). The temporal privileges accorded to the new archbishop greatly augmented the importance of the see of Constantinople, and his successors, having obtained from the Catoghigos of Eczmiazin <Catholicos of Etchmiadzin> the right of consecrating and distributing the holy chrism to the different churches placed under their jurisdiction, hastened to assume the title of Patriarch in order to place themselves
277 on an equality with the Greek patriarch. This practice has been continued ever since, although the title itself is purely honorary. In an ecclesiastical point of view, the Patriarch—or, to speak more strictly, the Primate—of Constantinople is only a simple bishop, dependent on the Catoghigos of Eczmiazin, and the supremacy he exercises over his suffragans is entirely derived from his residence in the capital. He neither ordains them, nor interferes with their administration; his office is limited to representing them at the Porte, and being the medium through whom they receive their bairats.

The present primate received in 1850, from the Patriarch of Eczmiazin, an authorization to wear the “Gonker”; but merely as a personal distinction, and not as in right of his title, nor to be transmitted to his successors.

The election of the patriarch is conducted in the same manner as that of the Greek patriarch. In case of the death or deposition of the titular, the Porte issues a firman, commanding the election of a new pontiff, and appoints a functionary of the government to be present at the election in quality of commissioner. The chiefs of the esnafs and the notables assemble either at the patriarchal palace or in the church, and the choice is made by acclamation. The vote by ballot is ordered by the Imperial commissioner only when there is reason to apprehend that the assembly may be turbulent.

The expenses of the bairat are defrayed by the national treasury, in order to obviate . . . intrigues and other abuses . . .

* The Armenian Church then obeyed two patriarchs, who resided, one at the monastery of Eczmiazin, in Great Armenia, the other at Sis, in Cilicia. The first exercised a jurisdiction over more than 260,000 families; the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Sis was less extensive, and comprised 20,000 families, dispersed throughout Cilicia and Syria, 20 monasteries, and 36 bishoprics.—*Relazione di quanto ha trattato il Vescovo di Sidonia nella sua Missione in Oriente, data alla Santità di N. S. Sisto V., alli 19 Aprile, 1687.*

The patriarch can only be deposed by a sentence of the great national council, and the council proceeds to judgment either at the requisition of the Porte, or by its own initiative. 278

The revenues of the patriarchal see are not fixed; they vary from one hundred thousand to one hundred and twenty thousand piastres a year, and they arise chiefly from the dues of the bishops and from voluntary contributions of the faithful. In addition to the above, a sum of three thousand piastres a month is allotted from the national treasury for the expenditure of the patriarchal household.

The patriarch is assisted by an ecclesiastical council (*hoquever gioghoul*),¹⁵ composed of thirteen ecclesiastical members, bishops, vartabieds, and priests, and two lay members, one of whom fills the post of secretary. This council has power to take cognizance of all abuses in church discipline, to elect bishops for the whole extent of the empire, but not to ordain though it may depose them (episcopal ordination must proceed from Eczmiazin); it also exercises a superintendence over seminaries and schools. The members of this council are nominated by the civil council (*caghacagan gioghoul*),¹⁶ of which we shall speak hereafter, and by the patriarch, without the intervention of the Porte. They receive no pay, with the exception of the secretary, who is also secretary to the civil council, and who from his two offices derives a monthly stipend of about 700 piastres.

The number of bishops dependent on the see of Constantinople is not fixed. A diocese is sometimes entrusted to a simple doctor in theology, or "vartabied," as in the case of the present titular of the diocese of Cæsarea (in Cappadocia), whilst on the other hand bishops 279 of long standing may subside into abbots and superiors of monasteries.

At the present day the number of Armenian dioceses is thirty-six, including that of Agthamar, besides many monasteries, which enjoy the title of bishoprics. Of these thirty-six, three only belong to Turkey in Europe: those of Rodosto, Varna, and Adrianople. The most important in point of population is the diocese of Mouch, which extends from the city of Mouch to the confines of Diarbekir, and contains more than one hundred towns and villages, with a population of fifteen thousand families.

Next in order is Erzeroum, containing two cities, Erzeroum and Khenous, and about fifty towns and villages, with a population of from eleven to twelve thousand families.

Next come the dioceses of Cæsarea and Nicomedia, each containing about ten thousand families, and numerous villages, many of which are inhabited exclusively by Armenians.

After these, the following stand in the order of their relative importance: Van, Tokat, Varna in Roumelia (which has under its jurisdiction the Armenians of the Danubian provinces and those of Bessarabia, Transylvania, and Hungary); Sivas, Arabkir, united in 1851 with the diocese of Koule-Vank, an ancient abbey; Eguin, Amasia, Trebisonde, united to the two sees of Hunie and Seboah in 1851; Chabin Kara-Hiçar, Angora, Erzingan, Baibourt, Palou, Hassan-Kale, and Gazmi to Vank, long since united; Agthamar, Smyrna, Diarbekir, Edirne 280 (Adrianople), Baiazid, Bidlis, Ourfa, Kars, Bagdad, Broussa, united to Kutahia in 1852; Banderma, Terdjian, Kighi, Rodosto, Ardjuk, Tadem, and Sourp Daniel, near Cæsarea, formed of three or four villages, whose population barely amounts to a thousand families.

Among the monasteries which enjoy the title and privileges of bishoprics, we may mention those of Naregue; of Arakelotz-Vank, or monastery of the Holy Apostles, near Mouch; Arghiri, situated on the summit of a mountain near Diarbekir; of Tchunguchet and Abdelmessehe, near Palou; of Aluri-Vank, near Van; of Sourp-Sahag, near Mouch; another of

the same name near Van; and Tchartchaganatz-Vank, near Erzingan. In the dioceses of Van, Mouch, Erzingan, and Eguin, there are also many monasteries, administered by the bishops of the nearest cities, who sometimes reside in them: such are the monasteries of Armach and Sourp-Garabied (St. Charles), the residences of the Bishops of Nicomedia and Cæsarea. The number of these monastery-bishoprics cannot, however, be precisely stated, because it often happens that the titular of the adjoining see appropriates the monastery and all its dependencies, and subjects it to his own administration. This was the case with the monastery of Koule-Vank, which, within the last two years, has come to form part of the bishopric of Arabkir.

281 The election of the bishops, like that of all the Armenian clergy, takes place by universal suffrage. When a particular church requires a bishop, the clergy send a deputation or address a petition to the patriarch at Constantinople, with a list of candidates, setting forth the merits of each. The patriarch submits this list to the ecclesiastical council, which makes its choice. The newly-elected bishop is then summoned to Constantinople, where he undergoes a rigid examination, after which, if he is judged competent, his nomination takes place according to the ceremonies prescribed by the ritual.

The bishops, in their turn, ordain those who are simply priests, in which order are comprehended the ordinary priests (*derders*) and the *vartabieds*, or doctors in theology. The latter are divided into two classes, the greater and the lesser vartabieds, and again subdivided into fourteen degrees, which each candidate must successively pass before he can reach the summit of the doctoral hierarchy.

The vartabieds form the most enlightened and learned portion of the Armenian clergy. They are restricted to celibacy, whilst the ordinary priests are permitted to marry, and they carry, as a distinctive mark of their rank, a sort of caduceus, made of some precious wood and elaborately carved.

282 The ranks of the Armenian priesthood are generally recruited from the class of poor artisans, and no previous studies are required to fit the candidate for ordination. When a parish is in want of a priest, information is given to the *mutevelli*, or administrator of the pious foundations belonging to the church; and if the latter (who is a lay-man, and generally chosen from among the most influential persons of the parish) should happen to have on hand some indigent follower, who can read and write tolerably, he immediately recommends him to the suffrages of the faithful, and the election proceeds without delay. It is needless to say that the candidate of the mutevelli is always adopted by the assembly, which, in the same sitting, prepares a petition to the patriarch, requesting him to confer the order of priesthood on the object of their choice. This petition is signed by the preacher and officiating clergy of the parish church, by the mutevelli, and by all the parishioners. The patriarch, considering the testimony of the petitioners a sufficient guarantee for the moral character of the candidate, occupies himself only in ascertaining whether he possess the necessary qualifications and attainments. If the result of the investigation be favorable—a result which is generally secured by the powerful protection of the mutevelli—the public examination of the candidate takes place on the following Saturday, after vespers, according to the ritual; the candidate having in the interval received the minor orders, including that of deacon. The examination is a mere formality, the candidate replying to the questions of the patriarch and bishop by reciting certain formula of the ritual previously committed to memory. After it is over, he passes the

night in the church, in repeating such prayers and hymns as have been prescribed by the bishop, and on the following day he is consecrated to the priesthood.

It is needless to expatiate on the abuses of such a method of ordination. Many of the patriarchs, justly alarmed at the dangers incurred by the church under a system so corrupt, 283 have made praiseworthy efforts to reform its abuses, and have even refused to confer the priesthood on any candidate whatever whilst the conditions of ordination should remain in their present defective state; but the old system, being regarded as a prerogative of the grandees of the nation, has always maintained its ground.

Some improvements have, however, been introduced during the last few years; and although the candidates for the sacerdotal order are not yet required to possess any very profound learning, it is considered essential that they should be able to write, and should know enough of the literary language of Armenia to understand the ritual and other ecclesiastical books, which are written in that idiom. Unfortunately this laudable precaution has brought forward an abuse of another kind: for now, if a candidate of respectable acquirements present himself (a circumstance which excites the jealousy of the low ignorant clergy, and therefore rare), he is received at once, and obtains his ordination, without sufficient investigation as to his orthodoxy or moral conduct. Still, however, the improvements which have been gradually, and in some respects rapidly, taking place in the Armenian nation, afford hope that these two essential objects may eventually be combined; and that henceforth those candidates only will be received whose attainments are respectable, and whose orthodoxy and morality are exempt from reproach. The dissatisfaction of the Armenians with the present condition of their clergy in general, and the consideration enjoyed by the very few priests who combine learning and morality of life, may be regarded as a sign of future amendment on all points.

The new priest, as soon as he is ordained, returns to the church, where he remains secluded 284 from all intercourse, except with the old priests who are charged with initiating him into his sacerdotal functions. During this period he must neither quit the precincts of the church nor officiate nor celebrate mass; and is only permitted to take one meal during the twenty-four hours, and that at sunset. Fish and all kinds of meat are prohibited. He must recite the whole of the Psalter daily, with the addition of various hymns and prayers; and also read fifteen or twenty chapters of the New Testament, together with a sort of breviary called *Nareque*. The rest of his time is devoted to the study of the ritual, and of all the details relative to the ceremonies of the church, &c. Some years ago the obligations imposed on newly-ordained priests during this ordeal of forty days were far more strict and rigorous. They were forbidden to shave, to pare their nails, or to change their linen, and were required to lead the life of anchorites of old; but latterly the severity of these observances has been greatly modified by the bishops.

At the expiration of the forty days the bishop appoints a time for the new priest to celebrate his first mass, which is generally fixed to take place on a Sunday or some festival. The wife of a married priest is not permitted to attend the mass, nor even to be present in the church, when her husband officiates. As the newly-ordained priest receives no salary, and is not entitled, during forty days more, to share in the ecclesiastical revenue of the church to which he is attached, he is allowed during the interval to say a great number of masses, the fees of which are allotted to his benefit.

285 The Armenian clergy receive no stipends, and exact no contributions like those of the Greek Church; their revenues depend entirely on the voluntary contributions of the faithful; it is therefore rare to meet with a wealthy priest, though some few are in easy circumstances. The Armenians have no parochial churches, properly so called, but the patriarch assigns to every priest a certain number of families within the district of the church to which he is appointed, and to whom he thenceforward becomes in a manner the chaplain. No one but himself has the right of confessing their members, of administering the communion, celebrating mass in their private residences on Sundays, &c.; and if one of the families should remove to another parish, no priest of the latter can usurp his duties, unless in a case of emergency, when, if another priest is called in, he is obliged to divide the payment of his ministry with the appointed priest of the family. Neither the patriarch nor any of the bishops have a right to dues or contributions from the inferior clergy, nor can they exact any payments from the people, excepting fees for baptisms, marriages, and funerals; these fees are fixed by a tariff which has been settled by the patriarch or bishop, and of which a printed copy is placed in every church: the diocesan authorities are very careful that this tariff shall not be exceeded. Twice every year—at the feasts of Epiphany and Easter, periods at which an interchange of visits and presents takes place in Armenia, as in France and some other countries on the anniversary of the new year—the priest makes a round of the families under his charge, reads a hymn adapted to the occasion, with the Gospel of the day, and receives a present from the master of the house. | These donations are generally employed by the receivers of them in administering to the necessities of the poorer brethren of their flock—a charity for which their own poverty allows them no other opportunity throughout the year; but, the gift being purely voluntary, the priest is not permitted to demand anything beyond what is freely offered. Should he transgress in this particular he would incur a reprimand, and probably a more serious penalty, from the superior authorities. Owing to such wise restrictions as the above, the shameful abuses . . . and other scandals which dishonor the Greek clergy—are unknown among that of Armenia.

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With respect to morals also, though it is difficult to pronounce absolutely on the subject, the Armenian clergy appears to be very superior to the Greek. The bishops exercise a vigilant control over the conduct of the priests, and punish every transgression with severity.

The sources of ecclesiastical revenue are various, and are both fixed and casual. Of the former are the vacoufs, or pious foundations, which generally consist in dwellings, shops, or warehouses, which the church either lets on lease or sells: in the latter case, if the purchaser happens to die without direct heirs, the property returns to the church. The sale of wax candles, strange as it may appear, is also a profitable source of emolument; it is exercised by virtue of a charter granted by Sultan Mahmoud, about twenty years since, up to that time none but Musulmans could manufacture or sell wax candles in Turkey. One of the principal officers of the mint at Constantinople, | Artin Bezdjan, an Armenian, being in great favor with the Sultan, succeeded in obtaining a ferman authorizing the establishment of a wax-candle manufactory for the exclusive use of the churches, and for the benefit of the Armenian hospital of Yedi-Koule' (the Seven Towers). Every parish in Constantinople and the provinces is consequently obliged to provide itself from this manufactory with wax candles and tapers, which are afterwards sold at the doors of the churches to the faithful, for the purpose of being lighted as an offering before the high altar, or the picture of some favorite saint, according to

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the custom prevalent in all the churches of the East. A subscription is also made twice a year to supply the oil required for the consumption of the church, each person contributing according to his means. The general expenses of the church are amply covered by the collections which take place on all Sundays and festivals throughout the year, and from Easter to Whitsuntide on every day of the week.

Armenian monasteries in considerable numbers still exist in Turkey; their foundations date in general from a remote period; but more than half are now deserted, and some are entirely crumbling into ruins.

The life of the monks who inhabit these monasteries is not less austere than that of the caloyers of Athos: they take only one meal in the twenty-four hours, and that consists of herbs and pulse, simply boiled and seasoned with a little salt. On Saturdays and Sundays, however, they indulge in the luxuries of oil, milk, and fish, in addition to their usual diet.

The period of the noviciate is very long and very severe; sometimes, indeed, the sacerdotal habit is not assumed till after eight years' probation. The forty days immediately following its investiture are passed in absolute solitude, silence, and seclusion even from the light of day.

Among the principal monasteries of Turco-Armenia are those of Sis and of St. Cross in the island of Agthamar, in lake Van; they are the residences of the respective patriarchs of Sis and Agthamar. The jurisdiction of the latter, as we have elsewhere seen, is inconsiderable, extending only over four large towns and several smaller ones, inclusive of some villages on the borders of the lake of Van; it includes also certain bishoprics, one of which, that of Aluri-Vank, is at the same time both bishopric and monastery. The monasteries of Lim and Guedouz are situated on two other small islands of the same lake. These islands, as well as the island of Agthamar, are exclusively inhabited by monks. From time to time the Economos or steward of each monastery visits the main land in order to purchase various necessities for the community, small boats being kept on the lake for the purpose; and though the islands are the resort (Agthamar especially) of crowds of pilgrims from all parts of Armenia, there is no record that on any of them the foot of woman has ever been placed. Ancient regulations, still in force, forbid the brethren of the monasteries of Lim and Guedouz from becoming candidates for any episcopal dignity, except under a dispensation from the Catoghigos of Eczmiazin. Neither science nor literature is much cultivated by these recluses, who are even forbidden to possess any book except the liturgies and works on ascetic theology. Formerly, indeed, the rule on this point was much less rigorous than at present, and Father Nerses Peghlou, one of the most eminent restorers of philosophic science in Armenia, was a monk of the convent of Lim. The present abbot, Father Agop Topouz, is himself a man of learning, and, notwithstanding the intellectual darkness in which he endeavors to keep his monks, several of them are respectable scholars.

The revenues of Lim, Guedouz, and Agthamar are derived from salt-pits (salines) on the shores of the Lake Van; from certain lands with which the faithful have at various periods endowed the church; and from collections made at stated periods in the Armenian churches of Russia and Persia, as well as Turkey, for the benefit of these monasteries; the islands on which they are respectively situated being in themselves totally unproductive.

The convent of St. James at Jerusalem is the residence of the Armenian bishop of that city, who enjoys, as we have stated above, the title and insignia of patriarch. This is the richest of the Armenian monasteries, either in Turkey or elsewhere, by reason of the great confluence of

pilgrims from all parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa to Jerusalem; none of whom quit the monastery without leaving an offering in return for the hospitality which they have received.

290 This hospitality is freely given, and no payment demanded or expected for anything | except for the rent of a room, for which 250 piastres (2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) is always charged, whether it be occupied for a day, a month, or a year. This sum includes also a jar of wine, containing seven or eight quarts, which is distributed weekly to each pilgrim by the monks.

The monastery derives likewise considerable revenues from the *Vacoufs* which it possesses in different parts of Armenia, from the produce of alms collected in the churches, and from voluntary donations sent by the faithful through the medium of the pilgrims. If there be any overplus, it is applied to the benefit of the nation, and contributes to the endowment of schools, hospitals, and other establishments of public utility; as for example, in 1851, the monastery of St. James, at Jerusalem, lent five hundred thousand piastres, without interest, to assist the hospital of *Yeni-Kouleh*. Attached to the monastery is a seminary, the scholars of which are instructed, lodged, fed, and clothed gratuitously; there is likewise a school and a printing-press, the latter the gift of M. Bedros Youssouf, a wealthy Armenian merchant, who resided at Trieste, and several of the valuable manuscript treasures of the library have been given to the world through the medium of this press. The monastery of St. John the Baptist, near Mouch, is much frequented by pilgrims, and is endowed with a considerable number of *vacoufs*, farms, and villages, from which it receives tithes; within these few years a school has been annexed to it.

291 The monasteries of Angora and Tokat, residences of the bishops of these two localities, and the monastery of | Marsuam, are all likewise places of pilgrimage, but are less wealthy. They derive their revenues from the lands cultivated by the monks or let out in farms; from a certain number of flour-mills; and from the voluntary contributions of the surrounding villages, over which, however, they possess no jurisdiction. A seminary also is annexed to this monastery. The monastery of Armach, near Nicomedia, seat of the bishop of that city, contains a school, where the children of the villages subject to the bishop's jurisdiction are fed, clothed, and taught gratuitously, on condition of their afterwards devoting themselves to the priesthood, or becoming teachers in the country itself. The revenues of this monastery, though modest in amount, suffice for its maintenance.

The monastery of St. John the Baptist, near Cæsarea, formerly the residence of the bishop, to whose jurisdiction it is subject, has been highly venerated from time immemorial as a resort for pilgrims. Till within the last two years it possessed a seminary, which has lately been closed and replaced by a well-managed school, situated at Talos, a village near the city. The wealth of this monastery is not equal to its reputation; its revenues barely sufficing for its support.

292 There are many Armenian convents of minor importance: amongst them are those of Sebouh, in the diocese of Hunia; of Dadasgui-Vank, of St. Narses, of St. Gregory the Enlightener, in the diocese of Erzingan; of Sirikli, in that of Terdjan; of St. Georges Pontgou, of St. Sahag, of Eresina, of St. Sahag Loussabdough, of St. Croix de Varak and Naregue, in that of Van; of Ameredal, of Avekhou-Vank, of Khintragadar, of | Komalz-Vank, of Sourp-Ohan, in the neighborhood of Bidlis; of Araketotz-Vank, of Sourp-Aghpurig, of Madre-Vank, of Yeghertouk, in the environs of Mouch; of Madine-Arakial on Mount Sasson, etc.

Concerning the internal organization and revenues of these establishments we have no precise information. All we know is, that the abbots or superintendents are officiating priests,

married, and residing with their families in the convents, and that they dispose of the revenues for their own use so completely, that, when one of them dies, the monastery passes to his son as an inheritance.

It is difficult to form an exact estimate of the number of Armenians in the Ottoman 294 empire. The statement which I have given from official calculation, and which raises the numbers to an average of two million four hundred thousand, is only an approximate computation, and probably below the truth. In fact, when ten years ago the Porte ordered a census to be taken throughout the empire, a report was immediately circulated that the object of this measure was to enable the government to impose a new tax on each locality proportionate to its population. The greater part of the Armenian provinces, therefore, believing that their interests required them to represent their numbers as few as possible, scrupled not to make fictitious returns, and these not to the Turkish authorities only, but likewise to their own bishops and patriarchs, whom they regarded, in this affair, as the agents of the Porte. It should be further observed, that the returns got up on this occasion included only the male population who were liable to the kharadj, and that females, children under seven years of age, old men above seventy, ecclesiastics, students in the seminaries, together with infirm and insane persons, beggars, and those who happened to be absent from their homes, were all omitted. To supply this deficiency, it was proposed that the number of those who actually paid the kharadj should be multiplied by four, and the result, which amounted to *six hundred thousands*, would, it was thought, give an accurate return. Other statisticians of Constantinople suggested a plan which proved not less full of error. We have seen that every 295 Armenian priest has under his spiritual charge a certain number of families, who form, as it were, his fief; a register of these families is deposited in the archives of each diocese, which is bound to send a duplicate to the patriarchate at Constantinople. An average of five individuals for a family was fixed on; the total was to be multiplied by five: but this suggestion overlooked the impossibility of establishing a parity between the rural and the city populations. In the former, families of three and four generations, including often thirty or forty persons, dwell together under one roof, and are reckoned as one family; in the towns each household is distinct, each son, as he marries, establishing himself in a home of his own. It results, therefore, that the amount of two million four hundred thousand, at which the Armenian population in Turkey is usually reckoned, is likewise below the truth.

It appears also, from the enumeration of the bishoprics and larger monasteries which I have made above, that the population is distributed in an unequal manner through the empire.

The Armenians inhabiting Turkey in Europe are scarcely four hundred thousand, of which more than half reside at Constantinople; the others are scattered through Thrace and Bulgaria, forming the three bishoprics of Rodosto, Adrianople, and Varna.

On the other hand, Turkey in Asia contains not less than two millions of Armenians, the majority of whom still inhabit the ancient territory of their forefathers in the neighborhood of Mount Ararat; the three Eyalets (governments) of Erzeroum, Diarbekir, and Kurdistan, contain many villages peopled entirely by Armenians; and in these provinces, 296 notwithstanding frequent migrations, the Armenians preserve a numerical superiority over the Turkish and Turcoman races.

In several of these villages, particularly in the neighborhood of Erzeroum, we find the inhabitants literally dwelling underground;* their houses, if houses they can be called, being scooped out beneath the surface, and only accessible by an opening like the mouth of a well, recalling in every particular the description given by Xenophon, and exhibiting the same features now as in the time of the retreat of the Ten Thousand.

The mountain district of the pashalic of Moussoul, towards the Russian frontier, is inhabited by a race of Armenians who are styled Zeitoun,† from the nature of the country they occupy, which is covered with vast groves of olive-trees. The origin of these tribes is lost in antiquity, and the number of their population is unknown. Several Armenians of
 297 Constantinople, from whom I sought information on the subject, gave me various accounts, reckoning them from thirty thousand to eighty thousand. When an inhabitant of the Zeitoun happens to visit the capital—which is, however, a rare occurrence, and prompted generally by the need of seeking teachers for their schools—he avoids with the utmost care and dexterity all interrogations concerning his country, being persuaded that the safety of his fellow-countrymen would be compromised if strangers became acquainted with their numbers and resources.

The environs of Boli, in Cappadocia, offer another example, no less interesting and curious, of a raiah population in Turkey exercising a self-government distinct from the general authority, and under the sanction and shelter of the law. The traveler Fontanier relates that at the time Persia was devastated by intestine wars and commotions, after the death of Nadir-Shah, a number of Armenian families fled from their country, and implored the protection of the Porte. A suburb adjoining the city of Boli was granted them, together with certain privileges and immunities—amongst others, that of enclosing their dwellings with walls and gates, through which no Musulman was allowed to pass. The village built by the first settlers is still inhabited exclusively by Christians, their numbers are about five hundred; they have a church, and are exempt from all contributions and imposts except the kharadj. Thus they enjoy a large amount of freedom, and their village has become a retreat for all Christians
 298 seeking a refuge from oppression, including those even who may chance to be in the service of the pasha of the district himself. Besides the Armenians in the Ottoman empire, there are great numbers residing in Russia, Persia, and the principal trading towns of Asia and Europe.

299 The civil government of the Armenian community is vested in two authorities—the Patriarch and the Civil Council. The Civil Council (*caghacagan gioghhouk*) is composed of

* These subterraneous habitations are constructed not on the side of a hill, but of a gentle slope, and all the earth excavated from the house is thrown back again upon the roof, in such a manner that on three sides there is often no sign of any dwelling existing underneath. The entrance is on the lower side of the slope, and there the mound is often visible, as it is raised four or five feet above the level of the hillside. There is no fence to keep people off the roof, which has no appearance different from the surrounding country. It is often only the dirt opposite the doors, and the cattle and peasants standing about, that give notice of the presence of a village, particularly during the eight months of snow and intense cold, when no one stirs about unless compelled by urgent affairs.—*Armenia*, by Hon. R. Curzon.—T.

† Zeitoun, in Turkish, signifies an olive-tree.

twenty members, elected for two years, like the members of the ecclesiastical council, the election being vested in the *esnafs*, and confirmed by the Sublime Porte. The authority of the civil council, placed intermediately between the Ottoman government and the Armenian nation, extends over all the Armenians of the empire; though this authority, or rather the abuse of this authority, is sometimes pushed so far as to invade the spiritual functions and privileges of the bishops, and sometimes even to depose them, contrary to the canon law. For all such encroachments, however, the patriarchs themselves are in a great measure to blame, since it depends on themselves to exercise a proper degree of firmness in determining the precise nature and extent of the power belonging to the civil council, and the limits of its intervention in diocesan administration. 300

All reports transmitted by the Armenian patriarch to the Porte require the seal of the civil council. The keeper of the seal, styled *Logothetes*, ranks next to the patriarch, and presides over the council in his absence.

The attributes of the Armenian patriarch are very similar to those of the Greek ecumenical patriarch. He dispenses justice, not in person, but by his delegate, or vicar-general (*pochanort*). This latter, who is a member by right of the ecclesiastical council, is also president of the judicial council, which holds its sittings at his residence, and which judges all cases relating to marriage, actions for debt, etc.

Justice is administered gratuitously. The nation and the Armenian community are subject to no taxes by the Ottoman government except the *kharadj*, and the ordinary impost paid to the state. We have already seen how the ecclesiastical expenses are supplied. Other expenses, such as judicial fees and salaries, the maintenance of schools and hospitals, etc., are defrayed from the proceeds of voluntary contributions paid into the public treasury. Twenty-four deputies (*vakeels*) form a commission specially charged with the control of the public expenditure.

The Armenians possess a large national hospital at Constantinople, partly devoted to the reception of insane persons, and partly to the sick and infirm. It is styled the hospital of *Yeni-Kouleh*, and has been already alluded to. Though a fine establishment, it cannot be compared with others of the same kind belonging to the Turks. Its resources are considerable; but when we consider the large sums which it derives from its own revenues, and the proceeds of its wax manufactory—also from the patriarchal chancery, for certificates for passports delivered by the Porte, which pay twelve piastres each, added to the contributions from each *esnaf*, the collections made throughout the Armenian churches in the empire, the allowance of meat and bread furnished by the munificence of the Sultan—and contrast these efficient means of supply with the apparent penury of the establishment, we are driven to suspect the existence of those vices of organization unhappily so general in Turkey, and so fatal to the progress of public improvement. 301

The administration of the provinces is entrusted to the bishops, whose duties in their dioceses resemble those of their Patriarch at Constantinople. Like him, they have their civil and ecclesiastical council—like him, also, they hold courts of justice—and in certain localities they, or their vicars-general, form part of the *Medjili* or Turkish administrative council of the province.

The organization of the parishes or municipalities, both urban and rural, is the same as that of the Greek municipalities. At their head are nobles (*ichkans*), or primates, whose duty

it is to superintend the church and the schools, and to apportion the taxes amongst the contributors.

302 Constantinople contains thirty Armenian churches or parishes, of which nine are within the precincts of the city, and twenty-one without. The nine within the walls are—the cathedral church of Koum-Capou, opposite the patriarchal palace, consisting of three churches united in the same enclosure, but entirely distinct from one another; the church of Yeni-Capou, built in 1844; of Guedik-Pasha, in 1847; of Psammattia, the ancient mother church (which Mohammed II at the conquest took from the Greeks to give to the Armenian emigrants of Ak-Kirmam); of Narli-Capou; of Alti-Mermer (the six marbles); of Top-Capou; of Kara-Gueumruh, a shrine much frequented by pilgrims; and the church of Balad (Balata).

Of the twenty-one parishes without the walls, two are at Galata; one at Kassim-Pasha; one at Pera; one at Khas-Koi; one at Bechik-Tak; one at Orta-Koi; one at Kourou-tchesme; one at Roumeli-Hiçar (Castle of Europe); one at Emirghian; one at Yeni-Koi, constructed at the expense of M. Stefan, sarraf; one at Buyuk-Dereh, built also by a sarraf, M. Kevork, banker of the viceroy of Egypt; one at Beicos; one at Candilli; one at Kouzhoundjouk, built under the reign of Sultan Mahmoud, by M. Carabid, the father of the present architect of the imperial palace; two at Scutari; one at Alem-Daghi, a little village three leagues from Scutari, which reckons from thirty to thirty-five families, all Armenians; one at Kadi-Koi; and one at Kartal, opposite Princes' Islands.*

303 My information does not allow me to compute precisely the population of each parish; all that I can venture to state is, that the quarter of Psammattia, in Constantinople, contains four thousand Armenian families, forming the three parishes of Psammattia, Alti Mermer, and Narli-Capou. Three other churches, situated in the neighborhood of Koum-Capou, Goudik-Pasha, Yeni-Capou, and Koum-Capou, include a like number. The parish of Balata alone contains three thousand families. With regard to the proportion between the number of churches and the general number of the population, we shall find the average to be a little more than seven thousand individuals for each parish.

. . . Every parish has its free school, in which the children of the district learn to read and write. Originally these schools were supported at the expense of the parish; but the parochial revenues proving insufficient, the Patriarch Carabed placed each of them under the administration of an esnaf. In a few years the esnafs also becoming unable or unwilling to continue the expense, the principal inhabitants of the different quarters of the city united together to undertake the charge. The inhabitants of Psammattia, in 1842, set the first example
304 of these voluntary associations—an example readily followed by other parishes; but such associations, from their very nature, cannot offer any guarantee of permanency, so that, after all, the schools remain in a precarious state of existence. The instruction afforded in them is very limited, being confined in general to reading, writing, the elements of arithmetic, and the catechism, and (for children on whom nature has bestowed a voice) a little instruction in church music. Some few indeed, besides the foregoing rudiments, teach a little grammar, geography, and history, and a smattering of mathematics; but their number is very inconsiderable; and the greater part of the pupils, who generally belong to poor families, have scarcely learned to read and write before they are removed by their parents . . .

* Besides these thirty churches there are five other private churches or chapels at Constantinople . . .

In 1837 a college was founded at Scutari, which, like all establishments of public charity and utility in the Armenian community, was supported by voluntary donations and subscriptions. Scarcely, however, had it begun to prosper, when party intrigues and jealousies interfered, and at the end of three years and a half the experiment was obliged to be given up, and the college doors closed. They were reopened in 1846, to be again closed in 1852; and the locality was transformed into a primary school, succursal to that of the church of St. John the Baptist, which had been burned down.

A few years ago a similar attempt was made to establish a college within the precincts of the great hospital of Yeni-Kouleh, intended to serve also as a seminary for the education of the Vartabeds. This experiment succeeded no better than the former, and in like manner terminated | in a simple school of primary instruction, which, at the time-of my last visit to Constantinople, was supported on a costly scale, the pupils being lodged and boarded in the establishment. 305

The education of the female sex is still less advanced The few schools which exist at Constantinople and its neighborhood are of not more than fifty years' standing. Before that time a woman who possessed the slightest knowledge of reading or writing was certain to be regarded with an evil eye by her companions and marriage for such a phenomenon was almost out of the question.

The Armenian Catholics were the first to break through this prejudice, and mention is made of a certain Mariam Karakachian, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, who had translated from the Latin several collections of sermons. Subsequently this example was followed by the non-united Armenians. In 1821 the sister of M. Djanig, an Armenian sarraf, founded and endowed in the quarter of Psammatia the first school for girls, and at the present day there are similar schools in almost every parish of Constantinople; also at Broussa, Varna, Adapasa (in the diocese of Nicomedia), at Baghtchedjig, an Armenian village on the Gulf of Nicomedia, and in most of the principal towns of Armenia. The instruction given in these schools is restricted to reading, writing, arithmetic, the art of embroidery, and other feminine works; music and ornamental accomplishments have not yet been introduced. We should add, however, that these schools are chiefly frequented by the daughters of artisans and the poorer classes; most | of the sarrafs and wealthy private individuals entrusting the education 306 of their daughters to governesses procured from Europe.*

The wealthy classes, owing to the insufficiency of the Armenian schools at Constantinople, have been accustomed of late to send their sons abroad, and principally to Paris, for education, but the experiment has not succeeded better with these young men, left to themselves in a large capital, without guidance or restriction, than with the young Ottoman students placed in a similar position; and, with very few exceptions, the result has been unfortunate. Under such disadvantages it might have been supposed that literature and science could have made little progress amongst the Armenians. The contrary, however, is the fact. Originating at the most unfavorable epoch, at a time when the political decline of the kingdom had commenced, the literature of Armenia rapidly increased during the eighth

* We have heard that a school for girls has been established at Constantinople under the auspices of Lady Stratford de Redcliffe, conducted by some English Protestant ladies, and that many of the pupils are Armenians. We have been unable to procure further particulars on the subject.—T.

century under the dominion of the Osdigan Arab. By a curious contrast, we sometimes see the most calamitous periods of history the most remarkable for intellectual development.

The school of Mechitar, growing up amidst the lagunes of Venice, gave an impulse to Armenian language and literature which was communicated to the rest of the nation, reaching even those who were dispersed over remote countries. Eleven Armenian printing establishments were at this period in existence amongst the principal cities of Europe: namely, 307 one at Venice, established 1565; one at Rome, 1584; at Lemberg, 1616; Milan, 1624; Paris, 1633; Leghorn, 1640; Amsterdam, 1660; Marseilles, 1673; Constantinople, 1679; Leipsic, 1680; and Padua, 1690. But all these (not even excepting that in Holland, which sent forth so great a number of excellent works) were surpassed by the valuable labors of the great printing establishment of St. Lazarus at Venice, which to the reproduction of ancient Armenian works added translations of the principal literary and scientific productions of other nations. And, in spite of the general poverty and destitution of the Turco-Armenian schools, we find among the Armenians of the present day many men of eminent merit both in literature and science. I may cite in the first rank M. Tchamourdjian, from whose conversation I have derived much useful information on the position of his co-religionists in Turkey; M. Krikos <Krikor>, professor of Armenian classic literature in the college of St. Cross, at Scutari, and member of the ecclesiastical council; M. Kalousd, secretary of the two councils; M. Agop, logothetis of the patriarchate; the ex-patriarch Matthew, who now lives in retirement at Orta-koi; the vartabied Ohannes, preacher in the churches of Kouzkhoundjouk and Bechik Tach; the Vartabied Sdepan, vicar-general of the diocese of Nicomedia; M. Boyhos <Boghos>, bishop of Smyrna, who has translated from the Italian several of Segneri's 308 sermons; Arisdagnes <Arisdages>, a priest of Psammata; and many others, all ecclesiastics. The talents of these distinguished men are unfortunately lost to the nation. Manuscripts accumulate under their pens, but remain buried in their closets for want of a publisher to incur the risk of printing them. Libraries are luxuries as yet unknown among the wealthy Armenians. If by chance one of them purchases a book, all his acquaintances think themselves entitled to borrow it, and thus the same copy serves for fifteen or twenty families. An Armenian work, of which from seven hundred and fifty to a thousand copies should have been struck off, and the whole impression sold in the course of a few years, would be a prodigy of literary success. Armenian writers are, generally speaking, too poor to publish their works at their own expense, being indeed scarcely able to support themselves without the assistance of a professorship in a college or some employment in the civil administration.

The Armenians have a literary language which differs entirely from the spoken dialect, and is considered by their national writers as having existed before the Deluge! However absurd this pretension may be deemed, it would be curious to follow, step by step, the changes which this language has undergone since the invention of the alphabet by Mesrob. In the seventeenth century, a few learned men, conceiving that the forms and rules of Latin might be applied with advantage to the Armenian language, invented a sort of bastard dialect, which was partly adopted by the Armenians in Holland, and in which a small number of books 309 appeared at Amsterdam. But this example has found few imitators, and the ancient language, although degenerated from its primitive purity, has continued to prevail amongst the learned of Armenia. Towards the middle of the last century one of the disciples of Mechitar, Father Tchiamschian, attempted to restore the language by discarding all the foreign elements which

had been introduced. His grammar, amplified and completed by the supplement of Father Gabriel Avedchian, was adopted by the nation, and, in conjunction with the classical works sent forth by the press of the Mechitarists, has contributed to form a literary language totally distinct from the dialect in common use; the latter having become corrupted by the introduction of words and idioms from the various languages of the surrounding nations, intermingled with the original Armenian.

The Armenians of the Ottoman empire usually employ the Turkish language in conversation even amongst themselves, or, if they use their own, it is disfigured by a multitude of Turkish words introduced without necessity. In the same manner the Armenians in Georgia use Georgian expressions; while those of Russia or Persia, Transylvania, and other countries, borrow phrases from the nations among whom they live. This corruption of the Armenian language by the heterogeneous admixture of foreign dialects has hitherto prevented the construction of such a grammar as would give it a fixed and uniform character. Still, however, some attempts of the kind have been made at Constantinople, and not wholly without success. For example, there are three Armenian newspapers published in Turkey,—one at Smyrna, and two at Constantinople; these are written in | the common Armenian dialect, as 310 it is spoken at Constantinople, without any admixture of foreign phrases, and this new style is beginning to grow daily more into use, though much has yet to be done before it can take its place amongst regular languages.

. . . The Armenian community may be divided into four classes: the clergy; the literary or professional class; the sarrafs, or bankers; and the artisans and tradesmen.

We have already directed our attention to the two former: we have now only a few words to say respecting the two latter, which comprise the commerce and the industry of the nation. The occupation of the sarrafs* is of very ancient origin in the Turkish empire, and arose out of the mode of collecting the taxes employed in the earlier times immediately succeeding the conquest. It will be borne in mind that the Porte was anciently accustomed to farm out the different branches of the revenue to the pashas and other governors of provinces, who were required to pay the amount in advance into the *Miri* or Treasury, and these, in their turn, as Mr. Urquhart justly remarks, not having fortune or credit enough to furnish the necessary guarantees, were obliged to have recourse to the Armenians:†

“The pasha, being generally without personal property or credit, and his office itself, on 311 which rested the whole chance of repayment, being of most precarious tenure, it was necessary for him to grant very advantageous conditions to the capitalist who should become his guarantee. Here we come to the secret spring which puts in motion the whole machinery of Turkish administration.

“The Armenians have been, and still are, the richest and most commercial people of the empire, and by their wealth they are the surest guarantees the Porte could obtain: by their knowledge of the Turkish language, by their intimate acquaintance with all commercial dealings, and by their condition of raiah, they offer to the pashas every quality that can

* Sarraf, a money-changer or banker; one who knows the value of things, particularly of specie. It is used figuratively in the following expression—Sarrafani nougoudi mé-ûni, those who know the value of the small change (monnaie) of eloquence.—Bianchi, Dictionnaire.

† Urquhart, *Turkey and its Resources*, p. 107.

recommend them as able men of business, as bankers of solidity, and as docile creditors. The revenues being often collected in kind, their capacity of merchant united to that of banker makes them doubly useful, and gives them opportunities of rapidly acquiring wealth. The Sultan views their prosperity with no unfriendly eye, as their riches are not squandered by extravagant habits, nor expended in rebellious enterprises, but remain carefully hoarded in their coffers till some pretext or some necessity brings it into the *Miri*.

312 “The confidential agent who accompanies the pasha to his province is generally a relation of the sarraf; all money transactions pass through him, and the agrotage and commission are very considerable. This agent receives the revenue for the province for which his principal has become responsible, and traffics in its produce, | which he manages to obtain at a reduced price as tribute by exaction, etc. Thus, to every pasha a steward is attached, like a sucking-fish to a shark, whom, let him writhe as he will, he cannot get rid of, who watches his movements, commands his resources, and, urging him continually to acts of violence and extortion, leaves him only a small portion of the plunder. The pasha cannot throw him off, because his office depends on his guaranteeship; he cannot induce him to plot against the Porte, because the bulk of the Armenian’s fortune is at Constantinople, where also his family are retained as hostages. The principal evil of the system is that the sarrafs naturally wish to conceal from the pasha the amount of their profits, and this they most effectually do by collecting the revenue before harvest-time. By anticipating the time of payment the bankers obtain 2½ per cent interest *per month* on the money which the peasant is obliged to borrow; they depress the market by the necessity which the peasant is under of realizing at any price, they can bargain with the villages for the exclusion of all other competitors for their produce, and even for a further reduction below the price of the already depressed market.

313 “It is by this band of bankers, jobbers, and speculators that Turkey secures the exact payment of her revenue, and surrounds the governors of her provinces with a financial thralldom and espionage, through which the boldest arms have never succeeded in breaking, while at the same time the pashas are driven to such an excess of extortion that enmity is placed between the province and its governor. To destroy the influence of the | Armenians, which grinds the peasantry and puts hatred between the pasha and his province, it is only necessary to collect the revenue without the intervention of the pasha; and for which the municipal system, so prevalent in the Turkish empire, affords, without any new experiment, the ready means.”

But it may be thought that so powerful and united a body as the sarrafs would strenuously oppose any change. Mr. Urquhart, writing in 1838, proceeds to say, “I can apprehend no such resistance; the security that would accompany the change would increase the value of capital, open new and vast fields of industry and enterprise; capital would be eagerly withdrawn from its present precarious investments; and even if fortunes are not to be so rapidly realized, they are not so liable to sudden ruin, nor their possessors exposed to political intrigue and powerful vengeance. The sarrafs have no distinct influence nor political importance; and their capital, and commercial habits, would secure them better rewards in the honorable career of industry than they can reap in the successful hazards of gambling.”

We may now, therefore, form some notion of the nature and importance of the part which an Armenian sarraf fills in Turkey. Although that importance has been somewhat diminished of late by the suppression of the *malikianehs*, the sarrafs are still the intermediate agents

between the treasury and the revenue contractors, and guarantees to the former for the payment at the appointed period of the money due, whether the taxes have been actually collected or not. In the latter case they advance the required amount at an interest of from fifteen to twenty per cent. Contracts of this nature, though generally fulfilled with remarkable exactness and fidelity on both sides, must occasionally give rise to disputes. When this happens, the sarraf is permitted to bring his suit before the council of the mint. He would be wholly without redress before the ordinary tribunals, as the Musulman law declares all interest upon loans to be usurious, and therefore illegal; but the council of the mint is empowered to recognize the legality of interest upon loans made by a banker to the government or government authorities. 314

The sarrafs accredited by the Ottoman government, under the protection of fermans styled *Gouiroglou*, formed, until within the last fifteen years, a corporation, consisting of sixty or eighty members, the president of which was nominated by the Porte. Since 1842 the number has been reduced to fifteen, and the company itself divided into two bodies, one of which acts for the provinces of Roumelia, and one for those of Anatolia.

The sarrafs are the usual money-lenders in Turkey; they prefer to make advances upon personal property rather than upon land. The exorbitant rate of interest which they exact from the borrower often leads to the articles upon which the loan was obtained becoming the property of the lender.

In addition to the foregoing employments, the sarrafs conduct the private affairs of the grandees, pashas, and great officers of state. They collect their debts, advance money when required, and manage the estates and fortunes of their patrons. In return they enjoy the most unlimited confidence, and are never asked for an account, nor even for an acknowledgment, of the money which passes through their hands. 315

Since the recent reforms, the Armenian sarrafs, in order to find employment for their capital, have invested it in the principal industrial enterprises of the empire; thus the cloth manufactories, the powder-mills, the working of the mines, the lines of steamboat communication, are chiefly in their hands. But their most lucrative privilege is that of coining money, a privilege conceded a century ago to the family of Duz-Oghlou. This explains how the greater part of the specie of Turkey is at the present day in the hands of the Armenian sarrafs, and accounts for their influence over their countrymen. Until 1842 they possessed the exclusive right of electing and deposing the patriarch, who consequently found himself absolutely dependent upon their favor, and they regulated, nominally in conjunction with him, the civil, and even the religious, affairs of the community:—at that period the Porte issued an ordinance which invited the esnafs to take part in the election of the patriarch, and established two councils, one for civil, the other for ecclesiastical affairs. Still, however, the ancient abuses maintained their ground; for the corporations (esnafs) thus called on to act politically, finding themselves little skilled in the practical part of public business, yielded insensibly to the influence of the sarrafs. This exclusive preponderance of a caste has not, however, produced the evils that might be expected, owing to the national spirit which animates the Armenian race. 316

The fourth class, that of the artisans, is divided into esnafs (corporations) according to the different trades; the principal being those of the merchants, architects, goldsmiths, watchmakers, locksmiths, painters, silk-weavers, tanners, &c. The merchants are of two

classes, ordinary merchants, and bairatlis or chartered merchants, whose privileges consist in the exemption from certain imposts, and other immunities already mentioned.

In architecture the Armenians have made considerable progress. The imperial palaces of Beylerbey and Tcheragan, the new palace of Dolma Baghtcheh (the elegant facades of which adorn the shores of the Bosphorus), the great barracks of Selimia at Scutari, the mosque of Top-kaneh which adjoins the arsenal, and many of the bazars and public edifices in the city and suburbs are the work of Armenian architects.

The corporation of goldsmiths includes all workers in gold and silver and jewelry. Engraving on precious stones, as well as the inlaying of metals (*dorure en métaux*), forms a separate trade, which none but Musulmans are permitted to exercise, at least at Constantinople.

The watchmakers confine their labors to the repairing rather than to the construction of clocks and watches; though occasionally they have had many skillful mechanics amongst them, both in ancient and modern times.

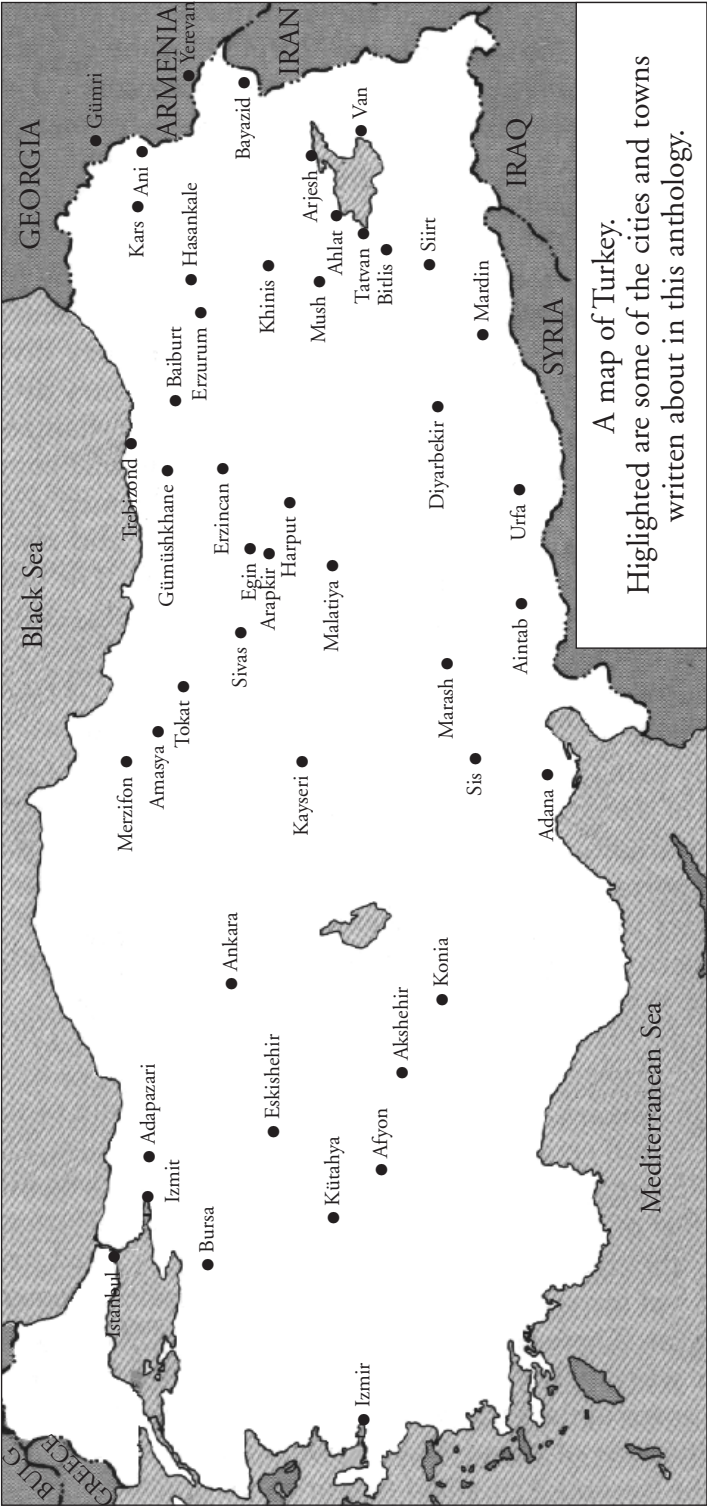
317 Ornamental painting was formerly practiced exclusively | by the Turks, but of late years this esnaf has included many Armenians, amongst whom is the principal decorator of the new palace of Dolma Baghtcheh, Ohannes Oumed Behzad (called by the Italians Signor Speranza).

The Broussa silks, of which such admirable specimens were seen at the London Exhibition in 1851, are chiefly manufactured by Armenians: the Armenians excel also in embroidery and the trade of tanning, which is principally carried on at Adapuyar.

The manufacture of gunpowder was introduced at Constantinople, in the reign of Selim III, by an Armenian named Arakel Hadji Dael, who obtained the monopoly of it for himself and his heirs. One of the latter, Boghos Dadian, established a manufactory of cloth and silks at Nicomedia: the late Sultan converted this into a national establishment, and assigned over the profits to the department of the ministry of war. At the head of this establishment is an Armenian named Artin Saroukhanian.

The rural population, especially in Turkish Armenia, retain the habits and manners of their forefathers, and are wholly employed in husbandry and in pasturing their cattle and flocks in the rich plains of Armenia. They are more advanced in agriculture than the Musulmans; and if the government would only assist their efforts by the construction of roads, and establishing facilities for inter-communication throughout the country, agriculture would progress, instead of retrograding as at the present day. For example, in the province of Van a peculiar kind of wheat was formerly cultivated, of excellent quality, and resembling in productiveness the many-eared wheat of Egypt, but from neglect it has now almost
318 disappeared. | The Armenian peasants flock in numbers to Constantinople and the principal Levantine cities, where, under the name of bekiars, they seek to make fortunes. These migrations are periodical, and take place in the months of August and September, when the people set out in troops of three or four thousand, and return at the end of two or three years, rich enough to marry and purchase a little land or a few sheep.

All the inhabitants of these countries, both Christian and Musulman, have a blind belief in destiny, which leads them to refer every event, and even every action of their lives, to the direction of a fixed and immutable fate.



Herman Melville—1819–1891

Journal of a Visit to Europe and the Levant, October 11, 1856–May 6, 1857.

Edited by Howard C. Horsford

Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1955

A.D. 1856

<Friday, Dec. 12, Constantinople>

78 . . . Staid in all night. Dangerous going out, owing to footpads and assassins. The curse of these places. Cant' go out at night . . .

82 To the Bazarr. A wilderness of traffic. Furniture, arms, silks, confectionery, shoes, saddles—everything. Covered overhead with stone arches, with side openings. Immense crowds. Georgians, Armenians, Greeks, Jews and Turks are the merchants.

86 Sunday, Dec. 14. Three Sabbaths a week in Constantinople. Friday, Turks; Sat<urday>, Jews; Sunday, Romanists, Greeks, and Armenians.

89 Saw a burial. Armenian. Juggling and incantations of the priests—making signs etc.—Nearby, saw a woman over a new grave—no grass on it yet. Such abandonment of misery! Called to the dead, put her head down as close to it as possible; as if calling down a hatchway or celler; besought—“Why don't you speak to me? My God!—It is I!—Ah, speak—but one word!”—All deaf.—So much for consolation.— This woman and her cries haunt me horribly.

<Thursday, Dec. 18>

104 . . . Dispersed nations (Jews, Armenians, Gypsies) . . . proof against proselytism adhere to
105 | the faith first delivered to their fathers . . .

Jerome Van Crowninshield Smith—1800–1879

Turkey and the Turks.

Second Edition. Boston, James French and Company, 1857

A.D. 1857

. . . It is a crime to be very rich <in Constantinople>; for money is a weapon of which the 70 rulers are in fear.

Some of the Armenian bankers have heretofore been honored with a silk halter, or had their heads chopped off without an apology, because the state stood in need of replenished coffers. In the cemetery of Balykli is a marble box, bearing an inscription illustrative of what has often been done in the way of murdering a man for his property. It is in Armenian, 71 which, translated, reads thus:

“Here reposes the mortal remains of Erzanyan Aretin, banker to the Sublime Porte. His virtues were resplendent as the gold he had amassed by industry and fair dealing. His charity was boundless, his word inviolable, and his piety transcendent. He gave to all, and owed to none. He bade adieu to his weeping family upon the 7th of July, 1795, trusting to Almighty Grace, and blessing the hand that opened for him the gates of paradise.”

In Asia, by including Asia Minor, the neighboring islands, Armenia, Kurdistan, Syria, the 194 Holy Land, Mesopotamia, and a large section of Arabia, she <Turkey> has four hundred and thirty-seven thousand square miles, with a population presumed to be equal to seventeen million.

Nassau William Senior—1790–1864

A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece in the Autumn of 1857 and the Beginning of 1858.

London, Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859

A.D. 1857

- 67 Friday, October 9 . . . “I dare say,” said Dickson, “that little crime is detected in Stamboul, but that does not prove that little is committed. When I was in Tripoli, while we had a sot and a fool for Pasha, the records of the courts of justice showed that there was little crime. When Omar, an excellent man, succeeded him, it seemed suddenly to increase; the fact being that it was detected. When you consider the fierceness and brutality of the people, and the weakness of the repression, it would be wonderful if crime were not prevalent. A week ago, a Greek woman was found murdered near the little coast battery of Telli Tabia, a couple of miles above Bujucdereh. A soldier belonging to that battery had been absent during the previous night. His breast and arms were covered with bites, as if he had had a long struggle with an
68 unarmed person. He could not account for the whole of his time during the night. There can be little doubt of his guilt. But he will be released; no Mussulman cares about the murder of a Rayah.”

“Omar Pasha,” he continued, “who was earnest in his endeavors to prevent crime, directed that the body of every one who died in Tripoli should be examined by me. I detected many violent deaths; but no one was punished for them, except that in some cases blood money was paid.”

- 85 “In general,” he <Mr. W.> continued, “a man here makes his fortune, not by saving and investing money, but by borrowing. The great Armenian bankers, in whose hands the court always is, are on the look out for young men fitted to get on; that is, young men with good talents and persons and connections, and few scruples. To such a man they will lend ten thousand pounds or twenty thousand pounds, to be spent in bribes and ostentation, and the other modes in which money leads in Turkey to power. While he is struggling on he can pay little interest; but as soon as he gets a place, or a contract, or a monopoly, he pays ten, or fifteen, or twenty per cent. In the meantime, the banker is his protector, advances him money when a patron wants backshish, or an accusation, or a witness is to be bought off, or a judge is to be bribed, and is reimbursed not only by usurious interest on the loan, but out of the patronage or the jobs at the disposal of his creature.”

- 100 “. . . I understand <said C. D.> that there are many villages, and even districts, in which the inhabitants became Mussulmen only from fear, and are now returning to Christianity. Until the Hatt-i-Humayoon was issued this was a capital crime.”

- 138 Saturday, October 24.—I sat at dinner next to V. W., who has just returned from the frontier separating Turkish and Russian Armenia.

He gave a frightful account of the misgovernment of Turkish Armenia.

"It is such," he said, "that the people are wishing for the Russians. A new Pasha, and there is one every three or four years, sends word of his arrival to all the subordinate local officers. This is a notice to all office holders to be prepared with their bribes, and to all office hunters to be prepared to outbribe them."

"And how," I said, "do those who have bribed him get back their money?"

139

"By increasing the taxation," he answered, "by not accounting for the public receipts, by winking at breaches of quarantine laws, or non-payment of custom-house dues, by selling justice, and through the *corvées*. The last is a fertile source of profit. The Pasha is making a progress; the villages in his line have to furnish camels and horses; the Nazir requires twice as many, or five times as many, as are really wanted, and is bribed to reduce his demand. If the village is rich and bribes highly, it furnishes none, and the burden falls on those who cannot buy themselves off; they are forced to travel with their beasts for ten or for twenty days, unpaid, carrying their own food and that of their beasts, or plundering it, and are discharged perhaps 100 miles from home; their cattle and themselves lame and worn out. The amount of tyranny may be inferred from the depopulation. You see vast districts without an inhabitant, in which are the traces of a large and civilized people, great works for irrigation now in ruins, and constant remains of deserted towns. There is a city near the frontier with high walls and large stone houses, now absolutely uninhabited; it had once 60,000 inhabitants. There is not a palace on the Bosphorus that has not decimated the inhabitants of a province.

"Besides the wholesale robbery of the great Turks, there is the petty oppression of the little Turks. One of them, with his belt full of pistols, walks up to a Rayah's house. He calls out the master, who perhaps is the head man of the village, and bids him hold his horse. He walks in, sits | down, and makes the women light his pipe. The girls all run away, and hide in the outhouses, or among the neighbors. When he has finished his pipe, he asks for a fowl. He is told that there are none. A few blows bring one out, a few more produce bread and wine. What is the source of this insolence? That he is armed, and that he is the only person in the village who is so."

"Are the Rayahs," I said, "forbidden to wear arms?"

"Forbidden," he answered, "not only to wear them, but to possess them. The Turks from time to time search the houses of the Rayahs, and if they find arms, seize them, and beat the householders. If the Rayahs were armed, or the Turks were disarmed, there would be none of this petty oppression.

"The Turkish Government lost, two years ago, a noble opportunity of producing equality among its different races. Before it disbanded its army, it might have employed it to disarm the Turkish population; now it is too late."

"Could the government," I asked, "allow the Rayahs to wear arms?"

"That," he answered, "would be giving the signal for civil war."

Thursday, October 29.—

"There is no doubt," he <an Armenian friend, Y. Z.> said, "that the country is going to ruin, under the influence of internal mismanagement and external interference."

"Of the foreigners who meddle in our affairs, some, like Russia, wish to hasten our fall, others, like Austria, wish us neither good nor evil, and are anxious only as to the influence

which our fortunes may have upon theirs. England and France, I believe, really wish us well, but they try to serve us by forcing down our throats what *they* think a remedy and *we* think a poison. Their object is the fusion of the different races and different believers, or at least, their equality. They want the wolves and the sheep to lie down together. The Turks believe this to be thoroughly impossible. They believe that in Europe, where the Christians are the large majority, they are thoroughly disaffected; that every right which they gained they would use as a weapon; that if the Hatt-i-Humayoon were honestly carried out, the Turks would be
 152 driven across the Bosphorus in five years: in short, that India is merely a | specimen of the feelings of slaves who can find an opportunity of rising against masters. They are resolved, there fore, that it shall be a dead letter. In some provinces, the reading of it produced riots: in others it was not attempted to be read.

“But in fact it cannot be a dead letter. It alarms and irritates the Turks; it stimulates the hopes and also the hatred of the Greeks. They see that the Turks are resolved to render illusory stipulations made by the allies in their favor. They are, if possible, worse subjects of the Sultan than they were before the war. But this is not all. The foreigners, after having made the Turkish Government hateful, try to render it contemptible. When Reschid refused to obey Thouvenel’s order to quash the Moldavian elections, he resigned the grand viziership and Mustapha was put in his place, as it was supposed that he would submit with a better grace. Reschid remained a minister, though no longer vizier. Thouvenel sent his first dragoman to tell the Sultan that France could have no confidence in him while Reschid was employed. The poor Sultan submitted. But he does not trust Fuad or Aali, whom he suspects to be under French influence. He believes the union of the Principalities to be the dismemberment of the empire, and is still more afraid of that than he is of Thouvenel, and he thinks that Reschid is the only man who can prevent it. From the time that Reschid went out, the Sultan’s most earnest wish was to recall him. All this was well known to his late ministers. They felt too insecure to venture to do anything. They avoided even seeing the Sultan, for fear that he
 153 should make a | quarrel and turn them out. At last he made up his mind, and as soon as a fortunate day came, he made his *coup d’état*. But he sent an apologetic message to Thouvenel, to which, after a day or two’s delay, a dry answer was returned. Thouvenel has not yet paid his visit of etiquette to the new grand vizier. It is said that he waits for instructions.”

“Now,” I said, “for the internal causes of ruin.”

“They,” he said, “are the disorder of the finances and of the currency; the farming of the revenue; the centralization which brings every business to Constantinople, where it is neglected and at last forgotten, but above all, the general and increasing corruption. And for these evils there will be no cure. The pashas will not remedy them, for they profit by them, and their education renders them insensible to the mischief and to the scandal. The Sultan will not remedy them, for he knows nothing of them. He can know nothing of anything that his ministers do not choose to tell him. He does not read, and if he did, there is no press; he sees nobody, he never has seen anybody, except his brothers-in-law and sons-in-law, his women and his servants, and occasionally a minister or an ambassador who comes to bully him or to deceive him. Still the empire, if left to itself, might cohere for many years. But Europe has her eyes on its western provinces. One by one, or two by two, they will be cut off, or will drop off. Perhaps we may return to Broussa, and keep Anatolia for a century or two longer.”

He <Herr Spiegelthal, the Prussian Consul>, too, talked of the dying out of the Turks. “In 191 towns,” he said, “where there were 3,000 Turks five or six years ago, there are now not 2000. Since the reforms have given to the Rayahs comparative security, they are squeezing out the Turks. Formerly, the richer they were the more they were oppressed; now they combine, make a common purse to resist the common enemy, and whenever one of them is ill-treated, only having a larger fund to draw from, he can purchase more witnesses, and bribe the judge higher than his adversary.

“A strong proof of the depopulation of the country is the presence of nomadic tribes, Irooks and Turcomans, who wander over it in parties of from thirty to forty families, carrying with them cattle, camels, horses, and sheep in thousands, encamping and feeding on the unoccupied lands. The Irooks live in tents; and, besides their pastoral employments, weave carpets and coarse cloths. The Turcomans are purely pastoral, and some times build temporary villages of wood coated with mud. I remember finding one near Sardis on the same spot for two successive years. They had 150 camels, 400 or 500 head of cattle, and perhaps 10,000 sheep. I asked them how long they intended to remain there. ‘God I only knows,’ they 192 answered. The next year they were gone.”

“To whom, then,” I said, “does the land on which they encamp, and feed their herds and flocks, belong?”

“To the Sultan in general,” he answered.

“And do they pay for its use?”

“Not,” he replied, “when it is the Sultan’s. The unoccupied land of the Sultan may be used without payment; when they use that belonging to private persons, some payment is exacted. They ought to pay tithe, but the appearance of a tithe-collector is a notice to them to depart.”

“How much of Asia Minor,” I said, “do you suppose to be uncultivated?”

“Ninety-nine hundredths,” he answered; “if you go from hence towards Magnesia, you will ride ten hours through fine land without seeing a human habitation. But such is the fertility of the hundredth part which is cultivated, that if there were roads, its produce would influence sensibly the markets of Europe. A few years ago the crop of madder failed in the south of France. The export from Smyrna doubled, and in a great measure supplied the loss. If we had roads, we should drive the French madder out of the market.”

Tuesday, November 10.—I walked with Mr. Spiegelthal through the greater part of Smyrna, towards the ancient city on the hill which overlooks it. He pointed out to me a line running near a large Armenian church, and dividing the town about equally, which was formerly the shore. The foundations of a fine sea wall bound the I site of the city of Alexander. 193 It rose up about one-third of the hill.

The modern city consists of a large Turkish town towards the south, a Frank town to the north, extending along the sea-shore, and an Armenian town to the east.

I asked him about its healthiness.

“A part of the Armenian town,” he said, “which runs up among gardens, intersected by the Meles, is unhealthy, from want of drainage. The health of the Turkish town is somewhat affected by the cemeteries. A Turkish grave does not press on the corpse; room is left for it to rise into a sitting posture, to answer the question which, immediately after its interment, an angel puts to it, as to the faith in which it has died. As it is feared that at such a moment it may want presence of mind, the moollah who presides at the burial stands for ten minutes at

the head of the grave, to prompt it. He keeps repeating: 'Say, There is one God, and Mahomet is his prophet' and, to enable the corpse to hear him, a communication is left between the grave and the open air. The consequence is that the air from a Turkish cemetery in use is unwholesome. In general, however, Smyrna is healthy."

194 Herr Spiegelthal has spent much time in the interior of Asia Minor, and he believes the feelings of the Christian population to be such as to render an insurrection against the Turks almost certain within five or six years.

"What," I asked, "are their respective numbers?"

"The Christians," he answered, "are about three millions. The Turks about nine. But the Christians are concentrated in the larger towns; they possess all the wealth, the knowledge, and the intelligence of the country."

205 "Three influences," he [Mr. J. Whittall] said, "are struggling, that of the Greeks, meaning by Greeks those who acknowledge the Patriarch of Constantinople, that of the Armenians, and that of the Europeans. The Greeks dream of nothing but a Greek empire, to be created by the help of Russia. They despise the Russians as slaves and savages, but they hope to make use of them, and then to throw them off. The Armenians, and generally all the Christians who are not in communion with the Patriarch of Constantinople, dread the Greeks still more than they do the Turks. They know them to be more intolerant and more oppressive. They are
206 quiet, unambitious people, and would like to exchange the Turkish rule for the supremacy of any European power. If they have a predilection, it is in favor of Russia . . ."

224 "Are there many Latins?" I asked.

"There are 10,000 in Smyrna alone," he answered. "They are chiefly of Italian descent. They have all the faults of the Greeks, and many others, and they have few of their virtues. They are bitterly intolerant, they have little energy, and little desire of improvement. Instead of sending their children, as the Greeks do, to Europe for education, they keep them at home, chiefly under the direction of the Lazarists, learning nothing."

"I have heard," I said, "little about them or about the Armenians."

"The Armenians," he answered, "are more important. They are not numerous but they are rich. They have not the ambition or the intelligence of the Greeks. They will side with the strongest."

Robert Macdonald—?

*Personal Narrative of Military Travel and Adventure in Turkey and Persia;
Comprising a Brief Sketch of the Chequered Life of the Author.*
Edinburgh, Adam and Charles Black, 1859

A.D. 1858

The mountains around us here <from Trebizond to Erzeroum> were all in their primitive 95
nakedness. Their sylvan mantle was now | thrown aside. Not even a tree was to be seen, all 96
being barren and bare, save some of the highest summits that were clothed in mantles of snow.
The snow, indeed, was so deep in certain parts of our way, that our horses sometimes plunged
in it up to the belly.

We were now in the country of Armenia, riding across the range of mountains called
Mount Taurus, a range that runs from west to east nearly over the whole of Asia Minor.

. . . Notwithstanding the naked appearance of these mountains they were highly
interesting. There was a wild and lofty grandeur about them that was enough to inspire the
soul with the profoundest awe. There was a majesty and sublimity in these mountain scenes
that led my mind into a pleasing maze. As far as the eye could reach, there was nothing to be
seen but mountain towering above mountain, which appeared to form, as it were, colossal
steps and stairs up to the | very windows of heaven. Any description would fall far short of 97
doing anything like justice to a delineation of the lofty and magnificent scenery of this
quarter; but what exquisite delight the feeling communicated to the soul!

. . . The houses in some of the villages in this part of the country are the most miserable-
looking human abodes imaginable. The villages are seldom seen till you come on the top of
them, for the roofs of the houses are no higher than the surface of the declivity that they are
scooped out of. Not a tree, nor any kind of foliage, is near to or about them, to point out the
spot where they lie.

If the whole of the plain of Erzeroum were cultivated, it could easily supply some 102
hundreds of thousands with the necessities of life; but, alas! there are no people here to
cultivate or consume the supplies. Hence, the only part of it that is cultivated, is that which
lies in the neighborhood of Erzeroum. The whole of the plain, with the exception of these few
spots around the town, is a mere barren-looking desert, not a tree nor any kind of foliage to
be seen.

Erzeroum is the capital of Armenia, which is now a Turkish province. The town is pretty 104
large, and its population is a mixture of Turks, Armenians, and Persians. The streets are
narrow and dirty, like those of all other Turkish towns, and the houses are all flat roofed and
mud-built.

This city is of some importance to Britain, and should be kept out of the hands of Russia,
if possible; for the chief part of our trade with Central Asia passes through it. The hostile
ravages of Russia here have left many | visible marks of destruction behind. I think it was in 105

the year 1828 that the Russians stormed and took this town. The walls that surround that part of it in which the garrison and citadel lie, received much damage at that time from the Muscovite cannon; and in many places the damage done remains unrepaired to this day. This I consider a great neglect on the part of the Turkish Government, but I have no doubt it is the fault of the governor of the town. The towns and provinces in Turkey, which lie at a distance from the seat of the Sultan's Government, are sadly misruled by the pashas or governors. Public works are neglected and allowed to go to ruin. The pashas, instead of laying out the money that is raised for the benefit of the country, put it into their private coffers, speculation being the general rule in their transactions,

107 The Persians in Erzeroum are easily distinguished from the Turks by their dress, but the Armenians and Turks are so like one another in costume that a stranger could not tell the Christian from the Mussulman. The Armenians, being Christians, have not the same civil privileges as the Turks. The Sultan's Christian subjects are disqualified by their creed from holding any civil or military appointment under the Turkish Government.

William Denton—1815–1888

The Christians in Turkey.
London, Bell and Daldy, 1863

A.D. 1863

That the condition of the people of Turkey—the large mass of the population of that country—presents the sad spectacle which I have here indicated, and which I am about to illustrate from official and other unexceptionable documents, I believe no one at all acquainted with the subject will deny. The utmost that the apologists of Turkey are accustomed to plead is, that the depopulation, the massacres, the cruel acts of injustice practiced toward the Christians, arise not from the direct action of the Turkish Government, but from the corruption of the officers and the fanaticism of the Mussulmans, which it is too feeble to restrain or punish. This, no doubt, is in part true; but then it ought to be remembered that the very feebleness of the central Government arises from its injustice. But, indeed, this is only true in part. The men who compose the Turkish Government—the owners of the sumptuous palaces which fringe the Bosphorus, are in no degree removed above the crowd in intelligence, in uprightness, in morality; and much of the ruin which lies like a heavy blight on the land, and the present hopeless condition of the Ottoman empire, arise from the positive sins of its Government, its miserable faithlessness towards its subjects . . .

Practically however, it is of little consequence to men who suffer, to what quarter the source of the evil of which they complain may be traced. A peasant who is stripped of his property because he is a Christian—whose testimony in a court of justice is refused for the same reason—who has been arbitrarily imprisoned—whose wife and daughter have been outraged, and whose sons have been executed because they ventured to defend the honor of their mother and sisters—derives no comfort from being told that all these things have happened, not from the vice and corruption of the Government, but only from its want of power to protect. And let it be remembered, that every means which statecraft can devise—protocols without number, alliances on all sides, conventions to avoid wars, and wars which have happened notwithstanding—have all been resorted to with the view of infusing new life into the veins of that dying body, and to give it artificial strength, but all without avail. The ruin goes on at an accelerated speed—the feeble Government is becoming every day more hopelessly feeble.

(I) The first point which I have indicated as symptomatic of the decay and approaching extinction of Turkey is the desolation which is to be met with in all the provinces of the empire, and which is increasing in intensity, and widening in area. That this is so, we know from testimony which is as unimpeachable as it is uniform. The evidence is so abundant, and the witnesses to this fact so numerous . . .

(III) It is an ever-ready but a vulgar excuse to attribute all popular discontent to “foreign intrigues.” That foreign agents may stimulate the urgency of an oppressed people for redress is possible, but their power is limited; they can do no more than this, and these foreign agents

will be disarmed when people cease to suffer. In place, then, of attributing the notorious dissatisfaction, the wide-spread discontent, of the Christians of Turkey to “foreign intrigues,” it would be more to the purpose to inquire whether there does not exist ample and legitimate grounds for such dissatisfaction.

When in England we hear of brigandage in Bosnia, of sullen discontent in Bulgaria, we are told it is the work of Russian agents and of Muscovite intrigues. Russia probably denies the charge and retorts the accusation, pointing in support of her belief that England is intriguing in Turkey, to the notorious partiality of the Foreign Office of this country, the readiness with which every abominable and atrocious act of the governors of Turkey is palliated, and actions the simplest and most natural of an oppressed people are exaggerated by British officials. France certainly makes the same charges against England which English politicians make against Russia, and is as uneasy at the success of English intrigue as any minister of state in this country can be at the progress of Russian agents. All this may possibly arise from the jealousy with which men watch the actions of a rival, and satisfy themselves by
 37 attributing evil motives where they are unable to point to evil actions. On this subject let us listen, I will not say even to the testimony of men of intelligence, but to the voice of common sense, for, in truth, this childish accusation of “foreign intrigue” is not only beside the purpose, as wholly insufficient to account for the discontent which reigns throughout Turkey, but it is one which it is so easy to make, so difficult to substantiate, so impossible to disprove, that it cannot be allowed to stand, as it now does, instead of facts, in the place of information, as a substitute for reason.

The question then, I repeat, is not whether the Christians of Turkey are ever inflamed against the Government of the Sultan by “foreign intrigues,” but whether, without any such “intrigues,” there exist grounds for such discontent; whether every province of Turkey, from the banks of the Danube to the Red Sea, is not suffering from the gross injustice of the Government towards the people; whether the Christians of Turkey are not oppressed by such rapacious rulers, that men would cease to be men if they were not discontented.

Now what do we find revealed to us in the report of our own consuls, and in the recently-published books of men of sagacity and integrity? Not only the evidence of widespread dissatisfaction and discontent, but the grounds for this feeling. The people of Turkey are discontented because they know that certain rights—the simplest rights which humanity can claim—have been promised, and are withheld from them by the Government of the Sultan. So long as this grievance remains, it will require no “foreign intrigues” to make them dissatisfied. For though the Hatt-i-humayoun has not been even read, “it cannot be a dead letter . . . it stimulates the hopes, and also the hatred, of the Greeks. They see that the Turks are resolved to render illusory stipulations made by the Allies in their favor. They are,” consequently, “if possible, worse subjects of the Sultan than they were before the war.”*

86 . . . Everywhere, whilst the Turks are on the decrease, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews are increasing in numbers,† is more significant than all reasoning or the partial accounts of travelers.

* *Turkey and its Destiny*, by Charles McFarlane, Vol. II, p. 63.

† Armenia is now partitioned between Persia, Russia, and Turkey, the last having the largest portion.

John Ussher—?

*A Journey from London to Persepolis; Including Wanderings in Daghestan, Georgia, Armenia,
Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and Persia.*
London, Hurst and Blackett, 1865

A.D. 1865

We left Kars . . . for the ruins of the ancient Armenian capital of Ani, and riding for five hours 240
over some well-cultivated corn country, arrived at the village of Hadji Veli, which was to be
our halting-place for the night. The chief of the district, Meddit Bey . . . sent out his brother
to meet us at a mile from the village; and on our arrival we met with a warm reception from
himself. He had just built a large addition to his house, a guest room, at one end of which
blazed an enormous fire of dried cow-dung, the only fuel in these woodless regions. This is
collected in summer, and made into cakes, which are plastered on the walls of the houses, and
thus dried in the sun; after which they are piled up in conical stacks for the winter
consumption. Into this room we were led by our host, and when we had seated ourselves on
divans, coffee and pipes were brought. After a short time, the Armenian archimandrite of the
district entered. He had come to spend some time with the bey, with whom he seemed to be
on the very best terms—a friendship rarely seen to exist between a Mohammedan and a
Christian priest.

We found him an educated and well-informed man, who had traveled a great deal in 241
Europe and Asia, had resided for a little time both in London and Paris, and was well versed
in the ancient history of his own country, whose decline and present state he deplored, but
whose restoration under the auspices of Russia, we could see, although politeness prevented
his saying as much before his host, he, as well as most other Armenians, firmly believed in.

. . . The next morning we bade adieu to our host, who was a regular Turkish country 242
squire, maintaining an establishment of no less than forty servants and hangers-on of all
descriptions, and rode on towards Ani, intending to sleep at the monastery of Khoshavank,
near the ruins. The huge volcanic mass of Mount Alaghoz rose in front of us, its desolate and
barren slopes covered with enormous beds of black scoriae and ashes. Although for a long
time extinct, the lava stream yet remains quite distinct, and its course could be plainly traced
from the spot where it had issued out of the volcano, spreading over the surrounding country;
the surface continuing perfectly devoid of any kind of vegetation, and preserving the same
appearance as when it first cooled. Far away in the distance to the south-east was to be seen
the snow-capped summit of Ararat . . .

We rode for some hours over the same kind of country as the day before, witnessing on
the way a mode of agriculture probably the most astoundingly laborious ever practiced. To a
wooden plough of no great size were attached sixteen oxen, which were driven by five men,
two more keeping the plough, which was of wood, and of the rudest manufacture, in its place.
Perhaps a similar expenditure of labor for a like result has not been often beheld.

After some time we came in sight of some distant towers and cupolas, which we found on
a nearer approach to belong to twelve or fourteen churches, standing among a mass of ruins

on a promontory, encompassed on three sides by deep ravines, and on the fourth defended by a massive wall, built of alternate layers of black and red stone, of which the towers we had seen formed part. Through the ravine which encircles the town on the west and south sides flows the Ani Kai, or river of Ani; while through that on the east runs the Arpatchai. Although the other buildings of the town had disappeared, the churches seemed still quite perfect, and
 243 | the wall appeared in complete repair. The ground in the vicinity had become more rugged and uneven, the Arpatchai, which we had crossed at Gumri as a brook, had increased in size to a considerable stream, and ran through the ravine a sluggish and turgid river, at a depth of some hundred feet below, and was crossed under the town by the ruins of what had been a handsome bridge.

Making a long circuit, we entered the deserted city by the center gate, there being three great entrances in the double walls, which were built of large blocks of hewn stone. Over the outer gate was an Armenian inscription, over the inner a leopard was sculptured in bold relief; while near it, on the towers, were carved crosses, ornamented with decorations and tracery of a very delicate nature. We found the ground in the interior covered with fragments of sculptured stones, broken columns, capitals, and carvings. Clambering over the masses of ruins we entered a few of the churches, three or four of which seemed, with the exception that their doors had been carried away, quite as perfect as when just out of the hands of the builder. One of them in particular, which stood just above the bridge that spanned the abyss below, was in complete preservation, the fresco paintings on the interior of the dome retaining their bright color and hues uninjured by time, the subjects being Christ riding into Jerusalem, the Virgin at the Sepulcher, &c. These churches stand solitary among the ruins, in which, save a few pigeons, no living creatures seemed to exist. In the center of the city were two lofty octagon towers, on which were small turrets; and not far from them was an isolated steep rock, near the edge of the precipice. This was also covered with scattered fragments of what had once been buildings—the citadel of the fortress city.

The walls of the palace yet remain, and are of great extent and solidity. The masonry is
 244 | perfect, the huge stones are squared and put together with the greatest care, and the | whole is covered with the most elaborate carvings, decorations, and mosaics, all of exceedingly delicate workmanship. There were also two mosques; one built on the edge of the precipice, the interior of the dome of which was covered with perfectly preserved arabesques, resembling in character and finish of design those of the Alhambra. In fact, everything in this deserted capital seemed to have been spared by time, but so marred by the hand of man that it now appeared a complete wilderness. All through the decorations the shape of the cross is discernible under many forms, and over the doors of the churches there are long inscriptions in ancient Armenian. The streets, as well as they could be traced through the masses of debris, seemed to have been narrow, and no traces exist of what may be called private house, beyond some fragments of walls. Caves and chambers, which were inhabited by the poorer classes when the city was at its zenith, were excavated in the precipice over-hanging the stream; and in many places, where the natural defenses were not considered sufficiently strong, walls and towers had been erected as an additional security. The situation of the city, with the deep ravine running round two sides, bears some resemblance to that of Constantine in Algeria; but the extent of ground contained within the circuit of the wall and surrounding chasm is much greater . . .

The city of Ani, the last capital of Armenia as a kingdom, was much injured by an earthquake in the early part of the fourteenth century, and a short time afterwards was captured and utterly destroyed by Tamerlane, who carried off and dispersed the few inhabitants that escaped a general massacre. Since then it has been uninhabited. Its majestic walls and towers now stand in the midst of a desert, where a few-miserable mud huts are still occupied by the descendants of its ancient masters. Its massive churches, which have defied both the earthquake and the spoilers, now devoid of worshippers, are tenanted only by flocks of doves, an unbroken silence reigning over the wide scene of desolation and solitude. 245

As there was no place nearer to the ruins than the monastery of Khoshavank where we could pass the night, we rode on thither, a distance of half a dozen miles, passing on our route the remains of a number of round buildings at some distance from the walls. Two small churches yet remained entire, having the usual conical-shaped spire peculiar to the ancient Armenian sacred architecture. We also saw, a short distance before arriving at the monastery, an octagon watch-tower, similar to those within the walls of Ani.

We found the convent in a very ruinous condition, the church alone, which was large and handsomely decorated, remaining perfect. The cells for the monks, the refectory, the synod room, and various other apartments were all roofless, or nearly so, and the carved stones which formed the ceilings strewed the floors. What remained of the roof of the synod room was carved in the moresque style with the finest tracery work, the edges of which seemed as fresh and as clearly defined as if recently finished. Only one priest remained in the monastery to officiate for the few inhabitants of the wretched village adjoining its walls, who seemed poverty-stricken and miserable.

In one of the huts we put up for the night, and tasted for the first time a pilau made of millet-seed, instead of rice or flour, resembling much in appearance and taste the kous koussou of Algeria. A few books and manuscripts yet remained in the library, some of the latter illuminated in a very peculiar manner with figures of animals, birds, &c. Next day we bade adieu to the poor priest, the solitary inhabitant of the ruined walls and empty apartments, and passing by two churches similar in architecture to that at Khoshavank, but smaller, and which the priest told us had been built by one of the Tiridates, kings of Armenia, and his queen—the smaller of the two by the latter—soon reached the Russian frontier, close to which was another church in a ruinous condition. 246

At present it <the city of Van> is a collection of mud huts, for they can scarcely be called houses, which are inhabited by twenty-five or thirty thousand Armenians, Turks, and Kurds. There are no old buildings within the town, excepting one or two Armenian churches; that of St. Peter and Paul is considered to be very ancient. 317

<To go from Van to Akhtamar> We laid in a fresh supply of provisions, as the nakedness of the land through which we were to pass was described to us as very great, the constant robberies of the Kurds from the mountains having deprived the poor Armenian dwellers on the shores of the lake of nearly all they possessed. 323

If only a quarter of the stories told about the sufferings which the Christians in this district <of Van> have undergone at the hands of the Kurds be true, they <the Armenians> must be 324

- 325 the most extraordinary race in existence, endued with more fortitude and | perseverance than usually falls to the lot of mankind, to enable them, after the many repeated misfortunes they have endured, still to maintain themselves in such comparative prosperity as that enjoyed in the inhabitants of Adramit.
- 332 The Kurds, until within the last few years, were often in the habit of plundering the monastery <of Akhtamar>, carrying away and destroying whatever the unhappy monks were unable to conceal. Of church plate, furniture, and other usual appointments, it was thus completely destitute, the apartments being stripped of everything to the bare walls.
- 436 The population <of Bitlis> was represented us as amounting to fourteen thousand, a large proportion of whom are Armenians . . .

S. G. W. Benjamin—1837–1914

The Turk and the Greek; or Creeds, Races, Society, and Scenery in Turkey, Greece, and the Isles of Greece.
New York, published by Hurd and Houghton, 1867

A.D. 1867

<The races> usually retain the | vices of the countries from whence their fathers came with 22/3
the low morals of their Greek or Armenian mothers. Versatile, mercurial, ready at picking up
languages, and apt in amassing money by fair means or foul, they are never profound, are
rarely actuated by ennobling sentiments, are mean-spirited, and can fairly claim nothing in
common that savors of national feeling except a narrow bigotry for the Romish Church on
the part of the women, and infidelity on the part of the men.

Ostensibly the government is Turkish, but its Grand Viziers are generally Christian slaves, 24
its bankers are Armenians and Jews, its general-in-chief, Omer Pacha, is a Croat, and many
of its civil, military, and naval officers are Negroes, Arabs, Armenians, Slaves, Greeks, French-
men, Germans, Italians, Englishmen, and even Americans. The Turks of Constantinople are
themselves Turks in little more than name and religion.

The Turk, while often having Christian slaves for his mistresses, has never legally 31
intermarried with the subject races, and differences of sect have kept them also from
coalescing and making common cause against their oppressors; the Gulf Stream does not
preserve its current more distinctly from the surrounding ocean, than the many nations of
Turkey have guarded their individuality through long ages of misrule. As a consequence the
Armenian regards the Greek with jealousy, and the Greek in turn regards the Armenian with
distrust, each watching lest the other acquire undue influence at the Porte, and both unite in
cursing the Turk; while he hates them as Christian dogs who may eventually oust him from
his dominion over them . . .

The <Robert> College now occupies the large and imposing building formerly the seat of 66
the Armenian Seminary. It was originally the residence of a wealthy Armenian, who built it
many years ago. In those turbulent times, when the Janizaries were a terror to the Christians,
and even menaced the throne itself, the owner kept his house rusty and black on the exterior,
in order to avert suspicion of the wealth he had accumulated within its spacious halls,—a
frequent device in those days; but this did not save him; the Janizaries marked him for their
own, and on three successive occasions they sacked the house and threatened the life of their
helpless and | unoffending victim. 67

In passing we may observe that the Bulgarians are perhaps the most promising of the many 73
races under the Ottoman dominion, the Armenians ranking next in hopeful characteristics.
Less vivacious, acute, versatile, and handsome than the Greeks, they however display more
uniform self-respect, common sense, and sincerity.

- 103 Mr. and Mrs. Parsons, the only missionaries stationed at Nicomedia, gave me a very cordial welcome. The next day we crossed the head of the gulf and climbed fifteen hundred feet to the village of Baktchejik, an Armenian community among the mountains. It contains a good number of enrolled Protestants, but the whole place is to a great degree enlightened. There is a Protestant chapel on the brow of the acclivity, and, as we toiled up the steep, muddy road from the sea, on the calm air of evening we heard the musical sound of a church bell. It sounded like the church bells of New England. "That bell must have been cast in America!" was my exclamation; and sure enough it was. Five thousand miles away, some worthy people donated it to the villagers of Baktchejik, and now it rings among the mountains of Turkey, the harbinger of better things, the herald of peace.
- 111/2 <In Koordbeléng> In the evening some of the | Armenians dropped in, and, what would appear rather singular to the tenderly-nurtured women of America who make a great bluster about woman's rights, the young women present sat in the cold corner, while the men were grouped around the coals, absorbing all the heat. At the risk of appearing ignorant of their customs, I could not resist the impulse to invite them to approach nearer to the fire; but it was of no use.
- 128 The Armenians of the interior are generally a handsomer race than their sallow-faced brethren of the capital. The young men and the girls of these Armenian villages are often possessed of features strikingly expressive and beautiful.

Crosby Howard Wheeler—1823–1896

Ten Years on the Euphrates; or, Primitive Missionary Policy Illustrated.

With an introduction by Rev. N. G. Clark

Published by the American Tract Society, Boston, 1868

A.D. 1868

About sixty miles to the west of north of Mardin, upon the western bank of the Tigris, lies 33
Diarbekir, a walled city of some fifty thousand inhabitants, of whom about two-thirds are
Mohammedans and the rest nominal Christians.

About one hundred and twenty-five miles north of east from Diarbekir is Bitlis, a city of 34
some twenty thousand inhabitants, of whom about three-fifths are Mohammedans, chiefly
Koords, and the rest nominal Christians

About seventy-five miles east from Bitlis, upon the south-eastern shore of a lake bearing 35
the same name, lies Van, with its fourteen thousand Armenians and eleven thousand
Mohammedans.

The limits of Armenia, like those of Assyria, have differed at different times, as the nation 40
were able to overrun and annex adjacent territory, or were themselves overcome; and it is from
this fact that different writers give conflicting accounts of its area, which may be somewhat
loosely defined as embracing the territory extending from 38° to 48° east longitude, and from
38° to 41° north latitude. The country is bounded on the north by the Black Sea and Georgia,
on the east by the Caspian Sea and Persia, on the south by Mesopotamia and | ancient Assyria, 41
and on the west by Asia Minor.*

The poor Armenians have now, for nearly fifteen centuries, been trodden under foot in 55
turn by Persians, Greeks, Koords, Russians, and | Mohammedans, the last of whom, the 56
Turks, now hold undisputed sway over the western part of the country, the remainder being
in subjection to the Persians and the Russians. Though still found in greater numbers within
the limits of their ancient country, the Armenians, like the Jews, are a nation “scattered and
peeled,” numbers of them being found not only in all parts of Turkey, but also in central and
southern Asia, in Egypt and the different parts of Europe . . .

They are a very interesting people, naturally intelligent, enterprising, and ingenious, as is
shown by the fact that in Turkey the most skillful and successful artisans and the chief
merchants and bankers are from among them. But the one thing which raises them I may
almost say infinitely above all the other races of the East, as hopeful subjects of missionary
labor, is the fact, that, amid all their ignorance, superstition, and degradation, which are
especially | great in the central and eastern portions of the country, and while addicted, like 57

* A region of somewhat indefinite extent in eastern Turkey and western Persia, but included mostly within the territory watered by the Tigris and its eastern branches, the Great and the Little Zab, the Bedwan, the Batman, and others, and by the head waters of the Euphrates, is known as Koordistan.

those about them, to most of the sins which are peculiarly oriental in their character, and pre-eminently to lying, still, buried beneath all the gathered rubbish of centuries of oppression and sin, is found a conscience, which the first touch of divine truth is often sufficient to waken to new life and saving energy. To their credit, too, be it said that the standard of moral purity among them is immeasurably above that among the Turks and some other races, to whom may still be applied the divine declaration that "it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret."

One specially encouraging fact is, that, during all these centuries of darkness and superstition, amid all their wide departures from truth and duty, they have retained an almost superstitious reverence for the Scriptures.

As I have stood in their dark old churches, begrimed with the smoke and soot of centuries, from lamps kept during even at midday, and seen the white-haired old priest reverently take
 58 | from its recess a timeworn book all covered with silver crosses, and hold it forth from the altar for young and old devoutly to kiss, as for centuries past their fathers have done, though I knew that the contents were alike unintelligible to him and them, and that the fixing of these crosses upon the sacred cover, in the hope of thereby saving infants that had died without baptism, was but another token of their own deep spiritual darkness, yet the fact, that, by that devout though ignorant act of reverence, the poor people were keeping alive in their hearts the feeling that that book has in it something more than any and all other books, made me grateful to God that the memory of a living though departed ancestral faith in the Bible has thus been perpetuated even by this its dead and petrified ceremonial form.

In this the Armenians differ widely from the other races about them.

59 | Another encouraging feature in the missionary work among the Armenians is the fact that they are thus dispersed among the other races of Turkey and adjacent countries, and that while the dissevered fragments of the nation still cherish to some degree a sentiment of national unity, and are thus prepared to feel the influence of the vitalizing power of the gospel given to any portion of them, at the same time, by their dispersion, they are prepared to be most effective missionaries in bringing the other races to Christ. Their acquaintance with the various languages and dialects of the country is an advantage of no trifling importance, which
 60 | no other race has. Those of them in | Russian Armenia speak the Russian; those in Persia, the Persian, or the corrupt Turkish in use in western Persia; those in Koordistan, the Koordish in its two dialects, the Zaza and the Koormangie; those in the Arabic-speaking portion of the empire, the Arabic, etc.; while nearly all in northern and central and western Turkey know more or less Turkish, which, in some sections, they use to the exclusion of their own national tongue, the Armenian. In giving to them, then, a pure gospel, we are taking the shortest and surest way to give it to all the different races and tribes among whom they are scattered.

To all this it must be acknowledged that there is one apparent drawback. As a nation, they appear to lack that stability of character and purpose which is needed to make them hold on their way in spite of all interposing difficulties. While they have proved themselves able to endure persecution, as even fickle men may do from that manly pluck which often, even in
 61 | the absence of firm Christian principle, refuses to worship at another's dictation, yet | there is cause to fear that upon trial they may be found wanting in that other quality, nobler, or at least more difficult of acquisition, than even the martyr spirit, which leads its possessor to go quietly, consistently, and persistently on in the way of daily duty, making all those efforts and

sacrifices which, even in the absence of external opposition, are demanded in doing the missionary work. It should, however, be said, that it remains yet to be proved that any of the oriental races have this quality to that degree in which the Anglo Saxons possess it.

Within this territory <of Harpoot>, the Koords, who are about a third of the population, 64 mostly inhabit the mountains, and the Turks and Armenians the more level country. The chief cities of the region are Harpoot, with perhaps* twenty-five thousand inhabitants, Choonkoosh six thousand, Chermook four thousand, Palu eight thousand, Chemishgezек four thousand, Egin eight thousand, Egil five thousand, Geghi-Kassabah four thousand, Peri four thousand, Malatia forty thousand, Arabkir twenty thousand, Divrik ten thousand, and Bakur-Maden five thousand, and others; but the great majority of the people live in villages 65 varying in size from a population of one hundred to thirty-five hundred. The number of these villages is very great, upwards of twelve hundred† having already been located by the pocket-compass, and mapped by the missionaries of Diarbekir, Mardin, and Harpoot, when on tours . . .

Letters From Eden; Reminiscences of Missionary Life in the East.

Published by the American Tract Society, Boston, 1868

A.D. 1868

. . . We have been invited to take tea, or, in their phrase, to dine with an Armenian family, 73 who wish in this way to testify their joy at our arrival. In the Armenian family you will see the customs of this part of the Orient as they are, while among the Protestant Armenians 74 some customs are more or less changed through missionary influence.

As we enter the house, our host or one of his family meets us at the door with “Welcome! A thousand times welcome!” and, after removing our shoes,—or overshoes, if we have on two pairs, as we will take care to do,—we are ushered into a room partly filled with members of the family and other guests, all of whom at once rise to their feet and offer us the “chief seats,” which we may as well take, since a refusal to do so would only cause them to insist the more. No one takes his seat till we do, upon the low divan, a wide cushioned seat which extends around three sides of the room, our places being at the head, at the end opposite the door. Take care now not to sit as if the divan were a real sofa, sticking your feet out in front of you, for, though nobody will say anything, they will call you either a “green” or a rude fellow. So draw your feet upon the cushion under or behind you, and I look about to receive and return 75 the salutations which all are ready to give.

Beginning with the chief men and so going down the seats on each side of the room, they touch their foreheads, saying in Armenian, Pa-ree ye-gar, or, in Turkish, Hosh guel-din,—“Welcome,”—to which we, in turn touching our foreheads, must reply, “Glad to see you,” in

* “Perhaps” must be prefixed to statistics of population in Turkey, where the census is practically unknown.

† The actual number in the districts belonging to these three cities probably exceeds twenty-five hundred.

the same tongue. The female members of the family will soon enter, each one kissing our right hands and bidding us welcome, and we must make some suitable reply which is different for different persons.

And now they begin to set the table, and as in Turkey most things go by opposites, so this. The first thing laid is the table-cloth, which is spread upon the floor, being large enough to extend into our laps when we sit about it . . . In fact this oriental position of the cloth is more sensible than its place with us, where it sometimes only serves to hide a poor table, and leaves
 76 the crumbs to fall upon the floor beneath it, while this cloth gathers them all within itself. A small four-legged stool is placed on the center of the cloth, and on this a large round copper table, tinned to make it white and neat. Broad thin loaves of bread are then placed all around upon its outer edge, and a spoon and fork for each guest, and dishes of salt and pepper, and in the center of the table a dish of *sood-loo*, which is rice cooked in milk and sweetened. Sweet things come first here. With this are small copper dishes of soured milk (called *madzoon* in Armenian, *yo-ghoort* in Turkish, and *leb-bin* in Arabic), and the table is ready for us men to sit down around it upon our heels, though probably, in deference to our known preference for sitting on chairs, they will place the table so near to us that we may retain our
 77 seats on the *divan*, and extend our feet beneath the table-cloth. The *sood-loo* being eaten, waffles, a sort of fried cake, are brought in, and perhaps *helva*, a preparation of flour, butter, and honey, or molasses, made from mulberries . . .

This over, a dish of some kind of soup, hot from the fire, and still hotter with pepper, is brought, we all, of course, eating from the same dish. Next succeeds a dish "fit to set before the king." A whole lamb stuffed with rice and baked makes his appearance, with some green parsley in his mouth . . .

Next come perhaps *dolemas* <small squashes or quinces hollowed out and filled with rice> . . . and minced meat, or rice and meat made into balls, and boiled or fried, and with them cucumbers, quinces, or tomatoes.

Mutton, or fowl cooked in different ways, perhaps succeeds, egg-plant, apples, quinces, onions, and garlic being added to all the meat, and sometime during the meal cheese is given. Then follows the "*pilav*" <made of rice so boiled that the kernels remain separate>, or a preparation of cracked or hulled wheat boiled, called *bulgoor*. Then follow fruits; after which we resume our seats, and a servant enters with a sort of wash-bowl and pitcher in hand and a towel upon his shoulder, and beginning with the chief person present, setting the bowl with a piece of soap in the center of its cover upon the floor, pours water upon his hands, and then gives him the towel to wipe them . . .

78 Hand washing over a cup of coffee is offered to each one . . . When we rise to depart, all the company do the same, and say, "May you go in peace!" to which we reply, "May you remain in peace!"

79 We look out and see an Armenian funeral procession passing from the church . . .

As the death occurred too late in the day for the funeral to take place yesterday, the body, which the friends would dread to have remain in the house, was taken to the church.* Closely

* In this climate, it will not do to retain bodies for a long time, and they are buried at once, as in Bible times.

wrapped and sewed up in coarse cloth, and placed upon a bier, which is covered with a pall 81
it is borne upon the shoulders of four men, preceded by one or more priests and a company
of boys clothed in calico robes, who sing as they go the wailing chant which drew our
attention, while the male mourners and friends follow, the women having remained at home.

It is but a short distance to the place of burial, and we follow them. The body having been
placed by the side of the open grave, the priest, assisted by the boys, goes through a form of
chanting, reading, and praying in the ancient Armenian, and it is then lowered into its place
and covered with earth. In opening the grave they have perhaps displaced the bones of a
previous occupant, and, before filling in the earth, these bones are collected, and placed by
the side of the newly buried body . . . Few graves have stones, and when they have, the
erection of a new church removes them; for it is regarded as an honor to the dead to build
their memorial stones into the walls of a church. This grave-yard was thus stripped of its
stones a few years since, when the church was erected from which they brought this body.

But it is time for us to hurry home and see whether the weekly mail from Constantinople 94
has come, as a telegram from Sivas said that the courier who brings it left there three days
since. If it were winter, he might come to-day, and he might not come till a week hence; but,
at this season, unless the Koords catch and rob him, he will soon arrive. All is brought on
horseback, and sometimes, when the post is going the other way, toward Constantinople, the
temptation to the Koords is very strong, for at times a score or more of horses are laden with
gold coin, the produce of the taxes collected in districts to the south of us, which the sultan
is gathering at the capital to pay the expenses of his court, which are not small.

The courier does not come up to the city of Harpoot, but stops at the village of Mezereh,
where the pasha resides, three miles to the south, on the plain. You will be surprised to learn
that between here and Sivas, a hundred and eighty miles distant to the west, there is but one
post-office, and none between here and Diarbekir, about a hundred miles to the south east. 95
The post-office of Harpoot, which has some twenty-five thousand inhabitants, is in Mezereh,
while Malatia, with some forty thousand people, and, in a word, all the district, with half a
million or more of inhabitants, has no other post-office.

Here is a genuine village oven,—a deep hole dug in the floor of the room, with a small 140
mouth, but larger below, and lined with pottery or stone. This is the oven into which is cast
. . . the dried weeds which grow about the village; for, in the scarcity of fuel, the poor people
can afford nothing else. Fortunate for us that they heat their oven but seldom, and then 141
make a business of bread-baking, else to the dust which we were obliged to eat would have
been added some even more unpalatable food for the eyes, for the smoke from the oven is left
to find its way as best it can from the door and the hole in the roof. In winter, the heated
oven, having done its baking, furnishes a comfortable place for the feet, and, with its mouth
covered with a piece of coarse cloth, retains the heat for quite permanent distribution to a
circle seated about it. The door has a peculiar mode of fastening, which I can not describe,
for I do not fully understand it, but it is by a sliding bolt of wood, which is unfastened by a
wooden key of peculiar shape. As the fastening is on the inside, to open it the hand and key
are passed through a hole in the door . . .

Going upon the housetop, we find “two women grinding at the mill.” . . . Seated upon
 142 opposite sides of the l stones, each woman takes hold of the handle in the upper stone, and
 as it turns pulls it toward herself, one of them meanwhile putting the grain into the hole with
 her other hand. These mills are used chiefly for preparing cracked wheat, called *bulgoor*, flour
 for bread being ground not in them, but by larger stones, which are turned by water-power.

The house has no conveniences, except those of the most rude and primitive style.
 Bedsteads, chairs, and cupboards are things unknown here, and, if there could be any simpler
 143 and cheaper way of building or furnishing a house so as to live at all, I have not the l power
 to imagine it. Outside the door, upon a large flat stone fixed in its place, and with another
 half-cylindrical one to roll back and forth upon it, the master of the house is busy bruising
 sesame seed, from which to press the oil for supplying his rude lamp of pottery, from the
 projecting nose of which the extended wick gives about an equal amount of light and
 offensive smoke.

154 Our morning journey lies eastward along the southern bank of the Euphrates, and we do
 not go far before seeing that we are a long way off from the line of modern improvements in
 farming. As the people here use manure for fuel, instead of spreading it upon the soil, and
 practice comparatively little rotation in crops, the ground is often allowed to remain unused
 for a year in order that it may recover strength for the next year's crop . . . Here are some men,
 155 each with one yoke of oxen, which he drives with a l very long goad, holding the plow himself;
 for while usually here two men waste their time in doing what among us one does, two men
 even insisting on using together a common wood saw to cut off a stick which one could cut
 in less time, yet in plowing they are more economical of men than we are. If they had any
 ruder methods of plowing than this in the days of Methuselah, the art has been irrecoverably
 lost; for sure I am that no present ingenuity could devise ruder implements than these. The
 yoke is a long straight pole with the bows fixed in it in two pieces, which are brought together
 and tied beneath the oxen's necks. The plow is a mere root dug from the earth, with a short
 upright piece left standing upon it, into which one end of a long slender pole is fixed, while
 the other end is tied to the middle of the yoke.* Sometimes the plowing end of the root has
 156 a piece of iron upon it, but, in any l case the plowing is a mere scratching of the earth to a
 very slight depth.

157 While upon the subject of agriculture we may as well take a look at the threshing-floor of
 this village before us, or rather the threshing-floors, for it has many, each family having one
 for its own use. A spot of ground of sufficient size is leveled off and rolled down hard. The
 threshing instrument is a kind of sledge or drag of thick plank, and about two feet wide and
 five long, in the lower side of which are fixed sharp flint-stones. They are specially valued
 when new, since the stones soon break or fall out . . .

158 The grain to be threshed being spread upon the floor, a yoke of oxen are attached to the
 drag, and a person sitting upon it drives them round and round upon it. The straw—which
 is reserved to be food for cattle, since there is little or no room to raise hay here—is of course

* The farmer returning from the field at evening unties this pole, and hangs the heavy end of the plow
 over the yoke. Thus the classical expression, “inverted plow,” has a meaning different from what some
 may suppose.

cut up very short; so that the Orientals have for centuries fed their cattle on that modern occidental discovery, “chopped feed.”

At harvest-time women are sometimes seen seated upon the ground with a small heap of grain before them, which they are “beating out” with a stick. These are the *gleaners*, who have followed the reapers, gathering up what they left . . . 159

The work of threshing being done, that of winnowing begins; but for this they must wait for a windy day, when, with a long-handled wooden shovel or “fan” . . . the grain and chaff are together thrown into the air, the wind driving the chaff to one side and leaving the wheat to fall to the ground. 160

While waiting for the necessary windy day, it often happens that the grain is wet by the early autumnal rains, and injured.

A light in a dark place indeed is this little community in Palu . . . 167

As we pass through the streets, which are more disgustingly foul with butchers’ offal and other filth than any other city of even the filthy Orient, and learn that all the water used in the city is brought from the Euphrates, nearly half an hour’s walk distant, we wonder at the very cleanly personal appearance of the men and women . . . 168

The city of Palu is built in a bend of the Euphrates, and in two entirely separate sections on the east and west sides of a lofty conical hill, whose summit is crowned by the ruins of an extensive and very ancient castle. In the morning we ascend to this summit, and wind our way cautiously about where one face of the hill is several hundred feet in perpendicular height. Here, far up in its solid face, are dug out of the rock several rooms, which are esteemed sacred by the Armenians, because holy men once shut themselves up there in seclusion from the outside world. The people never enter these holy places with their shoes on . . . The walls are covered with soot from the smoke of lamps, which have been burned here in honor of the saints, who are supposed still to frequent their ancient homes. 169

As we look from our lofty height upon the grand and romantic landscape beneath and around us,—to the north and west the extended plain covered with villages and flanked by mountains, the Euphrates winding its way from the east far down at the roots of the mountains, whose lofty summits rise peak above peak in the distance to the east, south, and south-west,—we can not help thinking that, if the supposed occupants of these caves have, like us mortals, a taste for terrestrial beauty, and could persuade their friends to cease polluting their homes with smoke, they would find them very pleasant residences. But perhaps, like some flesh-and-blood aspirants for honor, these supposed saints are so fond of it as to be willing even to be smoked for the sake of getting it. 170

But we must hurry on our way. As our road from here lies through a region infested by robber Koords, it will be well for us to call upon the governor of the city for an armed guard of one man, who will, however, protect us, if at all, as a “scarecrow” protects a cornfield,—not from any virtue in the thing itself; but only because the crows are scared by it. These guards are great cowards in time of danger, and usually run at the first alarm, but the Koords are generally afraid to attack those who appear to be under the protection of the government. Five miles from Palu, we pass Hoshmet . . . we must hurry on to Tepè, an Armenian and 171

Koordish town* about twenty-one miles north from Palu, where we are to spend the night. Here we begin to see, or rather to feel, the almost Egyptian darkness or nominal Christianity mixed up with Koordish superstition.

296 In some places it is the custom for the parents of the girl to demand a sum for themselves, on the ground that a part of the expense of bringing up the girl should be paid by those who are to enjoy the profits of her labor. Such was the case in the village of Aghpoor . . .

Of course all this is done away with in the case of those who become Protestants, except that matrimonial engagements are still made through the parents. To introduce any other custom in this land where girls are frequently married as young as twelve years, and even less, would lead to every sort of disorder.

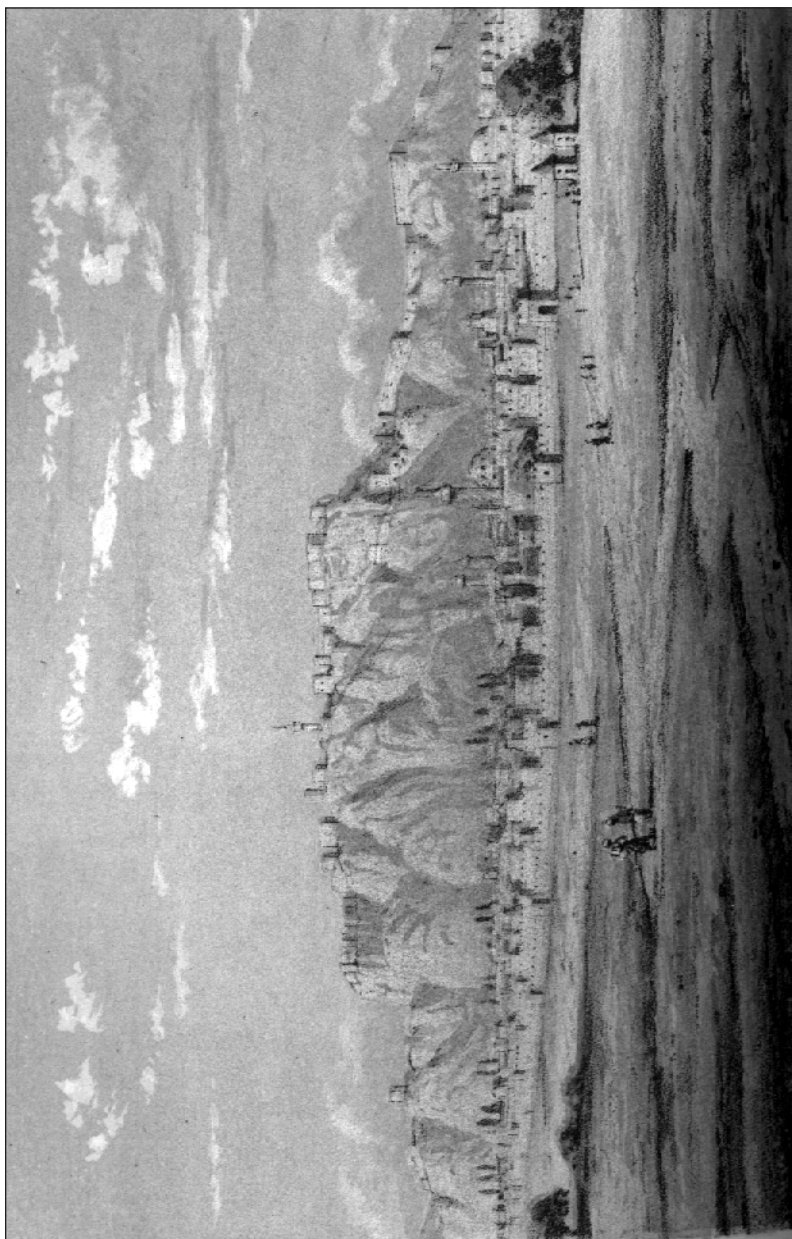
297 To prevent so early marriages, the Protestant pastors have agreed not to perform the marriage ceremony when the girl is less than fourteen years of age . . . Among the Armenians, women and girls are sometimes taken by force to the church, and compelled to go through with the marriage ceremony.

301 On the wedding day, the bridegroom, riding on a horse, preceded by a boy bearing upon
302 his head the bride's wedding suit,—which is his gift to her,—and with another horse for her to ride, goes with his friends to her house, and waits till she is dressed in her new suit, and ready for the ceremony. Among the Armenians the custom is for the bride to cry lustily during this season of preparations and indeed throughout the ceremony, pretending to be much distressed. It is, however, only custom, fashion, like many foolish things in other lands; and by effort the fashion has been partially changed among the Protestants, so that brides begin to act like sensible people.

Armenian marriage feasts continue for several days, during which the drums are beat, and a general rejoicing had all day and nearly all night. There is dancing, but never by the sexes together, which would greatly shock the Orientals' sense of propriety, and even decency. Such a thing never occurs. During all this time of the feast, the poor bride is obliged to stand and kiss the hand of each new-comer. She is of course closely veiled, as are all the women whenever they appear in public, and remains silent.

303 This feast takes place at the house of the bridegroom's parents, and when it is ended, the bride's life of service to her mother-in-law begins. An ingenious device for preventing contentions is a law which compels her, for a period of several years, never to speak in the presence of her mother-in-law, or her husband's elder brother, in a tone louder than a whisper. To prevent trouble from the interference of the bride's parents, they are not present at the wedding, nor are they expected to visit their daughter, nor she them, for a month or more.

* It has but forty Armenian and fifteen Koordish families, but some of the families are patriarchal in size.



*A general view of Van.
[From J. Ussher's A Journey from London to Persepolis (London, 1865).]*

Frederick Millingen [Osman Bey]—b.1839

Wild Life among the Koords.

London, Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, 1870

A.D. 1870

- 16 A little after mid-day we reached Ertef, a little Armenian village situated at the entrance of a narrow valley which penetrates into the mountains we were to ascend before the night. Ertef has in itself nothing worth notice; the ten or twenty houses which constitute it a village obtaining such importance as they have from the mere fact that they are the last building deserving the name of houses to be met with till the traveler gets to Van. This spot may
- 17 therefore be | considered as the boundary between Turkish refinement and Koordish barbarity. These houses have a decent appearance externally, while the interior is wide, airy, and clean. The only place through which light is admitted into the rooms is by a hole in the middle of the ceiling. This architectural disposition is Koordish rather than Turkish, and is to be met with everywhere throughout the country except in the large towns.
- 36 According to his <Omer's> account, this village <Kullee> had been occupied by his tribe about thirty years; before that epoch it was inhabited by an Armenian population, who had emigrated into the Russian territories of the Caucasus. The cemetery, which is on the other side of the village belonged to these Armenians. "They found," added Omer, "that the lands and mountains of the padishah were too narrow for them, so that they left their houses and their dead behind, and followed the army of the Infidels." Omer, who was not well acquainted with epochs and events, intended to allude to the invasion of Asia Minor by Marshal Paskiewitch, in 1829.
- 61 <In Koslu, a small village in the Koordish style> . . . I strolled round about the village, accompanied by the kiaja and another fellow, who, having been several times to Constantinople and back, was looked upon by the people of the country as a knowing and clear-sighted individual. He possessed, undoubtedly, some advanced ideas with regard to the doctrine of nationalities, and it was evident, from his silent and downcast demeanor, that he was one of the disaffected party. I guessed that this was the kind of person who would be likely to afford some information about the state of the country. Taking, therefore, the bare appearance of the land as a pretext, I asked the kiaja and his companion how they accounted for there not being a single tree or bush visible in their fields and properties, and why the people did not improve their grounds by growing fruits, vegetables, and all such productions, which would contribute to their comfort and ease. "We know very well," they replied, "what
- 62 is good and what is bad in this world, | but this country is Koordistan, and you must not compare it with Constantinople or Frenkistan. Here the people are poor and oppressed—God only knows how we live. If we were to cultivate orchards and to plant trees, do you think that we should ever eat their fruits or enjoy their shade? No sooner do you plant a tree here than some Koord or other comes and cuts it down. It is already a hard task for our people to

preserve their crops and to gather them in. The Koords are the curse of the country.” As it was the first time that I heard these complaints of the Armenians against the Koords, I felt for the poor people; but afterwards, hearing the same story over and over again, I got used to it at last, and looked upon it as one of those evils which must be endured, for the simple reason that they cannot be cured.

. . . Armenian villagers in the plain are in connivance and partnership with the Koordish 64 tribes, corresponding with them, and taking care to let them know what is passing on the highways.

The village of Karaghil, where we spent the night, like almost all the villages to be met 70 with on the high road, has an Armenian population mixed to some extent with Koords.

One of the peculiarities about the inhabitants of this place is that Armenians and Koords seem to be on the whole a very boisterous lot. They might have been taken for a colony of boatmen and porters imported from Malta. Their shouting was almost intolerable; but, judging from the earnestness of their gesticulations and expressions, there could be no doubt that something very important must have been at the bottom of all the din.

On the opposite shore <of the Euphrates> was to be seen the village of Tegut in front of 72 us. To the left, in the plain, one could perceive the large borough of Kopp, peopled entirely by an Armenian population. Beyond Kopp a church with a small convent joined to it could distinctly be seen.

Since our departure from Erzerum, that is, five days’ journey, all the villages we had seen 92 were inhabited by a mixture of Armenians and half-domesticated Koords. Though in the very heart of Koordistan, the Koords seemed to have evaporated . . .

Kazmuk is an Armenian village, counting some fifty or sixty dwellings, more in the style 99 of houses than any of those we had met with since our departure from Erzerum. Though we might have gone on as far as Tetvan, it was agreed that we should stop the night at Kazmuk, where the accommodations are of a better sort and the inhabitants are better provided for and richer. Everyone having been billeted according to the arrangements made by the chief of the village, and the order for the speedy execution of several fowls being issued, I went strolling about the village with the view of gratifying my | taste for researches. As regards ancient 100 remains, there was a very old-looking building on one side of the village before a kind of open square. The building consisted of two large halls, having a wall of separation between them. Their common roof was vaulted, and the walls were constructed of large rough stones. The style and structure of this building belonged evidently to a remote period. This place serves now as a sort of depot where the inhabitants store a large portion of their crops and produce. In other parts of the village some marble capitals and other fragments of antiquity are to be met with before the doors of the houses, half buried in the ground. Pushing my investigations still further, I ventured to throw a glance into the houses, where the female element was ready to repel the attack of any scrutinizing and inquisitive eye. However, a military uniform is a powerful instrument, which often succeeds in getting access into unexplored sanctuaries in

spite of all obstacles. The houses which I was able to enter were poor in construction, and deprived of that substantial ease and comfort which the dwellings of the peasantry in England generally possess; but neatness in poverty is a contestable merit with the Armenians.

While I was thus reconnoitering the houses in rather a summary way, a number of female
 101 voices chanting a primitive kind of melody struck my ears | and attracted my attention. I at once directed my steps to the spot from whence the sound had arisen. To my surprise and delight I found a multitude of children and women standing before the wide-open door of a house in which a chorus of young lasses was singing. Having inquired of the bystanders what this musical party meant, I was told that it was a festival in honor of a girl who had just been betrothed. On my getting access into the room where the performance was going on, the sight of a stranger produced a general commotion in the midst of both singers and dancers, some of them shouting and others hiding themselves the best way they could. The remonstrances of some of the people, as well as my own exhortations, succeeded at last in establishing order, and the fair musicians and ballet dancers were induced to go on with their entertainment.

The sight offered by the different groups of young people was of a lively and interesting nature. Blue and scarlet were the predominant colors, as the greater part of the women and girls had selected them for their jackets and large trousers. The hair-dress of the most conspicuous among them consisted of a small round bonnet, ornamented with a chain of silver coins, which was worn sliding over the forehead. The betrothed as well as the dancers
 102 wore large silver earrings, and a huge necklace consisting of a lot of old | silver and copper coins, an ornament which did not add much to their natural graces. As far as physical beauty is concerned, I must say that I felt rather disappointed. Some of the girls had highly colored cheeks, good eyebrows and hair, but none classical features. The dance was going on while I was making my investigations, the chorus stimulating the ballet, and the ballet encouraging the singers.

104 . . . We departed from Kazmuk and directed our course to the south-west, following the highway which leads to Tetvan. This road skirts the declivity of the Nemrud Mountains, a chain which forms the western boundary of the plateau of Van. The country is here flat; and the ground is adapted for cultivation, though entirely deprived of trees and vegetation. While descending towards Tetvan, we met on the way a caravan of Armenian peasants, about a hundred in number, who were going to Kazmuk. These pedestrians were marching at a good pace, in groups more or less compact, leaving behind them some of their straggling companions. The usual selams were, as a matter of course, exchanged between our caravan and theirs. Having inquired of them whither they were bound, some profound bass voices undertook to satisfy our curiosity by shouting “Stambulah, Stambulah,” a cry which gave us to understand that the poor fellows had undertaken a tour on foot to Constantinople. These troops of Armenian peasants go periodically in the spring from Van to the Turkish capital, and *vice versa*.

As the ravages of the Koords and the extortions of the pashas leave scarcely any resources to commerce and industry, the Armenians, being an industrious and thriving people, are continually emigrating to the capital of the empire, where they get in the way of making
 105 money—honestly or otherwise, chiefly | otherwise—and of gaining a livelihood. Many trades and professions are there open to their exertions. Great many of them become masons, and

form the working masses employed in knocking down and constructing kioshks and palaces, in obedience to the caprice of the Sultan or of some Pasha. Generally speaking, the greatest part of the new buildings, either public or private, which of late years have been erected in Pera, Galata, and Stambul, have been constructed by Armenian workmen. The Armenian peasants furnish, likewise, a large contingent to the *khamals* (porters) of Constantinople. Those amongst them who are more crafty and wide awake aspire to more lucrative callings, and get employed as keepers of shops and stores, or become servants in the harems of the wealthy. These servants are known under the denomination of *kaivass*, and are entrusted with the out-door service of the harem. In that capacity a sharp Armenian—and there are few who are not so—manages to collect a good booty within the space of a few years.

This great and constant emigration of the male population to the capital has for result that the villages of Armenia are almost entirely peopled by women. Their husbands and brothers leave them at home to take care of their fields and property. The families manage to subsist with the produce of the soil, while the men accumulate wealth in Constantinople or elsewhere. At different periods, they come to see their relatives, bringing with them the fruits of their earnings. The male population that remains in the villages consists only of those who are strictly necessary to protect the families and to help in the tillage of the fields. 106

As we were going on, we began to perceive before us the village of Tetvan, with its smiling valley bordering the gulf, and the Nemrud mountains in the background. Tetvan is at a distance of three hours from Kazmuk, a journey which we were not long in getting over, as the road was easy and comfortable. On approaching the village, our caravan was directed towards a green and charming lawn bordering the lake. This was the most convenient spot for a halting place, and there, therefore, we alighted. Some of our people went in the meantime to the village with the view of fetching what could be found in the way of provisions. They were not long in returning, bringing with them some milk and eggs, and the chief of the village, a thin and tall old man. Without omitting any of the ceremonies of oriental etiquette, the old Armenian presented himself, and expressed his regret that his village had nothing better to offer than the few things he had brought with him. On my inquiring whether there was any honey to be found in the place, he answered that the inhabitants were so poor, that honey was too great a luxury for them to indulge in. The gardens which I saw formed their only wealth, some fruits and a little crop being all they had to live upon. Tetvan is a small place, consisting only of about twenty or thirty houses. Between the spot where we were standing and the shores of the lake, a steep hill rises abruptly in the shape of a sugar-loaf, domineering the village as well as the adjacent orchards and fields. On the top stand the ruins of an old castle, which dates from the early epoch of the Armenian kingdom. 107

The harbor of Sarp does not serve for any other purpose than that of loading the wood necessary to supply the city of Van with fuel. There is no doubt that if a system of steam navigation were to be established between the different towns and districts situated on the shores of the lake, this harbor would then acquire importance and prosperity. 115

Sarp is inhabited by a few Armenian peasants, whose means of subsistence consist chiefly of the produce of their fields and gardens. Some of these fellows, who had happened to visit Constantinople, came to join us in the evening, and entertained the company with full accounts of their doings while in the capital, and of their friends and connections there. 116

- 119 The shepherds in Koordistan and Armenia are Koords; this race being exclusively devoted to the care of the flocks . . . the Armenians have reserved to themselves the tillage of the soil.
- 123 Nusheh is but a small hamlet consisting of forty or fifty houses, inhabited by a mixed population of Armenians and Koords. This village is situated on the skirts of a small and narrow valley, covered with gardens and thickly planted with willow trees. The crops produced by the adjoining fields constitute the wealth of the inhabitants.
- 126 As regards furniture, the inhabitants of these regions are very simple in their taste. A tolerably large stock of woolen carpets and quilts, several mattresses, some large leather wallets containing objects of finery and things of ordinary use, seemed to form the bulk of the furniture belonging to the inmates of the house. This stock of property was neatly piled up along the opposite wall, whence it is only removed at night when the hour of rest arrives. The house having no other room but this, its inhabitants have no choice, and must therefore all sit, eat, and sleep in the same apartment. Throughout the villages and towns of Koordistan all the members of a family sleep together. Fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, shrieking babies and coughing octogenarians, all find rest and comfort within the four walls of a dark room. To my astonishment the women of the house showed themselves very well disposed to receive a stranger in the recesses of the harem. They neither seemed to partake of the frightened and timid manners peculiar to the Armenian ladies, nor to have been trained to imitate the sham pudicity of the Turkish women.
- 134 To find in our days amongst the populations of Koordistan and Armenia the same peculiar customs and manners which characterized their forefathers, is a fact of high historical importance. It serves to prove that, while the nations which live in other parts of the globe have been undergoing an almost complete transformation, in the dormant East things have remained at a standstill. One faith has dethroned, one conqueror has subdued, the other; the Medes, the Armenians, and the Kardukians of old still exist, however, in their posterity. As in geology, elements known under the denomination of *fossil débris* seem to defy the destructive effects of time and of chemical decomposition, so in the history of nations there are customs and uses which, as *fossil débris* of history, survive social catastrophes and the decomposition of races.
- 135 The isle of Akhtamar is a barren rock which rises some hundred feet above the level of the sea. A small church, with a convent built at a very remote period, occupies a small plateau upon it. The church of Akhtamar is considered by the Armenians as a sanctuary of high repute, and a good number of pilgrims repair thither every year. The convent was now under the direction of a Bishop named Boghos Kara-bash, a very remarkable character. While bishop of Van in 1862, this prelate had managed to stir up such an agitation amongst the Armenians that at last he was himself compelled to seek shelter in the retreat of Akhtamar. The Armenian peasantry believed that the fragrance of his sanctity perfumed the atmosphere all around. The communications between this island and the mainland are kept up by means of small skiffs. Flat in shape and pointed at one end, they look very much like the canoes common amongst savages.

While skirting the extremity of a small bay we passed within a short distance of the villages of Aghauank and Vastan, the latter one lying at the foot of a hill. The ancient castle of Vastan 136 domineering the village, is now reduced to a heap of ruins. This castle was once the residence of the kings of Armenia. It was in good time that we attained Enghir, our journey having this day been limited to a distance of six hours. Enghir is situated on the banks of one of the most important tributaries of Lake Van, the Hoch-ab river, which has here a tolerably large volume of water. A wooden bridge served to carry our caravan to the other side of the Hoch-ab, where an avenue shaded by two rows of fine trees led us right into the village. A certain tint of civilization, rather above the Koordish standard, was visible about this place. The houses, which stood above the surface of the earth, were neatly constructed with pise. The inhabitants, to judge from their appearance, seemed to enjoy greater ease and comfort than those of the country through which we had been passing. Enghir counts a population of about a thousand souls, entirely Armenian, a considerable number for this part of the world. Here our quarters were, of course, much preferable to those we had been accustomed to find along the road.

Edremit itself is a small village partly situated upon a steep acclivity rising from the beach. 137 The lower part of the village is half concealed among shady orchards, which are bathed by the waters of the lake . . . Edremit is considered by the Turks of Van as a very pleasant spot during the summer season, a capital place for picnics. Seated in these orchards, groups of Turks gratify their senses by absorbing one or two bottles of *raki* (whisky), swallowing clouds of smoke, and lying in the shade until their senses awake to consciousness. That I may not be misunderstood, I must mention that the absorption of this quantity of *raki* is not an act in which a whole group of people takes part; but, individually, every Turk is capable of the feat. 138

Van, its society, the troops, the Pashas, were the various topics which formed the subject of the conversation carried on *sub tegmine fagi*. I obtained thus through my fellow-officers an insight into the state of the country, learning beforehand who was who, and what was what. The halt at Edremit was not of any length. The breakfast once over, we all got on our horses and resumed our journey. A few hundred yards beyond the village, the road leaves the rocky declivities of the Erdoz mountains and descends into the plain of Van. The ground is in some places bushy and cut-up, while in others marshy meadows border the shores of the lake. The distance between Edremit and Van being not more than two hours, it was not long before we had a distinct view of the fortress and of the surrounding panorama.

An imposing and perpendicularly cut Acropolis, rising abruptly some two hundred and fifty feet above the flat and level surface of the adjacent plain, surmounted by a row of time-blackened and dilapidated towers—such is the sight which Van offers to the traveler on approaching from the south. At the foot of the Acropolis lies the town. Nothing can, however, be seen at a distance, except the crests of the bastions and the few cupolas and minarets rising to a certain height. The view of the lake, the plain, and the surrounding mountains is fine 139 and grand. The plain extends three leagues to the east from the walls of the fortress, the Shar mountains limiting it with their rough mass. It is here thickly covered with flourishing gardens and nice country-seats. To the west the town is separated from the lake by a tract of flat marshy ground some fifteen hundred yards in extent. The ruins of a pier and some embankments are there to witness that in better days active trade and constant

communications were kept up between Van and the countries around the lake. From south to north the plain of Van extends to five leagues, and is bounded on both sides by two ranges of hills which gradually descend towards the lake. Many villages and isolated farms are scattered over this part of the plain, into which several lateral valleys find an outlet. In the midst of all these charms of natural beauty the lake produces at a distance a magic effect; the imposing mass of its waters being girdled by several ranges of high mountains, of which the eye loses sight as they recede towards the furthest west. The Subhan mountain dominates with its venerable head all the inferior ranges, and seems to assert its right as the lord of the creation in the midst of this panorama.

140 Lake Van, known to the ancients under the name of *Arsissea Palus*, has been considered by many geographers worthy, on account of its vast extent, of the name of the Sea of Van. From its north-eastern extremity to its furthest point to the south-west (the bay of Tetvan), the lake has an extent of twenty-eight leagues. The depth of water varies. In one of my surveying excursions I found a depth of eighty-four feet at a distance of two miles to the west, in the latitude of Van. The water of the lake is saltish and very disagreeable to the taste, containing a strong proportion of carbonate of soda. The northern and eastern shores are generally flat and low, except where the lake is domineered by the Subhan-dagh. The southern shore is, on the contrary, abrupt and rocky. The principal rivers and streams that pour their waters into the lake of Van are eleven in number. Lakes Nazik and Erdjek are merely occasional tributaries, pouring into Van merely that surplus of their waters which accumulates during the rainy season. As the lake has no visible outlet anywhere, evaporation alone seems sufficient to keep its waters within the limits of a regular level. The superstition of the inhabitants leads them to believe that a catastrophe like that of the Deluge is in store for them, and that one fine day they shall find themselves submerged under the overflowing waters of the lake. In proof of this, they assert that the lake is constantly | encroaching on the adjacent country, and
141 that many towns and villages have actually been submerged under the rising flood. At Erdish, on the northern coast, it is stated that a mosque with the whole of its minaret can be seen lying several yards below the surface of the water. Peasants and ignorant people are everywhere more or less fond of wonderful and sensational stories. This is undoubtedly one of that kind, and as such would not deserve being mentioned were it not for its originality. Lake Van is 5,500 feet above the level of the sea.

The districts, *mudirlik*, situated round the lake, are six in number. These are Hoch-ab, Vastan, and Kartchikan, to the south; the district of Akhlat, to the west; Eldjivas and Erdish, to the north. Van and its neighborhood, to the east, are under the direct administration of the governor of the province.

After Van, the most important towns situated on the borders of the lake are Erdish, Eldjivas, and Akhlat. Akhlat was in former days a flourishing town, and became the capital of one of the Mussulman kingdoms which were established in Armenia during the Middle Ages. Layard, while passing through this place, relates having visited some remarkable ruins of that epoch; for myself I regret not to have been able to see it. The population which inhabits the territories situated all around the lake of Van may be computed at two hundred thousand |
142 souls. The produce derived from the lake is very limited, consisting of natron, which is obtained by the process of evaporation. The inhabitants all around the coast form a number

of square holes, not very deep, in the sand, and fill them with the water of the lake. After evaporation has been effected, a deposit of carbonate of potash remains at the bottom, forming a solid spongy stuff which has an ashy-pale color. This natron is employed all through the country for washing purposes, and the poor classes use it also as a substitute for soap when they go to the bath. This article is exported to a considerable extent to Mush, Diarbekir, and Aleppo, where it is used in the manufacture of soap.

The fishery of this lake is limited to one season in the year, beginning at the end of May and lasting up to the middle of June. It is at this epoch that numberless swarms of fish rush to the mouths of the rivers, tributaries of the lake, in order to deposit their eggs. During the rest of the year no fish are to be found anywhere about the lake; and the natives believe, as we have remarked in a former chapter, that the fishing season once over, the fish cease to exist. The only kind of fish to be found in the lake of Van is a sort of herring which the inhabitants are in the habit of salting, and of which they preserve a good stock, for use during the course of the year.

The exportation of the dry fish is a source of | lucrative commerce with the neighboring 143 provinces as well as with northern Persia. The fishery of the two lakes of Van and Nazik gives a yearly revenue of two thousand pounds sterling to the Turkish exchequer. The navigation on the lake is scarcely worth mentioning. A project for the establishment of steam-navigation had at one time been proposed to the Turkish government by Kilitchian, a well-known Dalmatian captain in the service of the Porte. That advantages might be derived from such a scheme is beyond doubt, as easy communications would thus be established between the different districts surrounding the lake, as well as between the two important markets of Van and Mush, which would then find themselves within convenient distance of each other. The Persian provinces of Khoi, Selmas, and Urmieh, and perhaps Tebriz too, would likewise find through the lake of Van a shorter and more convenient route to Erzerum and the Black Sea. In the event of a war between Turkey and Russia, the trade of Persia would undoubtedly find greater security by following this route than by taking the present one, which from Bayazid and Toprac kaleh passes close to the Russian frontier, and is thus exposed to the attacks of belligerent armies.

Before advancing any further into the details relating to the description of this country, 144 and to the manners and customs of the inhabitants, it is necessary to give here some general notions on the geographical position and history of Koordistan and Armenia. In the old world the name of Koordistan was unknown, as no portion of Asia went under that denomination, except a part of the Anti-Taurus (*Mountains of Hakkîari*), where the Kardukians (*Koords*) used to live. The northern part of Koordistan, which now constitutes the province of Van, used to form, in ancient geography, the eastern portion of the kingdom of Armenia. The central and southern portions of Koordistan are those countries which were known partly under the names of Assyria and Mesopotamia. As for Armenia, it is difficult to define how far the limits of that ancient kingdom | extended, the tide of conquest having at intervals restricted or 145 enlarged its territory. In the utmost expansion of its limits, however, the Armenian kingdom reached on the north the banks of the Kur and the mountains of Lazistan; to the south the range of the Taurus; to the east Media; and to the west Cappadocia.

In modern times the contrary is the case. Instead of Koordistan being unknown, it is Armenia which fades out of the knowledge of mankind, or at least of those who rule over its

destinies. In the geography of the Turkish Empire, amongst the numerous provinces submitted to the authority of the Sultan no such country as Armenia exists. *Delenda est Carthago* seems to have been the policy of the Turkish conquerors who decided on blotting out the name of Armenia, as lately the Russians have obliterated that of Poland, and the Turks of this day that of Bulgaria, which countries have been shoveled up promiscuously with the other provinces of those empires. If a Turkish Pasha had not in his service a banker or a servant of Armenian nationality, it might be that, unaware of the existence of the Armenians, his Excellency would be ignorant that such a country as Armenia ever stood on the surface of the globe. In order, therefore, to be clear in my description, I will omit any further mention of

146 Armenia as a geographical expression, and will adopt the | generic of Koordistan for the whole of the country, so as to adapt my description to the present state of things.

Koordistan is that part of Asiatic Turkey which is comprised from north to south between Mount Ararat and the frontiers of Georgia on one side, and the neighborhood of Bagdad on the other; while from east to west its limits may be considered to be the Persian frontier and the borders of Asia Minor and Lazistan. These limits have nothing definite in the nature, for the simple reason that there is nothing permanent and definite in the territorial distribution of the various parts of the Turkish dominions. Whole provinces and departments, with their central towns and boundaries, are subject to frequent changes in the midst of an administrative chaos. Sometimes one province absorbs another, or the limits of the one encroach on the limits of the other; while on the frontiers of Persia large districts are pulled one way by Turkish and another by Persian pretenders, never, however, receiving any definitive settlement. Up to the epoch of the Crimean war the province of Koordistan used to form a distinct Pashalik, which consisted of the present Sandjaks of Van, Bayazid, Hakkiari, and Mussul; but at that time the province of Koordistan was suppressed, the above-mentioned Sandjaks being then placed under the authority of the pasha or governor-general of Erzerum.

147 The ecclesiastical administration of the dioceses has remained, however, | unaltered, as the Mufti of Van assumes still the title of Mollah of Koordistan.

In the impossibility, therefore, of establishing in a precise and accurate manner the boundaries of this land, the best way of coming to a solution of the problem is, I think, that of setting aside the present system of territorial partition, and of calling by the name of Koordistan that extent of country where the Koordish element is found to be predominant, and which the inhabitants themselves consider to be Koordistan. The limits of this vast territory can thus be carefully traced. To the north it extends from Mount Ararat, all along the Georgian frontier, up to 43° 20' east longitude, that is to say, to the neighborhood of Kars. Here the Koordish race comes into contact with the Georgian, as in many places the two elements find themselves mixed up. At Bayazid and Kars the inhabitants are of Georgian and Koordish blood, the Mussulman faith being the link of union which helps their amalgamation. Beyond the walls of the towns the Koords move and shift to and fro, crossing over to the Russian territory or returning into the Turkish dominions. These wandering tribes are the Haideranlis, the Djelalis, the Mamanlis, and those worshippers of the devil named the Yezids. Several Koordish tribes are also to be found wandering about in the neighborhood of Erivan, in Georgia.

148 A line traced from Kars to Erzerum, from thence to | the Derssim Mountains, a branch of the Taurus, situated between Erzindjan and Kharput, then touching Diarbekir, and following

the course of the Tigris, to join at last the range of mountains called the Gebel-Hoemerin, would circumscribe to the west the limits of Koordistan. In these parts the Koordish element comes into collision with the Turkish and Arabic races; while to the north-west and west of this line of demarcation the restless Koord comes face to face with the supine Turkish and Armenian peasants, and to the south-west the nomadic and wandering tribes of Koords and Arabs glance at each other from the opposite banks of the Tigris. This rather free way of fixing *ad libitum* the limits of Western Koordistan may be considered as strange by geographers; and it may not be quite to the taste of the Sultan and his viziers. It may even give rise to a formal protest from the population *en masse*, indignant at my attempt to make them all Koords in spite of their wishes. But neither the surmise of geographers, nor the disapproval of His Imperial Majesty, nor the indignation of the multitude, can make matters different from what they are, for a Koord is always a Koord, a Turk is a Turk, as a Chinaman will for ever be a Chinaman, and the country he inhabits will be China.

The fact that this north-western part of Koordistan is essentially a part of that country will be put beyond I doubt by the following arguments. First, the Koordish tribes are absolute 149 masters of the whole extent of territory which lies east of Erzerum, from the outskirts of that town down to the frontier of Persia. Secondly, in Erzerum itself the mass of the Mussulman population is nothing else but a spurious element of Koords who pretend they have some claim to call themselves Turks. If a stranger were to ask one of the native Mussulmans of Erzerum whether he is a Koord by nationality, the individual would undoubtedly consider the question an insult, as he claims to belong to what he supposes to be a higher caste. If the ignorant native, however, were asked to substantiate his claim, he would be unable to do so, for the language which he speaks in his family is Koordish, as are his features, his manners, and his habits. That this Turcomania of the inhabitants of Erzerum is a real mania, having no excuse whatsoever on its behalf, is proved by the fact that the Mussulmans of Van labor under the same illusion, and indignantly disown their Koordish nationality. Let us suppose, however, that a shadow of right exists to legitimate the pretensions of the Mussulmans of Erzerum, on what grounds can those of Van, who fourteen years ago did not even know a single word of Turkish, possibly claim Turkish nationality? It is true that several hundred years 150 ago Turkish conquerors and Janissaries settled in those I towns, but their descendants have been absorbed by the native Mussulman element to such an extent that no traces of them could be found now-a-days. As family names do not exist amongst the Turks, families and races are soon absorbed and disappear before the ascendancy of the predominant element. The glory of belonging to the domineering race, together with the hope of enjoying privileges and power, is a stimulant strong enough to change a Koord into a Turk. After all, the inhabitants of Erzerum and Van have no choice left, and finding themselves at the mercy of the stronger, endeavor to render the yoke lighter by means of flattery. The present state of things was imposed on them at the point of the bayonet.

To the south-west of Erzerum the Derssim mountains are a bulwark to the Koordish nationality. The wild mountaineers of that region have always been independent of the Turkish rule, and the many expeditions undertaken against them have been barren of result.

. . . I do not think I am much below the mark if I fix the number of the whole Koordish 152 nation at 5,000,000.

After this general view of Koordistan and its limits, taken on a broad scale, let us now pass

to the province of Van, Eastern Armenia, over which the narrative particularly extends. The province of Van consists not only of the territory properly known by that name, but also of its dependency the Sandjak of Hakkari. This province constitutes what is officially styled the province of Koordistan. To the north its limits are the Sandjak of Bayazid, to the south the Hakkari mountains, to the east the Persian province of Azirbeidjan, and to the west the Euphrates. Far from the principal centers of commerce, and out of the reach of the caravans which transport the trade of Persia to the harbors of the Black Sea, this province, which is seldom visited by travelers and merchants, is left to slumber in lethargy and abandonment. Nature, however, has been liberal in its gifts to it, having endowed it with all the elements which can insure prosperity and abundance. Its climate is mild, the severe winters which visit Erzerum being unknown here. The thermometer seldom falls to 10° Centigrade below the freezing point (= 14° deg. Fahr.), whereas the utmost heat does not reach higher than from 30° to 35° Centigrade (or 86 to 95° Fahr.) in the sun.

Productions.—The soil is fertile and capable of producing anything; while a luxurious vegetation covers the whole country around the lake. The apple, the pear, the cherry, the apricot, the fig tree, and the vine, abundantly supply the country with their fruits, while the shade of the lime-tree, of the willow, of the poplar, of the elm, and of the mulberry protects it against the heat of summer. All the variety of vegetables which are to be found in the kitchen gardens of Constantinople are, with one or two exceptions only, supplied by the gardens of Van.

Wheat and barley are plentiful in the districts surrounding the lake, and the corn produced at Eldjivas is of the very best kind, its flour being remarkable for whiteness and the nutritive qualities it possesses. The flocks of numberless sheep which are bred by the Koordish shepherds not only supply the country with meat, wool, butter, and cheese, but also provide the large markets of Asia Minor, Syria, and Constantinople with the means of subsistence. It is easy to conceive that in a country like this extravagance is not requisite in order to keep body and soul together or to enable one to indulge in gastronomic pleasures. In this promised land one oke (that is, 1,250 grams, or nearly 3 lbs. av.) of bread is sold at the rate of 1*d.*; the same quantity of meat is worth 3*d.*

Minerals.—With regard to mineralogy, the resources of the province of Van are important. At four hours' distance from Van a mine of sulfur of the best quality has been found; and at a place called Aghaza-tchai I myself discovered a mine of coal, and dug some of it up, the coal lying almost on the surface of the ground. In the district of Norduz several iron and coal mines are said to exist. A granite quarry is worked by the inhabitants, who extract from it as fine quality of stone, which is employed for the churches, mosques, and other public buildings in Van.

Industry.—The industry of the province is in its infancy, the articles manufactured being carpets of good designs and fanciful colors, but so long and narrow as to be unfit for furnishing apartments; woolen stockings and gloves, and linen of fair quality. The most renowned production of Van is a kind of *moiré* stuff, known all through the East as *Van-abassi*—viz., Van-cloth. This article, which is remarkable for its neatness and showy appearance, is woven out of goats' hair, and answers as a first-rate waterproof. It is so highly thought of in Constantinople, that if anyone happens to be starting for Van every Pasha or grandee will hasten to order a certain quantity of this cloth. Silver cups, silver *narghilehs*, and

other like objects, are very neatly executed by the silver smiths of the country. Iron and brass are also wrought to a certain extent.

Population.—The province of Van has a population amounting, at the lowest calculation, to 400,000 souls, and which is divided into four races—viz., Koords, Turks, Armenians, and Yezids.

Administration.—The administrative system of this province is on the same footing as that of the rest of the Turkish dominions. A pasha with the title of Mutessarif (administrator) is entrusted with the government. A council (Medjliss) composed of fourteen members, two of whom are Christians, assists the governor in the fulfillment of his functions. The Mohassebeji is entrusted with the management of the finances of the province, under the control, however, of the governor. The Mufti has the presidency over the court Mekiehmé, which has the Koran for its code of justice. The Armenians are under the authority of | their 156 bishop, whose attributes, though spiritual, extend nevertheless to the civil administration of the community. This administrative system may, on account of its simplicity, be considered as fully efficient to diffuse the beneficial effects of a good government over the country. Matters, however, turn out differently; the Pasha, the Council, the Mohassebeji, and the Mufti all considering that the most important part of their duty is to try to become rich. Hence it results that instead of administrators the country finds on its back a swarm of birds of prey who tear away its bowels, leaving nothing behind but the dry bones.

A body of two hundred police is the only instrument which the administration possesses for the purpose of enforcing its authority. Whenever any coercive measure requires a greater display of active force, the governors of the province rely for such an emergency on the regular army, or, availing themselves of the quarrels of the tribes, adopt the policy of setting one side against the other. Consuls, vice consuls, consular agents, &c.—in short the whole body of diplomatic agents—are entirely unknown to the inhabitants of Van. The greater part of them have scarcely had an opportunity of seeing the union jack or the French tricolor. The Russian eagle has, however, shown them its claws from the other side of | the neighboring frontier. 157 The absence of foreign representatives leaves undisputed ground and free sway to native administration.

The revenue of the province varies from fourteen to seventeen thousand purses, the purse being of 500 Turkish piastres, that is about 4*l.* 10*s.* English money. Before the financial reforms introduced in Turkey by Fuad Pasha, the taxation consisted of the following items:—

Hashar, the tithe.

Vergui, individual contribution paid on the basis of an income-tax.

Kamshir, a tax of 60 paras taken on every head of cattle.

The financial innovations had for their object to create a new income, which might produce a certain effect amongst the figures of a new budget. A tax on salt and one on tobacco were then introduced. These new taxes, however, instead of producing any substantial advantage to the treasury, proved, on the contrary, ruinous to the interests of the country.

The Armenians alone employ the ox in agricultural labor.

The town of Van is surrounded by fortifications, presenting a parallelogram which covers 174 an area of about 240,000 meters square. Three gates and three wooden bridges placed over

the ditch give access into the town. The gate facing the east is called the gate of Tebriz; the one opposite to the west is the Stambul gate; and that opening towards the south is called the Orta-kapu, or middle gate. To the north the rock hangs perpendicularly over the town, and shelters it on that side. A principal artery crosses the city from east to west, while a number
 175 of small, crooked, and dirty lanes run parallel to the main road and others perpendicular to it. The whole extent of ground comprised within the walls is not inhabited. That part of the town which lies to the west is almost entirely deserted, and remains covered with heaps of ruins, while the population is gathered to the east, and towards the southern entrance. The houses are constructed of pise, and have generally two stories. As they are deprived of the advantage of opening their windows on to the street, they give a gloomy, dark appearance to the thorough-fares and to the whole of the town.

There is scarcely any building worth noticing either for its antiquity or its importance, except a ruined mosque of imposing structure which belongs to the epoch of the Turcomans. The mosque of the same era which is at Erzerum is remarkable for its fine minarets, and represents a similar style of architecture. The mosques of the Turkish period are very poor specimens of the sacred architecture of Islam. They are three in number, one of them being the *Selatin-djami* or Basilica, in which Sultan Murad the Fourth assisted at the Friday prayer when going with his army to the conquest of Tebriz and the northern provinces of Persia. The Armenian patriarchate and the church are also buildings of no importance.

Van possesses three old khans with their usual court-yards and galleries, and a new khan
 176 constructed by the Armenian merchants, more in the style of the passages and arcades in Europe than that of the ancient khans. This khan is, however, very neat, and if faith is to be attached to the gossip of Turkish officials, was constructed by the Armenians a little before the Crimean war with the object of providing for the expected Russian liberators comfortable and suitable lodgings.

The city is not the place of residence selected by the inhabitants of Van, to whom it holds the same position as the City does to Londoners. A very small proportion of the population resides in it. The inhabitants come here on market days, and when they have any business to transact in the khans or at the bazaar. As to the modes of locomotion from the suburbs to the city, Van has none of those advantages possessed by the commercial metropolis of the world. A metropolitan railway has not as yet been established, and busses are unknown to the primitive inhabitants. Those amongst them who are rich make their entry into the city on the back of their horses or donkeys, and those who cannot afford such a luxury indulge in the healthy exercise of walking. It must be added that the city of Van cannot boast of its baths, as the only two that are to be found in it are badly constructed and not very clean. As a military
 177 position the fortress of Van is of the highest importance. From the Persian frontier to the Euphrates the whole extent of the Turkish dominions is under the action of that fortress. Kars to the north and Van to the east are the two bulwarks of the Ottoman empire in Asia. The fortress of Van possesses the double advantage of being a strategic point of the first class in its zone, while topographically it constitutes one of the strongest positions that it is possible to meet with anywhere. I remember when talking one day with Fezi Pasha (General Colman), an engineer officer of the highest merit who had been at Kars during the siege, that officer raised his eyes to the fortress and exclaimed, "Oh! if the fortress of Van had been at Kars, the siege might have lasted many years."

Van cannot boast of many relics of ancient times, the only one to be found being the colossal inscription in cuneiform characters, which is engraved on the rock facing the south and the town. Having no knowledge of the cuneiform characters, I will not make any conjecture with respect to the possible meaning of the inscription. The reader who may wish to know something about it must address himself to a more competent authority. On the summit there are three rooms excavated in the rock. These rooms are large in size and exhibit admirable workmanship. The commissariat department has turned them into depots in which is now kept a quantity of material belonging to the troops. Another curiosity worth noticing is a well of naphtha, which supplies the garrison and the population with a stuff generally used for greasing the wheels of carts and for combustion in lamps. 179

The suburbs of Van constitute properly speaking the town, the inhabitants preferring naturally to enjoy the open air and the agreeable sojourn of their gardens rather than be compressed within the ramparts of a fortress. In the vicinity of the fortress scarcely any building exists, and all round the *glacis* a large and open space extends to a distance of six or seven hundred yards. The principal suburbs lie to the east of the town, reaching to the foot of the igneous rocks called the Varak mountains, which limit the plain of Van in that direction. A magnificent avenue three miles in length, shaded by two, and in some places by 180 four, rows of fine large willows and poplars, runs from the glacis of the fortress through the suburbs as far as the foot of the hills. Two clear streams run rapidly by the sides of the avenue, bathing the roots of the trees and enlivening the landscape by their restless motion.

Following this avenue the Mussulman suburb is the first met with. The houses are of an elegant and light appearance, and are surrounded by gardens and plantations. Further on, at a distance of two miles from the fortress, begins the Armenian suburb, in which the houses are remarkable for their peculiar neatness and good order. In Van the buildings are made of pise; a material which, though far from being the best, is surely a hundred times better than that of the wooden match-boxes of Constantinople, which its inhabitants dignify with the name of houses. The houses made of pise are very solid, some of them lasting 120 years; and as the interior is generally covered with plaster, in appearance these buildings are the same as if they were constructed of stone or bricks. It is very seldom that the houses are plastered externally, and they are consequently seen to disadvantage but on the other hand a luxury of the kind would weigh rather heavily on the budgets of their proprietors, as lime is an expensive article in this country. Amongst the peculiarities of the place one is that the houses, 181 as is generally the case in the East, have flat roofs, and another that newspapers and other scraps of paper are eagerly sought for, to be employed by the house holders as a substitute for panes of glass. The wealthiest classes manage to introduce some pure light into their rooms by sticking a small pane of glass in the midst of the panes of paper.

The gardens are the principal pride of Van, and constitute the wealth of its inhabitants. They abound in fruit-trees of all sorts, whose shaded recess offers a charming retreat during the heat of summer. The poor, as well as the middle class, draw their means of subsistence from their gardens and plantations, as vegetables and fruits are the things which they generally eat. What they cannot consume during the summer season, they carefully lay by and preserve for the winter. The fruits thus kept are the pear, the apple, the quince, the apricot, the tomato, and beet-root. Beet-root is very abundant all through the country, and grows admirably. The Armenians make great use of it during Lent, taking care to pickle it for that purpose. Willow

trees are very numerous, and are to be seen in every garden. This predilection for the willow is to be accounted for by the fact that it furnishes its owner with a pretty good source of
 182 emolument. The branches of the tree are cut at intervals of several years, when they have attained the required size. By planting their trees at different periods, the natives manage to have every year a supply of these branches, which are employed in the construction of ceilings, and fetch, therefore, a good price.

Abundance of water being the first condition for the maintenance of gardens, the flourishing state of those of Van would lead one to believe that the population must be abundantly supplied with that element. However, such is not the case, the want of water being the constant complaint of the people. The water which serves for irrigation comes from a tank situated on the heights of Mount Varak, but it so happens that, as the administration has never thought of repairing the locks, a great portion of it is wasted before reaching its destination. Two thousand pounds would be more than sufficient to repair the tank, but as the Turkish Government thinks above all only of drawing as much money out of the country as it possibly can, the consequence is that no one has ever tried to satisfy the wants of the people. As for that portion of the water which finds its way to the gardens, the demand being greater than the supply, the wealthiest proprietors sequester it for their own benefit, while the weak and the poor must be thankful if ever they obtain any, and from this cause the area of garden cultivation is much restricted.

183 The population of Van amounts to fourteen thousand 1 souls, subdivided into eight thousand Armenians and six thousand Mussulmans of Koordish and Turkish blood. Here, as everywhere else throughout the Ottoman empire, the Armenians, as a Christian race, have the entire monopoly of trade, and of the little industry which exists in the country. Thus through its energy this race has succeeded in surpassing the Mussulman population in culture, wealth, and position. Education is amongst them in a satisfactory state, thanks to the efforts of their clergy, while traveling and traffic contribute enormously to the increase of their knowledge and wealth. The Mussulman population spend their time in the tillage of their gardens, or in the care of their properties, while many amongst them who aspire to the blessing of sitting down before a well-provided table, become members and servants of the administration. It is only since 1864 that a preparatory school has been established at Van, to promote the education of Mussulmans; up to that time nothing had been done.

194 Sheran Bey, the Armenian grandee of the place, was quite the reverse of the medal. While his Mussulman colleague was the prototype of the adventurous, restless, unprincipled, and
 195 profligate spirit, Sheran was the model of the man who owes 1 standing and fortune to his labors, to his learning, and to the superiority of his mind. His career had begun by the acquisition of a sound education, which gave him an ascendancy over his countrymen. Having earned a considerable fortune through industry and labor, Sheran became the most influential man amongst his co-religionists, and won the esteem even of the Mussulmans, who were compelled to acknowledge the ascendancy of his intellect. A seat in the administrative council of the province could not of course be refused to the Armenian Bey, as the new political system inaugurated throughout the Ottoman empire gave him such a distinction as a right. The poor have always looked on Sheran as their protector and friend. The parallel between these two men, Dervish Bey and Sheran Bey, presents one of those living

proofs which establish beyond doubt the relative value of the two antagonistic systems of Christianity and Mohammedanism; one showing the triumph of brutal force, with vice and corruption as its consequence; the other proving that labor and industry are associated with virtue.

It took us about an hour to climb up the hill, on the top of which the convent of Yedi- 198
kilissieh is situated. The whole of this hill, as well as the little valleys surrounding it, were covered with gardens and fields in the highest state of culture. On alighting from horseback I was received at the door of the monastery by two of the monks and several peasants, who did not hesitate to perform the usual ceremonial of Oriental selams. Getting through the big arch-gate which gives entrance to the court-yard of the cloister, I asked to be shown into the room of the Abbot Mighirditch Kara-bash.¹⁷ The monks informed me that the Abbot was not there, having gone several days ago to the monastery of Tchengheli-kilissieh in the neighborhood of Bitlis, where there is one of the most renowned shrines of Armenia. I then presented the letter of which I was the bearer, and having expressed my intention of spending 199
the night as their guest, a room was soon put at my disposal by those good-hearted men, who willingly sat with me in order to keep me company.

On requesting to be allowed to see the church and monastery, the monks rose and conducted me to the church, which I was especially desirous to see. The reason for this curiosity will be plain when I mention that the Turkish name, Yedi-kilissieh, given to this ecclesiastical structure means *the seven churches*. I could not really understand how seven churches could possibly be put together like a bunch of Chinese boxes, the whole collection forming but one church. This was the point which I wished particularly to ascertain. On entering, I found the first church was a kind of vestibule of a new construction, in which there was a kind of shrine made of marble, having a gilt railing all round. This was the work of some rich Armenian who had bequeathed large funds for the purpose. The second church is composed of a kind of arcade, with a series of pillars bearing the images of the Apostles. This building, according to the saying of one of the monks, is a thousand years old. The third church is a continuation of the second, but, being smaller than the two preceding ones, bears in relation to them the appearance of a sanctuary or inner temple. This latter building has 200
all the marks of the remotest antiquity. On the floor of the inner temple, on the right hand side, there is a tomb with two human figures lying side by side. These, according to the Armenian inscription, which one of the monks explained to me, are the figures of Sennacherib, King of Armenia, and of his wife. I could not learn what was the date of their death, but as far as I was able to understand my ciceronis, that king was the founder of the church and the monastery. The number of churches I actually saw was three. The other four necessary to make up the number of seven I could not see any trace of. This fanciful multiplication of the three existing churches into seven may be explained by the fact that, throughout Asia Minor, the Turks constantly give the favorite surnames of the three churches, or, the seven churches, to a great number of sanctuaries. The reason of this seems unaccountable.

After having seen the church, I visited the different parts of the monastery, which is a building occupying the front and the lateral wings of the yard situated before the church. To the left of the entrance are the dormitory, the dining-room, and the class-rooms of the

seminary. About twenty lads are here brought up for holy orders, or receive a liberal education. Paintings of the old heroes of Armenian nationality, like that of St. Vartan, hung up in the class-room, were signs that national feelings still animated the soul of the worthy |
 201 Abbot Mighirditch. In his zeal to enlighten and instruct his countrymen, this prelate has devoted himself to the publication of a periodical review which appears twice a month, and is circulated over all parts of the world where the Armenian nationality has a representative. I was not able to learn the name of that pamphlet, but what struck me as characteristic, and not without a certain *a propos*, was the figure printed at the head. This figure represented the dove of the Deluge flying over the lake of Van, and carrying the olive-branch in his bill. No allegory could be more significant and poetical; the scattered members of the Armenian race receiving thus the dove which brings them tidings from the land of their forefathers. But does the figure of this bird of promise mean that Armenia is on the eve of rising from the deluge of barbarism to new existence? I may add that the printing establishment created by Mighirditch is the only one existing in Koordistan and Armenia.

The night entertainment which the people of the monastery prepared in my honor was as good as it could possibly be. There were three dishes, sweet *entremets*, tolerably good wine at dinner, in the morning coffee, and even tea with milk in the English fashion. These delicacies, it must be acknowledged, do not cost the good monks much, as the whole of the fine property
 202 in the neighborhood belongs to | the monastery, and the labor necessary for its cultivation is performed gratis by the faithful, who by turns come to work on it.

Forced contributions and ransoms belong . . . to the regular form of brigandage employed by the Koords. Whenever a chief is in want of money, or finds that he is running short of provisions, he at once has recourse to a ransom or contribution imposed on the Armenian villages of the neighborhood. To refuse obedience to his peremptory order is rather |
 243 dangerous, as the chief is but too glad to find a pretext to plunder and sack a refractory village. Besides these ransoms and contributions on a large scale, there exists a sort of contribution on a smaller scale, which every Koord thinks himself entitled to impose whenever he thinks it convenient to do so. On the approach of winter a Koord is anxious to get rid of the expense and care which the keeping of two horses or buffaloes requires. How does he set to work? He knocks at the door of one of the Armenian peasants, presents to him his two horses or buffaloes, and requests him to be kind enough to take upon himself the charge of keeping these animals, which he promises to take back on the approach of spring. The poor Armenian raises his shoulders, but takes good care not to refuse the proposal. He is fully aware that, were he to do so, one fine day he should find the whole of his crop reduced to ashes. Amongst the many acts of brigandage of which the Koords make themselves guilty, a peculiar kind of highway robbery must here be stated, which is probably unparalleled. The culprits—the brigands—are in this case young women . . .

259 The Armenian nation is so thoroughly known in present, as well as in ancient, times that little new can be said about it. The Armenians belong to that branch of mankind called the Arian race. As such they are kinsmen to the Koords, their neighbors. Which of the two is the aboriginal people, which has a greater right to call the country according to its own name—Armenia or Koordistan—are questions which I leave to more profound ethnologists than

myself to settle. It is beyond question, however, that though both races are recorded, from the remotest antiquity, as being natives of this region, the Armenians are those who have benefited the country through their culture and civilization. As for the Koords, they are only known as having trodden down the grass which their flocks left untouched.

Though arts and sciences may have flourished where the Armenians asserted sway, their power never attained a decisive ascendancy, as they were always compelled to accept the law from the invaders who overran their country at different periods. The cause of this relative weakness of the Armenians is hinted at in one passage of the "Cyropedia,"* in which Xenophon says: "The Armenians, according to their habit, did not withstand the shock." It is thus to the want of a warlike disposition and undaunted courage that must be attributed the fact of the Armenian kingdom having always played a secondary part amongst the nations of the old world, and of its being at last vanquished. 260

After the Turkish conquest, the Armenians began to emigrate from a country where they had tried to no purpose to build a nationality and a kingdom of their own. Every wind, whether coming from the east, west, north, or south, had always succeeded in blowing down their scaffolding. The Armenian emigration spread then all through Asia Minor, extending itself as far as the Hellespont and the shores of the Mediterranean, where, in the metropolis and in the principal sea-ports, they constantly pour a fresh supply of laborers, servants, merchants, usurers, and bankers. The limits of the Turkish territory were soon found to be too circumscribed to satisfy their mercantile avidity, and they extended their sphere of action to the market-places of Egypt and India. If, exiles from their country, the Armenians of the present day regret the loss of the land of their forefathers, and the downfall of their earthly kingdom, the enormous wealth which they have been able to accumulate, and the relatively high degree of civilization and culture which they have attained, may be considered by some as a sort of compensation. 261

The Armenians who have remained faithful to their *penates* must have formed that class of the population which, attached to the soil, could not follow their more enlightened and more enterprising countrymen in their emigration. To this circumstance is to be attributed, to a certain extent, the fact that the Armenians of Armenia proper are proverbially known as being one of the coarsest people in existence. In Constantinople, and throughout Turkey, the epithet of Van *Ermenisi*, or Armenian from Van, is equivalent for poor, or a clumsy fellow. The *élite* of the nation having taken to emigration, it was but natural that only those who were without means and energy should cling to the ruins of a doomed country. Few families of notoriety are now to be found throughout Armenia; at Erzerum there is said to be someone who claims to be the descendant of royalty. The wealthy of the present day are men who owe their fortunes and influence to their own exertions, and have therefore no high pedigree to boast of.

Having had but little intercourse with the Armenians during my sojourn in Koordistan, I cannot venture to give here anything like a detailed account of their character and manners. However, judging from what I have seen of them, I can say that the qualities which distinguish them from the neighboring races are a bright intellect, a disposition to work, a great amount of forbearance, and frugal habits. Want of courage, dissimulation, and craft are 262

* Book iii. chap.ii.

the vices which the Armenians possess, but such defects are often the consequence of the abject state to which oppressors reduce their victims. Not having the power to oppose themselves to the vexations of the Koords, and to the despotic rule of their masters, the Armenians take their revenge in an underhand way, by trying to outwit their foes by craft and skill. An example will give an insight into this state of things.

Keur Omer, chief of the Shikiaks, using the right of the strong, took a high ransom from an Armenian village. The Armenians, arming themselves with forbearance and dissimulation, patiently awaited for an opportunity to take their revenge. Keur Omer might happen some time after to have business to transact in the market-place. There the Armenian Sheran or Bederos would wait to settle accounts with the tyrant of the field; and there in his turn he succeeded, by clever maneuvers and swindling operations, in making the Koord pay such a
 263 ransom that he bitterly regretted his former rapacity. As for the Turkish officials, the Armenian is a first-rate hand at dealing with them. He begins by becoming the Pasha's private adviser and partner in all his profits. Once admitted into the secrets of the administration, he makes the Pasha his support in all the differences that may arise between himself and the Koords, or anyone else.

It is evident that in the long run the Armenians get the best of it. It is, however, only the wealthy residing in the cities who come out victorious from the strife; as for the peasants they are always the losers in any bargain. Their only safety from the depredations of the Koords lies in clearing out of the country by emigrating to Constantinople or to the Russian frontier.

The course followed by the Turks, whenever a question arises between Armenians and Koords, is a very simple one. The Pasha does not give himself the trouble of looking closely into the details of a suit: he merely examines his administrative barometer, and gives his warrant after having ascertained the financial and political state of the atmosphere. For instance, if the Armenian presents himself at the bar of justice backed by the metallic influence of his chest, or sustained by the political influence of one of the ambassadors residing at Constantinople, in nine cases out of ten he is sure to win the day. If, however, the
 264 Pasha discovers that the political barometer sets to fair, granting him a splendid opportunity to give vent to his religious fanaticism or national predilections, as well as to the thirst of gain, then the Armenian is doomed, and the Koord gets the best of him.

In 1863 an event took place in the province of Mush which well reveals this sort of policy. The Koordish tribes which rove about the fertile plains of Mush attacked several of the Armenian villages, but as the Armenians happened then to be numerous, the invaders met with resistance, and several skirmishes took place, in which both parties suffered and no one gained. The Christians decided, however, on sending a deputation to Erzerum, in order to expose their grieves to the governor. On receiving the deputation the Pasha gets hold of his barometer, and seeing that political considerations were weighing against the Armenians, turns them off. Upon this, hoping to find the prognostics more favorable at Constantinople, the Armenians repair thither, but the Grand Vezir announces to them that, the barometer being in a state just as depressed there as elsewhere, it was of no use for them to seek justice. The Armenians took the hint, and, once back to their homes, decided on emigrating to the Russian provinces of the Caucasus in search of a more congenial climate, where the barometer of justice might show fair instead of storm.

265 The oppression under which the Armenians labor results in keeping alive amongst them

the sentiment of nationality. In these parts they are narrow-minded, and bear a hatred against all other creeds. Their dislike for, or rather hostile feeling against, those whom they look upon as sectarians and infidels is universally spread and powerful. It is on this account that the Protestant missions established at Betlis and Urmieh, in order to convert them, have scarcely produced any effect upon the Armenians of Koordistan. They look upon this kind of proselytism as a dodge of the Franks, and therefore cling to their church with greater fervor and pertinacity.

On the point of education their national schools are on a very satisfactory footing, as the Armenian youth, during the last twenty or thirty years, have been able to acquire under the tutorship of the clergy the rudiments of literature, history, and mathematics. In this respect the Armenians are far ahead of their Mussulman countrymen.

The clergy, into whose hands is confided the care of public instruction, serve likewise as a medium to keep up the idea of separate national existence. Of late years great progress has been made by the youth of Armenia in that way, and the belief in the future prospects of their nationality is become a creed. Newspapers, pamphlets, and engravings are printed in the 266
monastery of Yedi kilissieh, two hours from Van, and thence are spread in all directions. On my visit to the monastery I remarked a large engraving hanging on one of the walls in the class-room. It represented St. Vartan, king, hero, and saint, whose portentous deeds are recorded in Armenian history. Vartan was seen in the engraving wearing the helmet and armor of the Roman epoch. The helmet was ornamented with the ram's head, which constitutes the blazon of Armenian royalty. A series of little prints skirting St. Vartan's portrait represented the exploits achieved by him on the field of battle.

Many concealed and mysterious wires are constantly busily at work to keep up the communications between the divided members of the Armenian nationality both in the Turkish and the Russian dominions. A system of wandering ecclesiastical emissaries serves to unite the numerous convents and religious institutions scattered over Armenia and Georgia, while bands of pilgrims go to and fro displaying national banners and emblems, and visiting the most renowned shrines and churches. Notwithstanding these praiseworthy efforts of the Armenians to maintain their rights as a nation, if we are to judge from the present state of the world we cannot help thinking that Armenian nationality has as little chance of self-existence as any of the other unacknowledged nationalities.

In the province of Van every trace of civilization and culture is due to the Armenians, 267
without whom the garden of Eden would be turned into a wilderness. The tillage of the soil is in a great measure carried on by the labor of the Armenian peasant, and it is he who cultivates the delicious gardens which cover the plain of Van, and the valleys and creeks situated along the shores of the lake. The little industry and commerce to which the natives are addicted is almost entirely the monopoly of the self-exerting Armenian. It is he who erects and constructs everything in the shape of houses, buildings, walls, &c. The blacksmiths, silversmiths, saddlers, tailors, shoe makers, and all the other operatives, are also exclusively of the Armenian race; and to this nation, too, belong almost all the shopkeepers in the market and khans of Van, from the small dealer in manufactures up to the wealthy and bulky saraf—banker. A peculiar fact, which ought not to be passed unnoticed, is that often the Armenian tradesman or merchant is only an active partner, the capital which he employs belonging to a sleeping one—some rich Mussulman who goes in with him half-and-half for the profits.

The fishery on the lake, as well as the little navigation which is seen upon it, are carried on through Armenian enterprise.

288 On descending from the plateau our party entered a valley, the north-eastern extremity of which is watered by the lake of Ertjek. For two or three miles the road crosses a series of fields and plantations, the property of the Armenian village, which is to be seen on the heights bordering the valley on its northern side. To the south-east this valley is domineered by the prolongation of the igneous rocks of the Varak. At a distance of three miles from Hansal-kaleh
289 all traces of cultivation disappear, the center of the valley being covered by marshes and by thick masses of weed. These marshes stretch for several miles along the valley, and almost come in contact with the south eastern extremity of the lake.

Projects are a very abundant article in Turkey, though their execution is left to the eve of the world's end. Koordistan is not an exception to the general rule, here, too, projects of all sorts constantly circulate through the mouths of the idle mass of Turkish administrators. The project of opening an outlet to the waters of Lake Ertjek is one amongst the thousand and one projects. The low, marshy ground which brings one extremity of the lake within a short distance of Hansal-kaleh seems to have suggested the conception of this scheme. The obstacles to the execution of the project in question are several, the least of which is that the nature of the water of Lake Ertjek is so destructive and poisonous to agriculture that by its finding an outlet into the plain of Van it would lay waste a considerable portion of productive land.

295 The village of Ertjek is situated at three or four hundred yards distance from the lake. It is the point where the three roads, leading to Van, to Erivan, and to Kotur, meet. In winter this village is the place of shelter where the caravans take refuge when they are overtaken by
297 one of those storms which are not of uncommon occurrence on the plains of Serai and of Tchol-Tchemen. The distance between Ertjek and Van is six hours' journey. Ertjek does not count more than fifty houses, its inhabitants are Armenians, and their means of existence consist of the produce of their fields, which is wheat and barley straw. The milk of their buffaloes also helps them to sustain life. Their proximity to the Koordish tribes is a circumstance which prevents them from getting very fat by the produce of their fields.

Hans Christian Andersen—1805–1875

A Poet's Bazaar—Pictures of Travel in Germany, Italy, Greece, and the Orient.

Author's Edition. New York, Hurd and Houghton, Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1871

A.D. 1871

They say that, to avoid the plague, we must be careful not to come in contact with any one; 214
but it is an impossibility to do otherwise: if we have occasion, or feel a desire to go through
the principal street of Smyrna, it is too narrow, and the crowd is too great. I met vast numbers
of women wrapped in long muslin veils, so that only the tip of the nose and the dark eyes
were to be seen. There came Armenians in long blue and black talarez, or gaberdines, with
large black hats, in the form of an inverted cooking-pot, on their bare, shaven heads; smartly
dressed Greeks, and dirty Jews, and majestic looking Turks, who had their pipes borne before
them by a lad.

Under the tower of Pera, in the moat, there lay flayed and bleeding horses. We passed 227
Turkish cafes where the fountains splashed in the open room. The Dervishes' cloister, with
golden inscriptions of the Alcoran, placed in the wall above the gate, lay on our way through
the principal street, which is very small. The houses have two and three stories, and there are
porches before them all. The side-streets are still narrower; the buildings appear to meet
above, so that in rainy weather one scarcely needs an umbrella here.

What a swarm of beings! In the midst of the crowd there was a Bulgarian peasant dancing,
with a calot on his head, miserable sandals on his feet, and a long sheepskin jacket on his back.
He danced like a bear springing up on its hind legs. Another Bulgarian played the bagpipes
for him. Six or eight brown, muscular fellows were dragging along large blocks of marble,
which were placed on round pieces of timber. They continually cried out their "Make way!"
We met Armenian priests with crape fluttering from their hats. Now sounded a mumbling
song; a young Greek girl was borne along to be buried; she lay in her customary clothes, and
with her face uncovered in the open coffin, which was ornamented with flowers. Three Greek
priests and two little boys, with lighted candles, walked before.

The stranger ought first of all to visit the bazaars* in Constantinople. To do so is to enter 228
into that enormous city at once: one is overwhelmed with the sight, the splendor, and the
tumult. Each is a city of bees that we enter; but every bee is a Persian, an Armenian, an
Egyptian, or a Greek. The East and West hold a great fair here. No other city can show such
a crowd, such a variety of costumes, or such a grouping of articles of trade.

It is highly interesting to regard the characteristic manner in which each nation manifests 230
itself. The Turk sits serious and majestic, with the long pipe in his mouth; the Jew and the

* Besestan, that is to say, covered market-places, are here called the bazaars. There are, properly, three.
The side-streets may be regarded as entrance halls.

Greek are bustling; they shout and wink; meanwhile the varied mass moves along through these crossing arcades. Persians, with pointed hairy caps; Armenians with inverted cone shaped black hats; Bulgarians in sheepskin mantles; Jews with ragged shawl around the black high-crowned turban; smart Greeks, and veiled women. Here is a crowd; and in the midst of all this there rides a Turk of distinction, who neither looks to the right nor left. On a given signal in the evening, the sellers and buyers depart. A sort of watchman, to whom the charge of guarding the bazaars is entrusted, locks all the entrances, and opens them again next morning at a fixed time; the sellers then find their shops just as they left them. Even during the day a single shop is never closed, otherwise than by the owner hanging a net before it; or he draws a few pieces of pack-thread across, for there no one ventures to steal. The magnificent shops of the Palais Royal, in comparison with the bazaars of Constantinople, are as a richly dressed grisette compared to the daughter of the East in her rich stuffs, with her hair shedding the perfumes of attar of roses and myrrh.

- 262 Here, on the Asiatic and European sides <of the Bosphorus>, are the mighty palaces, Anatoli Hissari, and Rumili Hissari, built to command the entrance; but the port-holes are walled up, the buildings have long since been transformed into prisons. The palaces, where thousands of Christians have languished, are now called “the Black Towers.” The palace, on the European side, is singularly built; the Sultan Mahmoud would have it built so as to form his name, as it is written in Arabian characters; hundreds of Christian churches round about
- 263 had to furnish materials for these inhabited ciphers; but no joy or gladness has breathed within them, death-groans have quivered through Mahmoud’s monogram. Even though walled fast with stone on stone, Time’s strong finger will blot out this writing; and where it stood the earth will bear spring’s poem on her black table, sending forth odorous bushes, grass, and flowers.

Mary Mills Patrick—1850–1940

A Bosphorus Adventure—Istanbul (Constantinople) Woman's College 1871–1924.
Stanford University Press, 1934

A.D. 1871

The embryo school of three pupils established in Stamboul under Julia Rappleye in 1871 slowly increased in numbers. After the purchase of the Scutari property the school was removed in 1873 to a rented house in close proximity to the new site . . .

My own connection with the institution began in the autumn of 1875, a few months after Miss Rappleye left . . . The school, as I found it, was a remarkable product of four years' work. The students were all extremely devoted to the memory of Miss Rappleye, and very indignant at any criticism regarding her. There was a regular course of study which was ambitious for that early period. English was taught, but in selecting the language of instruction Miss Rappleye had followed the line of least resistance, she had chosen the one spoken by the largest number of students, at the time, Armenian.

The degree of scholarship which had been attained in four years seems incredible. Some of the textbooks used were advanced, and had certainly never been prepared for young students. I was given several classes, one of which was in physics, and one in algebra. It was before the days of laboratory work, but the textbook selected in physics was scholarly and well illustrated with drawings explaining the required experiments. Both of the textbooks were in Armenian. I knew this language reasonably well, having studied it in both its ancient and its modern form in preceding years in the interior of the country; but, alas, I knew almost nothing about physics. However, we struggled along as best we could. The text in algebra was not as advanced as the one in physics but represented work done in a good high school. Among the miscellaneous examples at the end of the book was one which I could not solve—a kind of catch 7 problem. Night after night I sat up trying to find the solution, but never succeeded in doing so. I was a young teacher and too proud to ask for help. The students were in some ways abnormally clever, and I do not doubt that they were perfectly aware of my having skipped a problem. It seems amazing to me now that such intelligent classes could have been possible after such a short history of the new school.

The Armenian language belongs to the Indo-European family and is connected with the Iranic group. It is said to date back to 150 B.C., but no writings earlier than the fourth century A.D. have been preserved. The fifth century was the golden age of Armenian literature. The alphabet consisted of thirty-eight letters. Versions of the Bible were translated as early as the fifth century. In the sixth century, Armenian literature, as extant in manuscript books, began to decline, but it revived after the invention of printing. Printing presses were gradually established in the Armenian monasteries, one even in Etchmiadzin near Erivan in the Mount Ararat region.

Certain works of European publishers and Armenian traders date back to 1512. In 1562 the Armenian Patriarch of Sebaste sent Akhar <Abkar> of Tokat to Venice to study printing,

and publications in Armenian began to appear there as early as 1565. Shortly after that time, printing houses in Armenian were established in Venice, Rome, Constantinople, Smyrna, Tiflis, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Madras, Calcutta, Etchmiadzin, Ispahan, and Amsterdam.

63 Periodicals were published in several of those places. Many Armenian monasteries flourished in early centuries, and in 1717 Mekhitas <Mekhitar> founded one on the Island of San Lazare in Venice. There was also an Armenian college in Vienna which had a branch in Munich. A second was established in Vienna in 1810.

Many of these institutions were still in existence in the early part of the nineteenth century, and some of them continued to function much later. Printing books was a part of their regular program, and published books and periodicals corresponded in grade of learning with contemporary works in other languages. The monasteries in Venice, Vienna, and Etchmiadzin, and probably others, were bringing out books at least as late as 1875. Thus the difficult textbook in physics which was given to me in 1875, referred to in a previous chapter, is accounted for. It was comparatively large in size and profound in subject-matter, and without doubt had originated in an Armenian monastery. An Armeno-French dictionary was published as early as 1812.

Arthur Augustus Thurlow Cunynghame—1812–1884

*Travels in the Eastern Caucasus, on the Caspian and Black Seas, Especially in Daghestan, and on the
frontiers of Persia and Turkey, during the Summer of 1871.*

London, John Murray, 1872

A.D. 1871

<In Trebizonde> The bazaars were very interesting and curious, and larger than is usual in 345
cities of this size. The shops are principally kept by Armenians—a race whose only bounds to
extortion are the means of gratifying it. There is a great deal of trade in Trebizonde, much of
which comes through Turkey from Persia. The articles of export are silk, tobacco, wool,
cotton, etc.

Emma Cochran Ponafidine—b.1863

My Life in the Moslem East.

The Pobbbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1932

A.D. 1870s

- 24 Anything more miserable than some of the settlements of the Armenians and Kurds in Turkish Kurdistan and Armenia would be hard to imagine. Often built on the slope of a mountain, underground rooms reached by long dark windings gave no indication of a village, until perhaps the leg of a horse getting into a hole would mean that he had stepped into a window! The door, lower down, led through the corridor into a large “apartment,” the earthen roof of which was supported by wooden posts. The mingling of smoke and strong animal smells made the air at first seem stifling beyond endurance. When one’s eyes became accustomed to the darkness, a raised platform like place could be discerned where the fireplace
- 25 was sunk | in the ground. Bits of straw matting and rows of bedding set up against the wall, each neatly done up in specially woven, brightly colored, square woolen pieces, showed that this was the family living-and sleeping-room. The rest of the apartment was occupied by horses, buffaloes, cows and fowls; the sheep were generally so numerous as to have separate folds. Here we were made welcome. Our traveling beds were set up alongside those of the family, who would sometimes camp out, however, and leave us in possession.

<A.D. 1880s and 1890s>

- 235 In getting acquainted with Turkish ladies, I made but little progress at this time. There were a few with whom I exchanged calls in a neutral place—in the house of a private person, a wealthy Armenian-Russian—but during Abdul Hamid’s reign much intercourse was impossible.

Edson Lyman Clark—1827–1913

The Arabs and the Turks. Their origin and history, their religion, their imperial greatness in the past, and their condition at the present time, with chapters on the other non-Christian tribes of Western Asia.

Boston, Congregational Publishing Society, 1876

A.D. 1876

The great curse of the Turkish Empire for the past thirty years has been that the power of the government has been almost wholly in the hands of two classes of most unprincipled and rapacious men, viz., the pashas and the Armenian bankers. The pashas are many of them low-born and ignorant men, wholly unfit of their places, and caring for nothing but gain. Some of the greatest and most powerful of them were originally foreign-born slaves . . .

The Armenian bankers, who wield the entire monetary power of the Empire, are no better than the pashas. They are as a rule an ignorant, boorish, and most rapacious set of usurers, without enterprise or public spirit, who do nothing whatever for the good of their country . . . The pashas are all deeply in debt to these bankers. It is thus for the interest of the bankers to sustain them; and whatever may be their malfeasance in office, or their crimes, their financial partners are generally able to uphold them, or to save them from any thing beyond a temporary disgrace.

From the Sultan down to the lowest peasant, it seems as if no Turk had any aptitude or capacity for business of any kind. The business of the government is done by Armenians and Franks, the business of society by the native Christians. The Turks have not enterprise and ingenuity enough to take the food while nature provides ready to their hand.

It is a singular fact that, throughout Asia Minor and Armenia, hay as an article of winter food for cattle is almost unknown.

George Campbell—1824–1892

A Handy Book on the Eastern Question, Being a Very Recent View of Turkey.

London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1876

A.D. 1876

- 5 All trace of the peoples of Asia Minor, so famous in ancient and in ecclesiastical history, seems to have disappeared—that is one of the most curious of historical problems. I cannot attempt confidently to solve it beyond the theory which I hazard, that they have been absorbed by Mahommedan conquerors. Traces of Christian races are, I understand, nowhere wanting in Asia Minor, but so far as I can gather they are either Greeks or Armenians. The Greek population of Asia (the islands apart) does not seem to be very large; they have, I take it, 6 receded rather than advanced since ancient times. Although in some parts of the coast | they hold much of the soil as indigenous cultivators, I understand that this possession does not usually extend very far inland. In the interior their villages are few and far between, and though here as elsewhere they appear in the towns in a commercial character, they greatly yield to the Armenians in numbers and importance.

The Armenians no doubt constitute altogether a large population in Asiatic Turkey—how large I have no means of judging on reliable data, nor whether in any considerable portions of the country they form an actual majority of the population. At any rate they are quite an Asiatic people, and their chief strength is now, if I may so express it, at the back of the Turks, farther to the eastward, adjoining the Asiatic dominions of Russia and Persia. Though numerous and important in the towns of Asia Minor and in Constantinople itself, they are there mere settlers, and have no claim to an independent political position.

The Kurds again, who occupy so important a position in the hilly country to the south-east of Asia Minor, are clearly a Persian race. And the nomadic Turkomans, who seem to occupy a considerable position in Asiatic Turkey, are on all hands considered as quite distinct from the Osmanlees.

- 7 It will be remembered that Asia Minor was invaded and permanently occupied by Mahommedans at a time when the Mahommedan religion was much more | aggressive and proselytizing than in later times.

- 21 I have noticed the Armenians in connection with Asia. It would be a great mistake to suppose that in Constantinople they are only merchants and scribes. Most of the porters there are Armenians, and many of the boatmen; they form a large and laborious population. In many other towns they are found, but I believe that there are no rural agricultural Armenians in European Turkey, or scarcely any. Singularly enough, however, they are found in that capacity north of Turkey. I am told that there is a considerable settlement of agricultural Armenians in Hungary, but I did not learn how they came there.¹⁸

- 68 . . . The affairs of the Armenians, whether in Constantinople or Asia, so far as they related to Armenians only, were managed through the Armenian Patriarch and his subordinates; so

with regard to the Greeks, and so with regard to some minor sects. But there was one very important feature of this system which has much affected the relations of the Christians in Turkey. The Bulgarians, though ethnically entirely different from the Greeks, belonged to the Greek Church. The Turks, not being well up in ethnology, treated them as Greeks, and so it came to pass that the Greek ecclesiastics obtained not only the ecclesiastical control over the Bulgarians, but also the educational control, and that civil jurisdiction over them which was allowed to the superiors of the subject races. There was absolutely no education but that given under this ecclesiastical control; and, as the Bulgarian language is very different from the Greek, and has no near affinities to it, the lower classes of Bulgarians neither understood the language used in their churches nor got any education whatever; while the more well-to-do classes got only a Greek education. This was the case till very recently indeed.

A word I must say regarding the social position of the Armenians in Turkey. Their relations 80 to the Turks are very peculiar. An acute Asiatic race, allied, I apprehend, to the Persians, their situation exposed them to very early conquest; and yet, when weaker and less intellectual people yielded to the religion of the conquerors, they resisted Mahommedanism and retained their own religion, just as did the higher castes in Cashmere, Bengal, and other Indian provinces, when the inferior races were converted. But, holding their own in religion, they also, like Bramins in India, did not sacrifice themselves by resistance in arms, but sought to make the best of the situation—to conquer the conquerors by superior intellect. They became the bankers, the merchants, and the penmen and political mouth piece of the Turks, just as Cashmere pundits, acute Punjabee Khatrees, and Marratta Bramins have fulfilled similar functions. That is to a great degree their position to this day. When the Turks reached Europe the Greeks came into commercial competition with the Armenians, and Constantinople is now for commercial purposes divided between the two races. But, as the political assistants of the Turks, the Armenians are still much more prominent and much more trusted. The offices 81 are full of Armenians. They have affected a good deal of the Turkish dress and style, and are said to have imitated the Turks. It is difficult for a stranger in Constantinople to tell one from the other. Whether things may be changed if the Armenians in Asia catch the infection of reform, and begin to clamor for the amelioration of their condition, remains to be seen. The unfortunate Armenian editors who lately tried that sort of thing in Constantinople very soon learned that it was not tolerated there, and were at once suppressed and deported. However, up to the present the Armenians fill many high civil offices under the Turks; are well known in their foreign missions; and, acquiring much literary skill, write diplomatic dispatches at home. I understand that the large banking and money business too is still much more in the hands of Armenians and Jews than of Turks; the latter are rather enterprising merchants than capitalists.

As we have lately seen, too, the whole Mahommedan population, accustomed as they are 92 to the use of arms, can be turned into a local militia of “Bashi-Bazooks” when required, while the Christians are not allowed to bear arms. At the same time it must be admitted that the Turkish police being little efficient and the administration not so thorough (perhaps it may be said in ordinary times not to be so severe), as in some European countries, the Christians have a good many arms at home, rules to the contrary notwithstanding.

143 A little time ago attention was drawn to the cringing servility of, I think, the Armenian Patriarch and his followers, in an address in which they extolled the cause of the Sultan. I confess I am surprised that, so late in the day, even some of the Greeks of Constantinople should have adopted a similar tone. In the *Times* of November 27 there is published an address professing to come from the Constantinople Greeks through the Ecumenical Patriarch, and which carries servility to the Sultan and his Government to an excess, only
 144 equaled by the dislike of the Slavs which is manifested in this precious production. Thus it is that some of the organs of the Christians of Constantinople can be paraded as wholly in favor of the Government.

209 It must be put to the Turks: "Submit, or you will have to fight." My impression is that the Old Turks would certainly yield, and that the only doubt is whether Young Turkey would do so or would chance it in the hope of a division of the Powers. And here comes in what has been called the "massacre argument," of which a great deal has been made, and which is said not to have been without its effect upon the mind of Sir Henry Elliot. It is asserted that if the Turks find they are being driven to the wall—or, to put it less figuratively, driven out of Europe—they will turn again and will kill all the Christians before they go. It is not only the fear of a rising and a massacre in Constantinople, which led to a great panic there a few months ago—probably people are now convinced that the nearness of the European Fleets protects them from that danger. It is also said: "You want to interfere on behalf of the Bulgarians; to protect them you are carrying your policy to the point that will drive the Turks to despair; they will yield a good deal, but their independence and their empire they will never surrender without fighting. If the worst comes to the worst, if the Russians are about to cross
 210 the Danube, they will turn and massacre all the Bulgarians; so that at all events the Bulgarians will not be benefited, for there will be no Bulgarians left to protect. The Turks may go, but, going, will leave a desert, and that will be your work." I believe that this argument is of European concoction, and that, so far as the Turks use it, they have got it from the European papers. But they are ready enough to take up anything of that kind, and they now use it quietly and confidentially, and are very ready to say: "Oh, it would be a dreadful thing! We hope it never will be so, but you know our population are very fanatical and extremely desperate—if you push them too far it is not in our power to restrain them, and we cannot guarantee that they will not commit such terrible massacres of the Christians that the petty affairs of which you complain would be a mere flea-bite." And then philo-Turk Ministers look grave, and think it would be terrible indeed, and that they must at all events try to avoid pushing things to that extremity. I do not believe a word of it. The massacre argument is a very good bugbear to protect the Turks from coercion, and to try to stave off the inevitable concessions. But, after all, Turks are very much like other people; the proportion of those who would sacrifice themselves in order to do very desperate deeds of savage and useless vengeance would not be much larger than among other populations. If they heard that the Russians were coming across the Danube, they might prepare to fight the Russians, and fight them pluckily
 211 and well; but they would not make their own fate certain by turning round and trying to kill their inoffensive Bulgarian neighbors. The late massacres in Bulgaria I believe to have been not an unprovoked and unaided popular movement, but a bloody repression of a small rebellion, incited and directed by the official pashas . . .

There remains the question, what is to be done if the Porte finally refuses to accept the terms of the Powers? I fear in that case nothing remains but to let the Russians take upon themselves the task of coercion. One only alternative there seems to be, and that is the course suggested by the Emperor of Russia himself, in September or the beginning of October, namely: "If you object to our occupying Bulgaria, and think a naval demonstration of the Powers sufficient, try it." If the Russians were still willing to agree to that course it might be possible. The Turks have lately been making great exertions to arm the Dardanelles thoroughly with heavy batteries of the best modern guns. I do not know whether the fleets really could go to Constantinople so easily as they might a few weeks ago. Naval and artillery officers must look to that. We must take good care we do not miscalculate in trying to do that by a naval *coup-de-main*, which cannot be done safely without some land force. But with or without a land force, no doubt, if the Powers were determined to come through the Dardanelles, they would, and it might be possible to bring the Turks to terms by taking the fleets up to Constantinople to coerce them there. It may be asked again: "What are the fleets to do when they get to Constantinople?" If the Turks still refuse, and say "Do your worst," we might look rather foolish; we should not like to bombard and destroy the city as a means of enforcing diplomatic action. However, I dare say something might be done. We might, for instance, insist upon the surrender of the whole ironclad fleet as a material guarantee, or take it if it were not surrendered. The heart of the governing bureaucracy of Turkey is so completely in Constantinople, the governing pashas are so little fitted to leave the capital and undertake a patriotic war in the provinces, that in reality they would probably yield to a hostile fleet arriving at Seraglio Point—supposing, of course, that the force was strong enough to preclude all hope of opposition upon the Bosphorus. After all, there may be something in the British sailor's remark which appears in *Punch*: "Why can't we take Constantinople, and settle the matter?" 212

Fred Burnaby—1842–1885

On Horseback through Asia Minor.

In two volumes. Second Edition. London, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1877

A.D. 1877

<Vol. I>

- 103 Throughout my journey, I found Armenians and Greeks equally despised by the Mohammedans. It is a great pity that the votaries of Christianity in the East should have brought the only pure religion into so great disrepute.
- 132 The Armenians in their habits of body are filthy to the last degree. Their houses and clothes are infested with vermin. The Turks, on the contrary, are much cleaner, and are most particular about the use of the bath.
- 169 The Armenians, who in other parts of Anatolia make large sums of money by distilling spirits, here <in Kowakoli> neglect this branch of industry. The grapes are either eaten, or the unfermented juice is kept to sweeten pastry, for sugar is very dear, and costs more than a shilling the pound. This price is beyond the means of not only the poorer, but even of the wealthier inhabitants of the district. In consequence of this they drink their coffee without sweetening it, and look upon a present of a few pounds of sugar as a donation worthy of a sultan's generosity.
- 189 “. . . An Armenian lady <Mr. Vankovitch, a Pole living in Yuzgat said> is in no way educated. She is confined in a harem. She is the slave of her husband, and has to do all sorts of menial work for him—wash his feet, rub them dry, and wait at table. From her earliest childhood a girl is brought up to consider herself as a slave in her father's house; until the
- 190 Armenians abandon these barbarous customs, their so-called Christianity will not do them much good. A Turkish husband has no difficulty in obtaining a divorce—in fact he is not even put to the expense of going to a court of law. All he has to do is to say, in the presence of a witness, ‘I renounce you,’ and he is at once freed from his wife, who is at liberty to go where she likes, and marry whomsoever she pleases.”
- 191 There were 10,000 inhabitants in Yuzgat, but there was very little crime. Only one execution had taken place during the last fifteen years, and this had been for murder.
- The town itself is, comparatively speaking, of recent date, its construction dating back 130 years. The neighborhood abounds with mines . . .
- The Armenians did not serve in the army as soldiers; but in lieu of military service, paid the Ottoman Government twenty-eight piastres thirty two paras every year for each male child, from his birth to his death.
- 193 If an Armenian girl expresses a wish to become a Mohammedan, this gives rise to great jealousy between the Turks and Christians. At the same time the Armenians who profess the

Armenian faith detest any member of their community who has accepted the Roman Catholic or Protestant doctrines. The Christians being much more intolerant towards the dissenters from their respective creeds than the Turks are to the Christians.

There has hardly ever been an instance of a Turk accepting Christianity, but the American missionaries in Asia Minor were said to have converted many Armenians to Protestantism.

The Roman Catholic missionaries have not been idle. A number of Armenians no longer reverence the Patriarch in Constantinople, but look upon the Pope as the Head of their Church.

The Turks laugh in their sleeves at the discord in the ranks of the Christian community. They cannot understand why so much hatred and ill-feeling should exist between people who worship the same Messias. This difference of opinion amongst the Christians is by no means displeasing to the Turkish authorities; it renders any union between the Armenians and Russia exceedingly difficult. 194

The following day I went to see the Armenian schools. In one of them I found 200 girls who, for Turkey, were receiving a fair education. Most of them could read and write. A class for learning embroidery was well attended, some of the elder girls' work being very neatly finished. There were two Mohammedan children in a sewing class. I was informed that many of the Mussulmans had expressed a wish to send their children to the school. 208

Now we came to Tchiflik, an Armenian village. Here there were thirty houses . . . 277

The Armenian in whose house I stopped, complained of his Circassian neighbors. According to him, they had hazy ideas as to the difference between *meum* and *tuum*. Several cows belonging to the villagers had recently disappeared. It was strongly suspected that some Circassians were implicated in the robbery.

The country in the neighborhood was very highly cultivated. The farmers' granaries were full of corn. Hundreds of cows and cattle could be seen grazing along the side of the road.

Sivas, the capital of Armenia Minor, is situated at the head of the valley of the Halys of the ancients. It is the most important military position in this part of Turkey. It commands the sole route which descends with the waters upon the plateau of Asia Minor. Sivas is the key to the Peninsula on the Asiatic side; the Turks ought to fortify this place, particularly when they are threatened in Asia Minor by the Russians. Should the latter succeed in forcing the first line of defense, consisting of Kars, Ardahan, and Bayazid, and afterwards take possession of Erzeroum, there will be no other fortified town between themselves and Scutari. 280

Soon after our arrival I was waited upon by an Italian engineer, who was employed at Sivas by the government. He was the only European in the city, which contains 7,000 houses; however, there were three American missionaries who had been settled in Sivas for several years past with the object of making proselytes. 282

The Italian was accompanied by an Armenian who spoke French. The latter gentleman was very indignant with the Pacha, who had shut up the shops belonging to the Christians during the previous week. It appeared that some of the redif soldiers had pillaged a house in the market place. Several hundred more redifs were expected to arrive at Sivas; there were hardly any regular troops to keep order. The governor had taken the precaution of closing all

the shops belonging to Armenians during the stay of the redifs in the town. This was a precautionary measure. It had given great umbrage to the Christians. My visitor loudly denounced the proceeding.

284 The following day I walked across the square to the prison . . .

285 "What are the prisoners mostly here for?" I asked.

"For robbery and murder. We have a great many Kurds and Circassians for horse and cattle stealing. Then there are a few Armenians, the latter chiefly for crime connected with money matters."

"How many prisoners are there altogether?" I remarked.

"One hundred and two."

"And how many Christians?"

"Six; all the rest belong to Islam."

286 As the population of Sivas is fairly divided | between the two sects, it was very flattering for the Armenians that there should be so few of their number amongst the prisoners . . .

307 The following day I rode to an Armenian monastery, which is known by the name of the Monastery of Nishan or of the cross. It stands on a rising slope, about two miles from Sivas. Its Gothic towers, more than 500 years old, look down upon the town and neighboring villages, and can be seen for many miles around.

308 A large garden, over thirty acres in extent, | enclosed by a high wall made of dried clay, supplies the monks with fruit and vegetables. It bounds the monastery upon one side; on the other there are several farms, which furnish cattle, sheep, and such other live stock as may be required.

A long low passage with damp walls led the way, with many a winding turn, to the apartment which had been reserved for my use.

Here I found the bishop and several other priests belonging to the community. The ceiling of the room was of handsomely carved oak, and divans, as in the Turkish houses, supplied the place of chairs. Some Armenian merchants now arrived, and shortly afterwards dinner was announced.

It was a fast day. The bishop himself could not partake of the dishes. However, he gave permission to the other guests to break the fast, and a turkey stuffed with apples—the *pièce de résistance*—was nothing to the hungry visitors; the dinner being in the Turkish style, made up of a series of surprises to our stomachs.

According to one of the Armenians, the Turkish finance was in an utterly hopeless condition.

309 "Our Government," he remarked, "first said | that it would only issue paper money to the amount of 3,000,000 liras, and we have caime to the value of 11,000,000 liras in circulation!"

"Yes," said another merchant, "the lira is now at 160 piastres, but if there is a war it will rise to 500."

"The Government will be the loser in the long run," he continued, "every one is speculating for the fall, and we are buying up all the gold we can."

I now learned that the Armenian merchants in Sivas employed the telegraph very freely in their monetary speculations. The inhabitants in general only knew of the rise or fall in the

value of their paper money by the post, which arrived once every fortnight. The value of caime in proportion to gold was reckoned according to the date of the post's delivery. But, as the Turkish bank-notes were becoming more and more depreciated every day, the Armenian merchants who employed the telegraph were able to make large sums by buying up all the gold in the district, and pocketing the difference between the actual exchange and that which passed current at Sivas.

There is but little export trade from Sivas. Tobacco is the staple produce of the country. 314
All the articles imported are very dear, owing to the expense of transport from Samsoun, the roads between Sivas and that port being very bad.

Sugar, I was informed, costs eighteen pence a pound. If an enterprising inhabitant were to start a manufactory of this article of consumption, he would speedily make an immense fortune. Beetroot and a peculiar sort of sweet carrot abound throughout the district. The first-mentioned vegetable can be bought for eight shillings a ton. It might be grown for very much less. Any amount of water power could be brought | from the neighboring mountains to bear 315
upon machinery. Coal is also to be found in the neighborhood. This part of Anatolia is supplied with sugar from Constantinople. If it were manufactured on the spot, the profit would be very great, for the cost of carriage would be saved; in all probability it would utterly supplant the Constantinople sugar, and soon find a market throughout the whole of Asia Minor.

Dudusa is an Armenian village . . . 320

The town <of Divriki> is said to contain about 3,400 houses, of which 3,000 belong to 336
Turks, and the remainder to Armenians.

There was no very active trade in Divriki. The Armenians supplied the people of the town 343
with the few goods which they might require at exorbitant prices.

In addition to this, most of the Christians were usurers. Any Mohammedan who chanced to require a loan had to pay his Armenian fellow citizen a very high rate of interest. However, in this respect, Divriki is not an exception to the towns in Anatolia, and in almost every district which I visited I found that the leading Christians in the community had made their money by usurious dealings. In some instances, old Turkish families had been entirely ruined, their descendants were lying in gaol at the suit of Armenian money lenders.

I was now to learn that the usury laws in Turkey are also used against the Christians . . . 344

<Vol. II>

Arabkir is built in such a straggling fashion, that, although it only contains about 3,000 7
houses, it extends for a distance of six miles. The houses are built on each side of a deep ravine. The streets, which are very precipitous, lead, in some instances, over the flat roofs of the dwellings. The latter were many of them built of stone, and an air of cleanliness prevailed throughout the town.

Large gardens, planted with all sorts of fruit trees, surrounded the houses. Long avenues of mulberry-trees were to be met with in every direction.

I stopped for a few minutes at the prison, and, dismounting, walked into the building. There were only seven prisoners—six Turks and one Armenian—the latter for attempting to pass false money, the Mohammedans for robberies and debt.

The population in Arabkir is equally divided between the Turks and Armenians. It was very creditable to the latter that there should be only one Armenian in the gaol. By all
8 accounts, there was very little crime in this district, and the prison of Arabkir would be often for weeks together without a single criminal within its walls.

12 The Caimacam . . . accompanied me to the Armenian school.

There were about a hundred boys in the establishment. The moment I arrived they commenced an Armenian song, headed by one of the masters—an elderly gentleman, who sang through his nose. A performer on an ancient harpsichord, which from its signs of age might have belonged to Queen Anne, accompanied the vocalists. The words, I was informed, were about the glories of Armenia, what a fine nation the Armenians were, and how some day Armenia will lift up her head once more. My host interpreted to me these verses.

“Do you think that Armenia will ever be independent?” I inquired.

He shook his head.

“Russia will very likely be here in a year or two, and then we shall be much more oppressed than we are at present. Why, the Russian Government will not allow this song to be sung in
13 our schools at Tiflis. Everything is done to make my fellow-countrymen in the Caucasus forget their own language and nationality, and to thoroughly Russify them. If the Russians were to come here, our religion would soon disappear,” he continued.

“But some of your priests rather like the Russians?”

“Some people would sell their souls to obtain a cross or an order,” said another Armenian. “But every patriot amongst us who has read of what our country once was will scorn the idea of being degraded into a Muscovite.”

“Are the Russians so very degraded?” I remarked.

“They possess all the vices of the Turks, and none of their good qualities. They drink like swine; many of their officials embezzle the public money; and as to lying, they can even outdo the Greeks in this respect.”

“You have not a high opinion of the Tzar’s people?” I observed.

“No, Effendi; better a hundred times remain as we are than be forced to submit to his rule.”

“Is that really so? I thought that you were always complaining about the want of liberty in Turkey,” I remarked.

14 “Yes, Effendi, all we wish for is to be placed on the same footing as the Turks themselves. This is the Sultan’s desire; a firman has been issued to that effect, but it is a dead letter. The Cadis ought to carry out the law; they will not do so. They ought to be forced to carry out the Padishah’s orders.”

18 In about three hours’ time <from Arabkir> we reached Shephe, an Armenian village. I halted here for a few minutes to bait our animals.

The proprietor of the house where we dismounted spoke highly of the Caimacam at Arabkir. However, he freely cursed the Kurds, who in the summer-time committed many depredations in the neighborhood. In the months of June and July, no man's life was in safety. There were so few Zaptiehs in the province that the robbers could carry on their trade with impunity.

Presently we passed a stream called the Erman Su. It is spanned by a good stone bridge. On reaching the other side, I found myself in a broad, well-cultivated plain. The ruins of a large city lay heaped up by the river's banks. This was the site of Hara Bazar, an Armenian town which flourished long before either Arabkir or Egin were built. The ruins lay some little distance from the path, I did not visit them. My guide informed me that the debris consists of enormous stones. These are the wonder of the villagers, who generally build their houses of mud. They cannot conceive what manner of men were their ancestors who had taken the trouble to bring such massive slabs from the distant mountains. The village of Ashoot stands in the middle of the plain, and is composed of fifty-one houses, all belonging to Mohammedans.

<Egin> . . . is a long, straggling town, with a population of 10,000 souls, and much resembles Arabkir. We rode over the roofs of many houses ere we reached our destination.

I now went to the Armenian church. It was carpeted with thick Persian rugs like a mosque. Several pictures in gaudy frames were hung against the wall. The building was crowded with devotees; the galleries being filled with women; their faces were invisible, owing to the lattice-work. However, some bright eyes peering inquisitively through the holes in the screen were quite sufficient to turn a man's thoughts in their direction.

The priest put on his robes—several little boys assisting him in his toilette; a heavy, yellow silk garment, with a cross emblazoned in gold upon the back, was drawn on over his every-day apparel. Some more little boys bustled about with long candles, and seemed to do their best to get into each other's way, then the service began.

Two songs were sung by the choir—first one for the Queen of England, as a sort of compliment to the nationality of the foreign visitor; and then another for the Sultan. The old priest next addressed the congregation, and said that they must do everything in their power to help the Sultan in this war against Russia, who was a mortal enemy to the Armenian religion.

The Caimacam was standing by me in the church, and seemed pleased at the discourse.

"It is good! very good!" he said. "I wonder if the priest means it."

The worthy Turk's meditations were suddenly interrupted. Some insect had bitten him.

"These Armenians are very dirty, they do not wash," he added. "Let us go."

Everybody bowed as he walked down the nave, and we then proceeded to the Protestant church.

This was nothing but a large room in the clergyman's house. On our entry, some boys sang a hymn in English. They pronounced the words tolerably well, though they were ignorant of their meaning, the clergyman who spoke our language having taught his pupils merely to read the Roman characters. There were no pictures or images of any kind in the room. A simple baptismal font was its sole ornament. After the hymn had concluded, the

clergyman, without putting on any extra vestments, addressed his congregation in a few straightforward and practical sentences, saying that as it was the duty of the Jews to pay tribute to Caesar, it was equally proper for all true Christians to respect the Turkish authorities; that the Turks were on the eve of a great struggle with a power which oppressed all religions but its own, and consequently it was the duty of all Armenian Protestants to aid the Government in the forthcoming struggle, and shed the last drop of their blood for the Padishah.

The inhabitants of the town are not a trading community, most of them live by agriculture. There was a considerable amount of grumbling to be heard about the bankrupt state of the country; I learned that many of the farmers had invested their savings in Turkish bonds, and had lost their capital.

- 50 There are 800 houses or about 4,000 inhabitants in Kemach, and barley is very plentiful throughout the district, the price for the maintenance of my five horses not exceeding seven pence per day.

This town had been visited by an English traveler about five years previous; whereas no Englishman, so far as I could learn, had been in Divriki or Arabkir in the memory of the oldest inhabitant.

- 54 Some pretty Armenian women <in Erzingan> were standing on the roofs of their houses. They were not so particular about veiling themselves as their compatriots in Sivas. They stared at the procession with wondering eyes. The Pacha's carriage was not often seen in the streets of Erzingan. It was only vehicle of the kind within an area of 150 miles. It was only brought out on state occasions, religious ceremonies, or when some very important visitor arrived. This was quite enough to set the ladies in Erzingan on the *qui vive*; the European dresses of my servant and self whetted their curiosity still more.

- Erzingan is different to either Egin or Arabkir both of which towns are built upon the sides of a mountain. Erzingan stands in the middle of large plain, the Kara Su—Black Water—as
55 the Euphrates is here called, running through the plain a few miles south of the city. I now made the acquaintance of a very intelligent Turk. He was an officer with the rank of major, but employed as the superintendent of a large manufactory, which had been established to supply the troops in Asia Minor with boots. He had spent three years in France, where he had studied everything connected with the trade in question. In addition to this he was a fair chemist and mineralogist.

He informed me that there were ebony forests in the neighborhood of Erzeroum. A great deal of this wood used formerly to be bought by Armenian merchants and dispatched to France. Of late years this branch of industry has been neglected. Iron, silver, and gold, could be found here, but the people were much too idle to search for these metals. The lead-mines were worked to a small extent by the Kurds. These mountaineers required this substance for bullets and shot. The lead in the towns of Asia Minor was all brought from Constantinople.

- 61 "If there be a war in Asia Minor, they <Russians> will do their best to excite our Kurds to massacre the Armenians in the neighborhood of Van, and will then throw all the blame upon our shoulders."

“Do you think that the Russians will be able to conquer you in Asia Minor?” I inquired. 62

“No, we are the strongest in this part of the world. The Georgians, Tartars, and Circassians hate the Russians, and will rise against them; besides that there are no roads.”

“But Russia has taken Kars before.”

“Yes, but she will not do so this time, and I should not be surprised if we were to go to Tiflis instead.”

This I subsequently found to be the prevailing opinion amidst all the civil and military Pachas in Asia Minor.

Erzeroum is the principal depot for the caravan trade which is carried on by the merchants 82 in Teheran and their *confrères* in Constantinople. *Timbaki*, the tobacco used in nargilehs, is exported from Persia to this part of Asia Minor. Of late, the Turkish authorities have increased the duty on timbaki from eight to seventy-six per cent. This has been done in consequence of many Turks liking the Persian plant better than that which is grown in their own country. The price of ordinary timbaki was formerly only twenty-five piastres an oke at Constantinople, whilst Turkish tobacco of the same quality costs as much as sixty-one.

Ismail Pacha [the civil governor] was doubtful whether in the event of war he would be able to keep the Kurds quiet in the neighborhood of Erzeroum. Russian agents had been busily engaged for some time past in attempting to suborn these mountaineers. Money I had 83 been lavished upon their chiefs. Anxiety was pressed as to which side they would take.

One thing seemed to be the unanimous opinion of all classes in Erzeroum—with the 97 exception possibly of the Russian Consul, whose acquaintance I did not have the pleasure of making; this was, that should the Armenians ever get the upper hand in Anatolia, their government would be much more corrupt than the actual administration. It was corroborated by the Armenians themselves; the stories which they told me of several of the wealthier and more influential of their fellow-countrymen thoroughly bore out the idea.

. . . I had made up my mind to see Van, and the more particularly because I had been 119 informed by many of my Armenian acquaintances that the bazaar there had been recently set on fire by some Turkish troops, and that the Christians had been robbed of all their effects by the Mussulman soldiers. The bazaar was represented to me as having been of gigantic dimensions. The Armenian merchants in Van were said to have been reduced from a state of 120 affluence to one of abject poverty.

I was anxious to ascertain for myself how far this story was true; and as it is perfectly impossible to trust to any evidence in the east, save to that of your own eyes, I had determined to visit the seat of the conflagration.

<At the Armenian village of Herteff> the owner of the house where we stopped was not a 132 cleanly object. His domicile was as dirty as his person. His wife and children were manufacturing some tezek for fuel in one of the two rooms the house contained; this room was given over for the use of my party and self. It was bitterly cold outside. To keep the habitation tolerably warm, the owner had blocked up a hole in the roof, used as ventilator, chimney, and window. The smell of the tezek, and the ammonia arising from the horses and

cattle, was excessively disagreeable. There was no other accommodation to be obtained. Mohammed presently informed me that two merchants had been waiting three days in the village. They wished to go to Van, and had made several attempts to cross the mountain, but in vain.

The wife of the Armenian host, and her children, were not at all coy about showing their faces—at least so much of them as the dirt did not hide from our view. They squatted round
 133 my English servant, who was making tea, and watched | his proceedings with great interest. Now the woman, sticking her filthy fingers into the basin, took out a lump of sugar; then, putting it in turn into each of her children's mouths, she had a suck herself. "Give it me!" suddenly exclaimed her husband. The lady did not show any signs of readiness to surrender the prize. The man sprang to his feet; thrusting a finger and thumb into the mouth of his helpmate, at the same time clasping her tightly round the throat with the other hand, so as to avoid being bitten, he extracted the delicacy. Holding the sweet morsel high in the air, he displayed the treasure to the assembled guests; then, greatly to the woman's indignation, he placed it within his own jaws.

139 I left Herteff for Bayazid . . .

We crossed the Araxes on the ice. The river was said to be only two feet deep. Kupri Kui was about one mile from our track. Here there is a bridge over the stream, which is about thirty yards wide, besides being deep. Our track was firm and level. There were no mountains to cross. Every now and then we passed by villages; they all contained soldiers, and, so far as I could learn, there were about 8,000 troops echeloned between Erzeroum and Bayazid.

After a seven hours' march, we halted at Yusueri, an Armenian village.

155 We reached Zedhane, an Armenian village with about thirty houses.

160 We met with some Armenian lads riding calves, and driving others before them, the driven
 161 animals carrying pack-saddles, which were laden with sacks of corn. The Christians in this | district make use of their cattle as beasts of burden. It is not at all an uncommon sight to see Armenians, man and wife, riding to market on cows and oxen. Buffaloes are much in request with the inhabitants on account of the great strength of these animals. Some of the richer Christians possess from twenty to thirty buffaloes, two of which are considered a fair price for a girl—it being the custom of the poorer Armenians in certain districts to receive money from their sons-in-law, and seldom, if ever, to give any dowry to their daughters. On my remarking this one day, when in conversation with a Christian, the latter replied,—

"Our daughters are our maid-servants, when they marry we lose their services. It is quite right that the husband should compensate us for our loss. Europeans educate their girls very well, but the latter are utterly useless as cooks or sweepers. When they marry, the fathers lose nothing, but, on the contrary, gain, as they have no longer to pay for their daughters' maintenance or clothes. It is quite proper that you should give a husband something when he saddles himself with a useless incumbrance; and you have no right to find fault with us for our system."

228 The snow disappeared as we approached town of Van. We rode by a small lake, about

twelve miles from our halting-place. Continuing on over a succession of table-lands, the path sloped down towards the great lake or sea, to which the capital of Armenia gives a name.

Van stands in a plain and is surrounded by orchards filled with fruit-trees. The ground in the neighborhood is highly cultivated, corn and other cereals flourishing throughout the district.

I had sent forward a letter of introduction to the governor of Van from Ismail Pacha of Erzeroum. The man to whom I had given the epistle had not taken the trouble to it. The governor was quite ignorant of my arrival.

I stopped at his house, and, going up the reception-chamber, found him busily engaged in conversation with an official who had recently arrived from Constantinople, to inquire into the excesses said to have been committed by some soldiers upon the Armenians in Van.

The Pacha received me very courteously, in spite of my not having a letter for him; he 229 remarked, with a smile, that there were no hotels in Van as in Constantinople, and said that he would provide me with a room in a barrack which had been lately erected in the town.

The officer commanding the garrison now entered the room, and accompanied me to my quarters. The barrack was two stories high, and in the form of a square, with a courtyard for drill in the center of the building. The officers' and men's rooms were on the first story, and below them the stables for the horses. The apartment given me was large and clean. The walls were whitewashed, the floor was covered with Persian carpet. A large looking-glass—the first I had seen since I quitted our consul's house in Erzeroum—was suspended from the walls.

There were only half a battalion of infantry and a battery of Krupp guns at that time in Van. The remainder of the garrison, consisting of one battalion and a half, had marched the previous week to the neighborhood of Bitlis, where some Kurds had burnt down a Turkish guard-house.

"Nadir Shah besieged this town for seven years," continued the officer, "look at the marks 233 of some of his handiwork." With these words he showed us a few holes in the wall which had apparently been made by artillery fire.

Many ancient Greek and Assyrian coins had been found in the neighborhood of the citadel and, according to the doctor, the place abounds with inscriptions in characters which cannot be read by any of the inhabitants.

There is a well of naphtha about fifty yards from the block-house. The commandant, going with me to the spot, made a soldier draw out some of the contents. The well was very deep, and the inhabitants of Van had used the naphtha from time immemorial. The doctor was doubtful as to whether it was a natural well, or merely a large cistern which had been filled many years ago with this liquid, possibly for the use of the garrison.

The commissioner who had been sent from Constantinople, to inquire about the recent 238 disturbances at Van, and the burning of the Armenian bazaar, entered the room. He informed me that immediately after the conflagration had occurred, fabulous reports as to the amount of the property destroyed had been published in the Armenian papers. It was first stated that 1,000,000 liras would not cover the loss experienced by the merchants in Van. Subsequently it was said that 200,000 liras in specie had been stolen by the Turkish soldiery, and that goods to the value of 300,000 liras had been destroyed by the flames.

When the commissioner arrived at Van, his first act was to make a list of all the merchants who had shops in the bazaar. Then, sending for each man separately, he asked him what was the nature of his merchandise, and at how much he valued his losses. When the commissioner added up the sums claimed by all the merchants in Van, he found that the total amount did not exceed 96,000 liras. In addition to this the Armenians acknowledged having saved goods to the value of 10,000 liras.

239 In the official's opinion 23,000 liras would cover the entire loss; and from what I afterwards saw of the ruins of the bazaar, and judging from the small area over which they extended, I am inclined to believe that he had fairly estimated the damage.

The Armenian newspapers, probably instigated by Russian agents, had declared that the Turkish troops stationed in Van had first set fire to the bazaar, and then pillaged it in the confusion. The commissioner, after the most searching inquiries, was unable to discover that the troops were in any way implicated in the affair. Several Armenians kept petroleum and lucifer matches in their ware houses: his idea was that the fire originated either by spontaneous combustion, or through some one accidentally dropping a lighted match.

The soldiers had been called out to help to extinguish the fire. Thinking that the men might have stolen something during the conflagration, the commissioner asked the commander to issue an order for all the garrison to march to Erzeroum on the following morning. This was done. Shortly afterwards the different battalions left the town. The commissioner, accompanied by some Armenian merchants, met the troops on the road. The soldiers' baggage was then searched, and each man in succession. Nothing was found which could in any way connect the troops with the robbery.

240 I now walked to an extempore market which the Armenians are making use of until the old one is reconstructed. With the exception of quantities of rough silk brought from Persia, raw cotton, and carbonate of soda, which had been taken from the lake, there was literally nothing to see.

It was said that there were 20,000 inhabitants in the town; I am inclined to believe that the number has been exaggerated. The market place which had been destroyed by fire stood 241 on a very small area of ground. The impression conveyed to my mind was that the whole town did not contain above 16,000 inhabitants. The Pacha receives a yearly salary of 2,200 liras, and is paid in gold. The other officials are not so fortunate; the pay of the commander of the garrison only amounted to 20*l.* a month, and was always several months in arrear; in addition to this he was paid in Turkish bank notes. The Hungarian had a contract with the Government; his pay amounted to 17*l.* per month, and had to be given him in gold; in consequence of this, he was quite as well off as the commander.

From the market-place I went to the Armenian church, which stands in the middle of the town. It consists of several rooms, one of them being very much like a wooden barn, the others are built of stone with arched roofs. There was nothing to be seen in the building save a few tawdry pictures of saints; it was carpeted in the same way as the Turkish mosques. The priest who accompanied us, raising a curtain, showed me an inscription in cuneiform characters cut in the stone.

"This part of the building is very old," he said; "it was formerly a heathen temple."

"How old?" I inquired.

"One thousand eight hundred years," said the priest.

"Nonsense, brother," said another. "It is two thousand."

"Say three thousand, and you will be nearer the mark," added a third.

It was evident that none of these gentlemen had any data to go upon for their calculations, I left the church rather disappointed. I had hoped that some of the divines might be able to give me information as to the antiquities of the city. The Armenian clergy do not trouble their heads about such matters; their time is so taken up in the performance of idolatrous rites, and in looking after the welfare of the fairer portion of their flock, that they have not a moment to spare for the study of the ancient history of Armenia.

The Armenian who wishes to be a priest must serve in six different grades before he can be ordained. He must be an exorcist, porter, reader, sub-deacon, candle-lighter, and deacon. If he has any interest with his bishop, he can pass through all these grades in one day.

As a priest, he is allowed to marry; however, like the clergy belonging to the Greek Church, if his wife dies, the Armenian cannot take unto himself a second spouse. He then may become a monk, and live, free of expense, in one of the monasteries. Next in order, but above the monks, are the bishops and the two patriarchs—one residing in Constantinople, the other at Jerusalem—the patriarch at Constantinople being looked up to by the Armenians as a sort of civil head, besides being their spiritual guide. We now come to the Catolicos, who is first of all in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He lives in Russia, near Mount Ararat, and is the chief personage of the Armenian Church.

All bishops and priests have to wear beards. The bishops are ordained by the Catolicos, and a council of bishops consecrates the latter. The Armenian Christians worship pictures; confess to their priests; offer prayers for the dead, and ask for the intercession of their saints. An oil is used for the baptism of children. It is called *meira*. The Armenians believe that this oil has boiled without any fire having been placed under it, and they think that this has been effected through the miraculous power of the Catolicos. Whoever and whatever touches this oil is made holy, and is looked upon as having been sanctified.

The Catolicos sells the *meira*, and makes a very large sum by the sale of the oil. The other revenues of the Church arise from baptismal and burial fees, prayers for the dead, taxes imposed upon the people by the ecclesiastics, voluntary contributions, and money left in the wills of devotees.

According to an American missionary at Erzeroum, the Rev. Moses Parmelee . . . "many of their higher ecclesiastics become very wealthy at the expense of the poor people whom they cheat and oppress."¹⁹

It was the 7th of March. I had already spent several days in Van, and, contrary to my hopes, had not benefited by the rest. I was still suffering from dysentery; instead of the complaint getting better, it had become worse. By all account we should be able to find milk in most of the Kurd and Yezed villages between Van and Kars; so I determined to start for the latter place and try what a milk and rice diet would do towards restoring my health and strength. We rode for two hours by the side of the lake; then, leaving the blue water, ascended a low range of hills. The sun's rays were very powerful; a mirage was formed before us. Miles upon miles of water were reflected in the sky. Presently we crossed a little stream known as the Mahmod Tchui, and after a short march halted at Gull—a small village with thirty houses, half belonging to Armenians, half to Mohammedans.

246 The morn breaks. We ride over some high table-land, and then return to the lake. Our
route lies along its shores. Sand-hills slope down to the water's edge; myriads of starlings flit
247 about | the beach; pelicans and other wild fowl sail along the surface of the deep. After a six
hours' journey we rest at Paz—a small Kurd village with only ten houses.

The following day we marched along a good track to Tishikoomlekui, a devil-worshippers' village. Then crossing the Bendimah river—here about thirty yards wide—on a stone bridge, we continued to Karahana, and so on to Ardisch, an Armenian village with 200 houses and a resident Caimacam.

248 We reached Akserai. I was informed by my host, an Armenian, that the Christians in this district live in constant dread of their warlike neighbors, the Kurds—and the more particularly of the Kurds from Persia. These mountaineers some times made raids upon the villages, and committed all sorts of excesses on the women. Only three months previous a scene of this description had taken place at Akserai. The Kurds had come there in the night: five of the females in the village had been ravished by the assailants.

The Armenian who gave me this information declared that he liked the Pacha at Van, but said that the latter was powerless to prevent these attacks. There were 5,000 Kurds in the
249 mountains, | and all were well-armed men.

261 I now crossed the Melaskert river. Here our guide had a narrow escape of being carried away by the torrent. Presently we arrived at Tchekhane, an Armenian village, about eight miles distant from the town of Toprak Kale.

268 I managed to reach Zedhane, a village which we had stopped at on our way to Bayazid, and which lay on the route between Van and Kars.

We rode to Daha, passing by Kurdali, a small village, seven miles from Zedhane, and with some strong positions, from a military point of view, in the neighborhood. The track was very different to what it had been a few weeks previous. There was little snow, and we were able to reach Daha in five hours. Our course was almost due north, and ran through a broad mountain pass to Hassan Bek, a Kurd hamlet, and from there to Bash, an Armenian village with a hundred Khans. Here a battalion was quartered. The men had fought at Alexinatz, and, according to their lieutenant-colonel, an officer whose acquaintance I had made at Erzeroum, they were eager to cross bayonets again with the Russians.

We left Bash, and after a two hours' march crossed the Araxes on a rickety wooden bridge. It had been made by an enterprising Circassian. There is a ford several miles down the stream, but the Circassian had thought that, if he were to make this bridge, a great many passengers
269 would prefer taking the short cut, and would | gladly pay a few piastres for the privilege of crossing the structure.

We came to the village of Karakroot, in which the Circassian lived. The sheik, a fine-looking man, informed us that here there were only twenty-five houses, but there were 1,005 houses which belonged to people of his nation in the neighborhood. In the event of war, the inhabitants of this district could muster 2,000 horsemen. The houses belonging to these Circassians were far cleaner than any which I had seen in the Kurdish or Armenian villages. They were all built of wood, with wooden floors. A small enclosure, made of sharp-pointed

stakes, surrounded each of the dwellings. There were quantities of buffaloes, cows, and sheep in some adjacent fields, and the granaries were said to be well supplied with corn and barley.

The inhabitants were smart-looking fellows, and all of them dressed in their national attire—in tight-fitting sheepskin coats, with the wool worn inside, and buckled round their waists by a narrow leathern strap, studded with buttons; broad leather trousers, stuffed into high boots covered their legs, and small Astrachan caps their heads.

For arms, the men carried long daggers in | their waist-belts—many of the hilts being 270 beautifully worked in silver.

There were several women and girls in the village. They did not conceal themselves, as is the custom of the Armenian or Turkish women. We had the opportunity of looking at their faces. I was under the impression that the Circassian girls were very fair. This is not the case; they more resemble the Spanish belles, and have a clear olive complexion, through which you can discern the blue veins. One girl was very good-looking. She could not have been more than sixteen, and sat the horse on which she was mounted with more grace and ease than any of her male companions.

The chief features in all these women are their eyes and teeth. The former are very large, and the latter small, well-shaped and white as pearls. Tooth powder is unknown in this district. How they preserve their teeth so perfectly is to a European an enigma.

You see men of from sixty to seventy years age who have never lost a tooth, each one is white as the purest ivory. The Circassians have another advantage, from a European point of view, over the Kurds. They do not sleep in their cow hovels. The stables are | separated from 271 the apartments reserved for the family.

We rode by several more Circassian villages, and after passing Gedjerharman, which is a nine hours' march from Bash, came to a district inhabited by Turks and Armenians. The latter complained of their warlike neighbors the Circassians, and declared that a Turk had been killed the previous evening, in a quarrel with one of the mountaineers. All this part of the track was in good order. Seven hours after leaving Gedjerharman we entered the plain around Kars. In rear of the town, which is built in the form of a sickle or half-moon, are some high mountains. A series of detached forts occupying commanding positions defends the approaches to the citadel. This last stands in the north-west angle of the town.

Seven battalions of infantry were drilling in the plain. They presented a more martial appearance than any of the troops which I had previously seen in Asia Minor.

The streets of Kars were in a filthy state. Every house was crammed with soldiers. The whole sewerage of the population had been thrown in front of the buildings. Fortunately the weather was cold.

"Do the Armenians in this town <Kars> like the Russians?" I now inquired. 278

"Not at all," said the doctor. "Only seven months ago the Grand Duke Michael visited Gumri, the Russian frontier fortress. When he was there he inspected the Armenian schools, and made a speech to the girls in one of these institutions. After a few remarks about the | progress they were making, the Grand Duke concluded his discourse by addressing their 279 mothers in these words, 'Rappelez-vous bien que le lait avec lequel vous nourrissez vos enfants doit être le lait Russe.' The Armenians are immensely vain of their nationality. This speech of the Grand Duke incensed them very much against him. The Russian prince made himself still

more unpopular a few days later,” continued the doctor. “In the course of a visit to the master of one of the Armenian schools, he observed some pictures in the schoolroom. ‘What pictures are these?’ he inquired. ‘They are likenesses of some of the former kings of Armenia,’ replied the schoolmaster. ‘You have no right to have any portraits here save those of the Tzar and of the members of the Imperial family,’ said the Grand Duke, ‘you shall go to prison.’”

280 An Armenian gentleman entered the room; he corroborated everything that the doctor had said, and presently remarked that many years ago the Emperor Nicholas had given the Patriarch Mateos a document in which the Tzar granted full religious liberty to all Armenians in Russia. “Our Patriarch kept this deed always on his person,” continued the speaker. One day he died very suddenly, and under rather suspicious circumstances. His successor searched everywhere for the document, but could not find it. At length he discovered a copy: he then wrote to the authorities in Tiflis, and asked for a fresh paper. His request was refused, and at the same time he was informed that no such religious liberty had ever been granted to the Armenians.”

Dudley Campbell—b.1833

Turks and Greeks—Notes on a Recent Excursion.

London, Macmillan and Co., 1877

A.D. 1877

Mr. Curteis, an Anglican clergyman who has worked for twenty years at Pera, and is well 66 acquainted with many Armenians of high position in the Armenian Church, told me something about the government of the Armenian provinces. “The Governors,” he said, “are often in league with the Kourds, robber tribes living in the mountains over the border. These men from time to time make raids on the plains of Armenia, carrying off everything they can conveniently lay their hands upon; and to secure freedom from molestation whilst engaged in their business, they give the Governors a portion of the spoil.” He assured me that in this region there was even less security for life and property than in the European provinces.

For a state of things so lamentable, I admitted even by the Ottoman Government to be 67 indefensible, as shown by reiterated promises of amendment,—is reform to come from within or from without? I used to hear the present Sultan praised as a man really anxious to sweep away abuses; but in his youth his education was purposely neglected, and though nominally all-powerful, he is not equal to coping with such even of the evils around him as he succeeds in understanding.

Reform, in the opinion of most of the Europeans in Turkey I conversed with, can only be hoped for as a result of very strong pressure on the part of the Great Powers.

As far as I could learn, the misgovernment of the Christian provinces of Turkey had for 73 years been of a kind to justify rebellion, if rebellion can ever be justified. Men accepting this view cannot easily see the harm of suggesting resistance, or even of lending a hand to I push 74 aside the oppressor.

Linus Pierpont Brockett—1820–1893

The Cross and the Crescent; or, Russia, Turkey, and the Countries Adjacent, in 1876–7.

Philadelphia, Hubbard Bros., Publishers, 1877

A.D.1877

- 223 A small number <of Mohametans> have renounced their old faith, and have been received by baptism into the communion of the Armenian, Protestant, and Romish Churches. There can be no doubt that the collapse of the Turkish empire in Europe would be followed by the conversion to Christianity of large numbers of these Mohametan inquiries.

. . . The Christians of Turkey are in a condition much more favorable to improvement, so far as it depends upon their own mental and moral preparation. They have been brought to perhaps the lowest degree of degradation possible for nominal Christians, by causes, whose severity and long continuance are unparalleled in the world's history. The Moslem had most cruelly oppressed them for four centuries; their schools had long been closed, their books destroyed, and they had been compelled to give up the use of their own Christian tongue, and to speak only Turkish; they were reduced to beggary, and worked for their living with an

- 224 incessant and bitter persecution constantly pursuing them, not so much | carried on by the government as by the whole ruling race.

James Baker—?

Turkey.

New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1877

A.D. 1877

Division of the Population <in the Ottoman Empire>.—

440

I.—Races

Persian	3,620,000
Armenians	2,500,000
Kurds	1,000,000
Druses, etc.	120,000

II.—Religions

Armenian Church	Armenians	2,290,000
Roman Catholic Church	Armenians	45,000
Protestant Church	Armenians	5,000

In 1876 the *Salnamé*²⁰ had at Constantinople alone 470 schools, of which 280 were 458 Mussulman, and 190 non-Mussulman; the latter were divided as follows:—Greek 77, Armenian 48, Armenian Catholics 8, Bulgarian 4, Jews 47, Protestants 5, Servian 1.

Randall Roberts—b.1837

The Eastern Question—Asia Minor and the Caucasus.

Boston, James R. Osgood and Company, 1877

A.D. 1877

- 9 Turkey in Asia may be divided into six grand divisions; viz., Anadolia, Karamania, Roum or Sivas, Marash, Syria, and Bagdad.

The north-eastern portion of Turkey in Asia, once known under the name of Armenia, has like Poland been split up into “Pachalics” or Eyalets, and appropriated by Russia, Persia, and Turkey, without consideration. Of these Pachalics, Trebizond, Erzeroum, Diarbekir, Kars, Bayazid, Marash, and Mosul are under the sway of the Sultan.

- 10 These Pachalics, as nearest to the Russian frontier, like the Moldo-Wallachian provinces in Europe, have always been a scene of bloodshed and rapine whenever Turkey and Russia have gone to war; and it is in these Pachalics that public interest is centered at this moment.

Trebizond, the most important Turkish seaport on the Fena Kara Degniz, or the “Bad Black Sea,” is the capital of the Pachalic from which it takes its name. As you approach Trebizond from the sea, the scenery on the Asiatic coast is grand in the extreme. Precipitous cliffs meet the waves of the Black Sea, whose spray is dashed against their sides to an immense height. Farther inland lofty ranges of mountains tower to the skies in rugged magnificence. These hills are rich in bituminous coal, but with one exception, that of Ergale, their resources are left idle, although English coal is imported to Constantinople, where it costs a fabulous price. It is surprising that with this mine of wealth at their feet the Turks permit the precious mineral to remain undeveloped; but the Turkish character is a jealous one, and they would rather sustain a heavy loss than permit foreigners to develop that which they are too lazy to do themselves.

- 11 Stretching away to the westward as far as Sinope are vast forests of immense trees, such as one would have little conception of. These forests are the home of the stag and the wild boar: the latter, from his sacred character, remains unmolested. To the east the great chain of the Circassian Mountains come into view in all their grandeur.

The appearance of Trebizond is exceedingly imposing. The town is built upon a flat table land, from which situation it takes its name . . . There is no harbor, the coast being perfectly open; but the anchorage is good, and several jetties have been run out for the protection of ships. It is from Trebizond that most of the manufactured goods from Europe find their way into Central Asia, especially Manchester stuffs; so large indeed is the trade that the imports for one year alone have been computed at £2,100,000 sterling or thereabouts. Like most Oriental cities, so it is with Trebizond; no sooner one land than the picture vanishes. The streets are narrow, execrably paved, and filthily dirty. The houses covered with fig-trees, or

- 12 hidden under the branches of orange and lemon trees, present blank walls to the streets. There is plenty of life and bustle in the bazaars, which contain an immense quantity of rubbish of all sorts. Old matchlocks, fruit, country cheeses, saddlery and harness, which latter must have been handed down from the time of the Milesians when they first colonized this portion of

the coast, Turkish fez, slippers and pipes innumerable, seem to be the staple commodities. Here, too, one sees a fair specimen of the old Turkish merchant, seated before his stall, cross-legged and beturbaned, with the everlasting hookah in his mouth. Osmanlis, Greeks, Armenians, and a few Circassians, compose the population; of these the Osmanlis are the most numerous, and reside within the walls, whilst the remainder inhabit the suburbs. Trebizond is well worth inspection, if it is only for the sake of the monuments of the past which it possesses . . .

It is quite impossible to defend Trebizond, either by land or sea, in consequence of the nature of the country, and the open and exposed coast; so that, should the Russians succeed in taking Erzeroum, Trebizond is entirely at their mercy. At the same time the difficulty of advancing along the tracks which they are pleased to call roads through this mountainous country is indeed immense, often taking a week to accomplish. 13

The journey from Trebizond to Erzeroum is an undertaking not only of fatigue, but of absolute danger; for the road runs but too often along the brink of a fearful precipice, without the protection even of a rail fence or low stone wall of any kind, so that a false step may dash the unwary traveler to pieces on the rocks hundreds of feet below him. There are but two inns in Trebizond, and these of a very inferior description. The cooking is none of the best or of the cleanest; and the beds are capable of much improvement in many ways. Excellent fish is, however, procurable; and amongst the various species there is the delicious red mullet, the woodcock of the sea, which is caught here in large quantities. 14

The next place of importance requiring our attention is the city of Erzeroum, the ancient capital of Armenia, distant from Trebizond one hundred and eighty miles. It has been said with much truth, that Erzeroum is the key to Asia Minor. The town, from its situation, is not only the center of commerce, and a *dépôt* for all sorts of provisions and merchandise; but all the main roads from Batoum and Trebizond on the north, Kars on the east, Diarbekr and Van on the south, and Ersezigian and Tokat on the west, find a center in Erzeroum. It is situated on a large plain, surrounded on all sides by high mountains; amongst the highest being that of the Devé Dagh, or Camel Mountain. The summits of most of these mountains are covered with perpetual snow. 15

The plain of Erzeroum lies at a height of seven thousand feet above the level of the sea; and the city contains to-day from thirty to thirty-five thousand inhabitants. The old town of Erzeroum is nearly square, surrounded by a thick but crumbling wall flanked by watch-towers, and retaining many attributes of its Byzantine origin. There is nothing very striking in its architecture beyond the peculiarity of the manner in which the houses are built.

The severity of the winter in this part of Asia Minor has suggested the mode of architecture; and the natural laziness of the Turk has never made any alteration in a method adopted by an old and effete generation. When the British commissioner visited Erzeroum on the mission already alluded to,—viz., the drawing-up of a treaty of peace, and the settling of the boundary line,—he gave the following description; it is one I can vouch for as being at any rate literally true, and will give the reader an idea of the manner in which houses are built in this Asiatic portion of the sultan's dominions:—

“Our house, like most of the others, was built with great solidity, of rough stone, with large blocks at the corners. The roof was flat, and covered with green turf. The windows were small, like port-holes; but the door was a large arch, through which we rode into the gloomy, 16

sepulchral-looking hall, out of which opened the stables on the right hand, the kitchen and offices and some other rooms on the left, while in front a dark staircase of square stones and heavy beams looked as if it had tumbled through the ceiling, and gave access to the upper floor. There was a little garden, or yard, under the windows, where we planted vegetables, and in one part of which several English dogs, two Persian greyhounds, and an Armenian turnspit, walked about in the daytime. The railing between this and the garden part of the yard was a triumph of art, accomplished by a Turkish guard who turned his sword into a ploughshare when not wanted to look terrific. We had also nineteen lambs: these grazed on the top of the highest part of the house, where they were carried up every morning, except occasionally
 17 when there was such a wind that they would be in danger of being blown away. We had I know not how many sheep with large tails: these took a walk every day with a shepherd, who led out all the sheep belonging to the inhabitants of that part of the town. Every house having a few, they are marked; and all come home every evening to their respective houses, and go out again the next morning, and eat what they can get upon the mountains.

“All the building, except the hall and stable, had a garden on the roof, that part only being two stories high. The kitchen and some of the other rooms were lit by a skylight, the earth at the back of them being on a level with their ceilings. The walls of the upper floor were not exactly over those below, but were supported by immense beams, some of which had given way, and the principal room leaned over to the left frightfully. Those rooms which are lit by windows have two rows of them, one above the other, except the dining-room and ante-room, which had only one row, too high from the floor to look out of, but very convenient for looking into from the upper garden and the terrace of the next house. The rooms had all
 18 whitewashed walls, wooden flat ceilings, curiously carved in and painted. On the floors there was blue cloth instead of carpets, and divans of red cloth. A few chairs and some lumbering deal tables with covers on them conclude our list of furniture and ‘genuine effects.’”

Such, then, may be taken as a general description of the houses to be found in this section of Asia Minor, although the country houses differ somewhat in detail. They are constructed in the following manner: A space of ground is marked out, perhaps nearly an English acre in extent; then the whole space is excavated to the depth of about five feet. One part of the excavation is set apart for the great cow-stable; this may be fifty or one hundred feet long, and nearly as wide. Having got so far, some trees are the next requisite; these trees being cut down, the trunks are chopped into lengths of eight or nine feet, the general height of the rooms, and are placed in two or four rows, to be used as columns down the great stable. The larger branches, without being squared or shaped, are laid across from pillar to pillar, as beams; the
 19 smaller branches are laid across these, the twigs on the top, till the entire trees are used up. The twigs are sometimes tied up in fagots, some times not. Over this is spread some of the earth that was excavated from below; this is well trodden down, then more earth is added; and on the top of all is laid the turf which formed the surface of the soil before it was moved. Round the stable, in no particular order, smaller rooms are formed; if they are large, their roofs are supported by columns like the stable. In a large house there are often two stables.

The space of ground taken up by a rich man's house is prodigious, the turfed roof forming a small field. The lesser rooms in this subterranean habitation are divided from the stable and from each other by rough stone walls well filled up with clay or mud. Their ceilings are contrived by laying beams across each other, two along and two across, in the form of a low

pyramid, so that the ceiling is a kind of low, irregular dome. The smaller rooms form store-rooms, and apartments for the women. Each room has a rough stone fire-place opposite the door; and in the roof, generally over the door, there is one window about eighteen inches square, glazed with | a piece of oiled paper. Outside, these windows look like large mole-hills, 20 with a bit of plaster on one side surrounding the oiled paper, or glass, which transmits the light. Inside, the window is perceived at the end of a funnel, widening greatly toward the room, and contrived so as to throw the light to the center of the apartment, opposite the fireplace, where a fire of *tezek*, or dried cow-dung and chopped straw, is constantly smoldering. Over the chimney-piece hangs an iron lamp of simple construction, which, with the help of the fire, produces a dim light in the long nights of winter. There is a divan, usually covered with most beautiful Koordish carpets, which last forever, on each side of the fire-place; and large wooden pegs, projecting from the walls, serve to hang up guns, pistols, cloaks, and any thing else. Some of these rooms are rather roughly pretty in appearance; the floors are covered with *tekké*, a thick gray felt; and, among smart people, Persian carpets are laid over the felt, their beautiful colors producing a rich and comfortable effect. About half way up the chimney is a wooden door, or damper, which is opened and shut by means of a string; and when it is very cold weather, | and they want to be snug and fusty down below, this door is 21 shut, and the room becomes as hot as an oven. The chimney does not rise more than two feet above ground, and has a large flat stone on the top to keep the snow from falling in, as well as the lambs and children: the smoke escapes by apertures on the sides just below the coping-stone. The chimneys look like toad-stools from the outside, rising a little above the snow or the grass which grows upon the roof.

These subterranean habitations are constructed, not on the side of a hill, but on the side of a gentle slope; and all the earth excavated for the house is thrown back again upon the roof in such a manner that on three sides there is often no sign of any dwelling existing underneath. The entrance is on the lower side of the slope; and there the mound is often visible, as it is raised four or five feet above the level of the hillside. There are no fences to keep people off the roof, which has no appearance different from the rest of the country.

The most curious and remarkable part of the house is the great ox-stable, which often holds some scores of cattle. Out of this stable they | do not stir, frequently, during the whole 22 winter season; and it is the breath and heat of these animals which warm the house, in addition to which, they supply all the fuel for the establishment. They are fed upon straw bruised to small bits by the sledge, which is driven round the threshing-floor to separate the corn from the husk after harvest-time. In one corner of this huge, dim stable, near the entrance door, a wooden platform is raised three feet from the ground; two sides of it are bounded by the stone wall of the house, in one of which, opposite the door, is the fireplace; the other two sides of the square platform have open wooden rails to keep off the cows. This original contrivance is the Salemlik, or reception-room, where the master sits, and where he entertains his guests, who, as they stumble into the obscure den from the glare of the sun shining on the snow outside, are received with a yell by all the dogs, who live under the platform.

This place is fitted up with divans and carpets; arms and saddles hang against the walls; the horses of the chief are tethered nearest to the rails, the donkeys and cows farther off. Among the horses there is always an immense | fat, tame sheep: this is a universal custom in 23

every stable in Turkey, under or above ground. A small flock of other sheep are sometimes scampering about, or kept from doing so, among the cows; chickens peck in the litter; and several grave cats have their allotted places on the divans of the chief, his wife, and others of his family.

A vacant—that is, cowless—space is left between the steps leading up to the platform, and the entrance-door of the house. This part answers to the entrance-hall, as man and beast pass through it in coming in or going out, immediately before the eyes of the master of the house. From hence a sloping passage, about six feet wide, leads to the open air; it has an outer door at the upper end, and an inner door below; this passage may be from ten to twenty feet long. The outer door is a common, strong, wooden one; but the inner doors all over the house are as singular as the rest of the arrangements. The house-door is of the usual size for the cows and horses to pass through; the others are not more than five feet high. They are constructed
 24 in the following manner: the bare wooden valve is first | covered with ketché or felt; and on the inside the skin of a sheep, with its legs on, just in the shape in which it came off the animal when it was skinned, being dyed red, is nailed over the felt. On the other side of the door, down the middle, is a long, square pipe, or hose, in which hangs a heavy log of wood, attached to a cord fixed to the upper part of the door-case, which keeps the door shut as it swings to again after it has been opened, keeping out the draughts, and keeping in the warm air generated by cows, fires, and lamps; so that the atmosphere is always temperate within, while the cold is such without that men are frozen to death if they stand still even for a short time in the rigorous climate of an Armenian winter.

Such, then, is Erzeroum, as far as architecture is concerned. At the present moment it is a dépôt where the Bashi-bazouks, the Kurds, and Turcomans come for arms: it is the granary for Mukhtar Pacha's army. Although Erzeroum is but one hundred and eighty miles from Trebizond, yet it takes four days to reach it, traveling on horseback, that is, when the roads
 25 are in perfect order. Troops would certainly take two | weeks; whilst how the heavy Krupp guns now lying at Trebizond are to be transported to Erzeroum, is an enigma which we cannot solve.

There are three distinct roads to Erzeroum from Trebizond, but there is only one available in the summer season; the others are rendered impassable from the melting of the snow. This road and the one now in use passes through the valley of the Deirmé Deré and the Charseput, and through the pass of Kolat and the Kittou mountain. The peculiar nature of the country would render these roads easily defensible by a body of guerrillas, and make the advance of any organized body of troops, especially if accompanied by artillery, almost impossible. As to cavalry, in such a country they are worse than useless, and would have to advance in single file.

The approach to Erzeroum is protected by the fortified positions of Hasan Kaleh, and Koprikoi, which bar the advance of an enemy from the east, whilst the strong position of Zevin on the Soghanli range stops any movement from the north.

26 Next in importance to Erzeroum, and, so to | speak, its advanced work, comes the little town but strong fortress of Kars, made ever memorable in the annals of history from its heroic defense by Sir Fenwick Williams against Gen. Mouravieff in 1852–53.

The distance from Kars to Erzeroum is one hundred and twenty miles, and from Kars to the frontier is about thirty more. The town of Kars, situated on the river Karschai, is

important only from the strategic position which it occupies. It was first built by the Genoese, who constructed a castle on the summit of the eminence which is to-day crowned by its ruins. At the foot of this eminence, the little town of fifteen thousand inhabitants is built. The population consists principally of Greeks and Armenians, with a few Osmanlis. Kars was originally the capital of a petty Armenian kingdom, but is now formed into a pachalik of that name.

The fortress of Kars occupies relatively the same position in Turkey in Asia to that of Shumla in European Turkey. As Varna, Rustchuk, and Shumla are the keys to Turkey in Europe, so Trebizond, Kars, and Erzeroum may be said to be those of Turkey in Asia. The | wild sensational news so freely published by the press in the early part of the war, as to the fall 27 of Kars some time ago, must have been a matter of considerable amazement to those acquainted with its position and defenses, and can only have emanated from some holder of Russian stock desirous of spreading so good a *canard* amongst an all-believing public. Had such an event taken place, the campaign in Asia Minor would to all intents and purposes have been ended. But a place that held out in 1852–53 for five months, when defended by seventeen thousand men and forty-two guns, is not likely to be taken by assault or *coup de main*, especially when garrisoned by more than double that amount both of men and guns. Nature has done much to strengthen Kars in the way of defense; for, since the day when field artillery came into action at two thousand yards, the old system of fortifications are things of the past, and Vauban and his school have died a natural death. Nowadays cities are defended by works at a distance; and this is notably the case with Kars. The exact extent of the earthworks which cover Kars occupies an area of about ten square | English miles, and they 28 are for the most part placed on the eminences which nature has provided for its protection. On the east is the mighty mountain of the Karadagh, which overlooks every other for miles, whilst on the west and north Kars is shut in by another range of hills called the Tahmasp. The south is protected by the river and a large entrenched camp, of which we shall speak presently. From the Karadagh battery to the Tahmasp battery is a distance of about four miles; whilst from the Telek tabia to the southernmost portion of the entrenched camp is about five miles. It will here be necessary to explain that the word “tabia” is the Turkish for “earthwork” or “field-work”; and that, when these forts were built, they were named by the Turks after various favorite commanders. Of the fortifications erected by Gen. Williams, those of the Karadagh and the Tahmasp are all that remain; but these have been strengthened, and, what is of great importance, supplied with Krupp guns. The work of the Karadagh mounts forty guns, and commands all the others.

It is a redoubt with bastions. and | communicates by a covered way with Arab tabia, a 29 strong closed redoubt upon the northern spur of the Karadagh. The batteries of the Tahmasp, which is in itself a mamelon or rounded hill, are open redans communicating with one another until the north spur of the range is occupied by the Telek tabia, a closed redoubt of great strength. In addition to these defenses there is an inner line of redoubts and earthworks situated on the north side of the river Karschai and between the town and the Tahmasp. To the south, on a fine open plain, there is an entrenched camp about a mile and a half square: this entrenched camp is protected by five redans and two redoubts. In all, Kars, irrespective of its inner defenses, is protected by thirty works of various sizes, mounting some three hundred guns. If Kars is supplied with provisions, as no doubt it is, it will certainly take the

Russian army the whole of the summer and fall to reduce it by siege, which, unless some dire calamity happens, is the only way it can be taken. Mukhtar Pacha has thirty-five thousand well-disciplined men in Kars; and we know from experience how the Turks can fight behind
 30 earthworks. He has also three other armies in the I field, which have, since the commencement of the war, been re-enforced by forty thousand fresh troops ready to co-operate. Krupp guns have been landed at Trebizond, together with other munitions of war; so that Kars is in a most complete state of defense. We have now enumerated the principal cities of interest with which the reader is brought into contact every day. When we have described one we have described all; for the cities of Asia Minor differ but little from one another, either in architecture, manners, or population.

36 Tokat contains a population of some one hundred thousand souls, and is surrounded on three sides by limestone hills. Its site is marked by two gigantic peaks of crystalline marble, which glitter like diamonds when lit up by the rays of the summer sun. The architecture of the town is very uninteresting, the houses being built of mud or unburned bricks. There are
 37 a few old I Armenian churches which are well worthy of inspection, though more for their antiquity than any thing else. The principal manufactures consist of silk, woolen, and cotton goods; also carpets, together with copper and hardware. There are also several calico-printing establishments. The roads are moderately good, and during the summer season they are easily traversed; but in the rainy season and during the winter months they are almost impassable.

We have now given a general idea of the topographical features of the country, together with a description of the principal cities. It will now be necessary to devote a few pages to the inhabitants who populate this vast continent.

38 In the earlier times Asia Minor was composed of rich and populous kingdoms; but now it is not only one of the least cultivated, but one of the least populated, portions of the globe. The population of Asia Minor may be said to be composed of Osmanlis or Turks, Armenians, Greeks, and Jews, with the Kurds and Turkomans, which latter people inhabit the south-east portion of Asia Minor on the confines of Persia. Of these the Turks and Armenians are the most, the Greeks (with the exception of the islands on the Archipelago) and the Jews the least numerous.

43 . . . Whatever of energy is lacking in the Turkish character, it is fully made up by that of the Armenian portion of the population. Ever since the conquest of this portion of Asia Minor by the Turks, the Armenians have been the merchants, the bankers, the clerks, and the
 44 manufacturers, of Asiatic Turkey. They have I strictly preserved their religion; and, although under Turkish rule, they have preserved their nationality intact. They have to compete in many instances against the Greeks . . . but, of the two nations, the Armenians are certainly more to be liked than the representatives of the Hellenic kingdom. Although some time ago a move was made in Constantinople by some prominent Armenian gentlemen who held high office under the Turkish government, that their nationality should be more recognized, and that certain privileges might be granted to them, the movement was quickly suppressed; and they were given to understand that no such thing could be tolerated. Since then they appear to have quietly accepted their position; although we are inclined to think that, if the

Armenian population and influence in Asia Minor were stirred up to an aggressive policy, their numbers and riches would secure for them much which they are now denied.

The better or upper classes of Armenians affect a European more than an Oriental mode of life; and almost every Armenian gentleman is well educated and well read. Much has been written and told of the beauty of Armenian women, in which we readily concur; an opinion 45 that, no doubt, will be shared by our reader as he peruses the following description of a lady of Erzeroum.

She was in age perhaps nineteen or twenty, and in figure not tall; but the beauty of her exquisite form was enhanced by an exceedingly juvenile and almost capricious vivacity of movement, which was quite charming; especially when coupled with the coquettish gracefulness of the costume universally worn by Armenian, Greek, and Turkish women in Asia Minor. Over her *enteri*, or long robe of pink silk, fringed with gold embroidery, a lilac velvet jacket of the neatest possible shape, and also edged with gold, defined her symmetrical perfections; while a tiny unshod foot peeped out on the sofa from the folds of her wide *shalvar* of black silk drawn tight round her ankle, and a pair of golden and scarlet slippers lay on the floor before her. A heavy Indian shawl encircled her waist; a necklace of pearls hung round her neck; and splendid diamonds enriched the pretty little red cap on her glossy mass of jet-black hair, which was cut short in a fashion of recent introduction amongst her country 46 women. All this finery, probably donned in honor of a stranger, set off most admirably the Eastern cast of her beauty. Her face would have been a perfect model for a painter had it not partaken, in some measure, of the fatness of her race: but it was a very bewitching face all the same, so gay, so timid, and yet so proud; sometimes thoughtful, but always so engaging in feature and expression. An open forehead of brilliant placidity, large and full eyes of luminous clearness, possessing that vivid flame which is rarely seen but in children, and vouches for conscious innocence and candor within; a nose of aquiline mould, but delicate in the extreme, with purely chiseled and well-nigh transparent nostrils, the unerring test of quick mobility of feeling; and a small, well shaped mouth that owed to the fineness of its outline the faculty of conveying, without the aid of words, the most varied and transient impressions,—gave to this daughter of Haik an *ensemble* as striking as it was elevated in its character. Haik was the descendant of Japhet, from whom the Armenian race are supposed to have sprung.

We have already described the dwellings of the lower classes, who are seldom employed 47 except as husbandmen and laborers. The present war has, however, induced the Turkish government to raise an Armenian contingent; a great concession on their part, inasmuch as the old constitutional laws made the services of Christians prohibitory in the army.

Antonio Carlo Napoleone Gallenga—1810–1895

Two Years of the Eastern Question.

In two volumes. Vol. I, London, Samuel Tinsley, 1877

A.D. 1877

- 183 . . . <The Turk> even as a placeman, he is a mere encumbrance, for all the useful work is done by the Greek, the Armenian, or the Jew under him, the men of those subject races who are as indispensable as they are despised, and who, superior as they are in ability, are only trusted with ill-requited subordinate offices. That the ignorance of the Moslem could, if anything like religious and political equality were established, be tempered by the intelligence of the Rayah, is a matter which admits of no doubt, for the Christians, and especially the Greeks, have excellent schools and colleges of their own, and the most promising pupils frequent foreign Universities, either at their own expense or helped by subsidies from their community.
- 186 It is easy to say that the Jews, the Greeks, the Armenians, and other non-Mussulmans are an unwarlike race, only too glad to escape a soldier's duty, and perfectly willing to compound for their exemption. But clearly the means of escape from the draught would be equally open to them by simply placing them on the same footing with their Mohammedan fellow-subjects; while, as it is the military law confers on the Moslem a right as well as a duty, on the Rayah it simply inflicts a fiscal burden, aggravated by a sense of deliberate social indignity.
- 210 The same complaints that came to us from Bulgaria in that same autumn of 1875, reached us equally from Thessaly, where the authorities crushed the people by their endless requisitions for the army; and also from Armenia, where the extortions of the tax-gatherers ground the people with unprecedented severity. "The tithes in some districts," we were told, "have risen to 20 per cent, and where the Mussulmans are unable or unwilling to pay, the rest of the community—*i.e.* the non-Mussulmans—are called upon to make up for the defaulters." In the Government's anxiety to scrape up the money for the half-coupon due in January, the tax-gatherers had been suffered or directed to set aside the Imperial Firman which abolished the additional fourth imposed upon the tithes, and which some instances remitted the arrears of taxes. Twenty years' arrears, long since remitted, were demanded in some localities in Armenia. A letter from Erzeroum of the 10th of December 1875, printed in the *Turquie* of the same month, informed us that "the villagers come to town with flour, wood, hay, and all the produce which they hoped to turn into money, by which they may meet the tax-gatherer's incessant demands, and no sooner are their country carts empty than the
- 211 zaptiehs pounce upon them and take possession in the name of the Government, driving the owners away with their cudgels. In less miserable districts the taxes are collected in advance. A gentleman of French extraction, well known and respected here, who owns a country-seat at Kandilli, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, "has been made to pay the land-tax two years in advance, the local authorities refusing him the necessary permission to repair a fencing wall that had fallen till he had paid to the uttermost farthing."

Even in the provinces of Asia Minor, which were stricken by that famine of 1873–4, the accounts of which shocked all Europe and appealed to the charity both of English and Americans, the wretched people were made to pay a tithe of 12½ per cent, as well as the arrears of taxes, in contempt of the Sultan's Firman, who wished to "temper the wind to the shorn lamb." I read at the time in a letter from Cesarea that "both tithes and taxes are sold out to contractors, who naturally take no heed of the Firman, and observe, with some reason, that the Sultan has no right to be generous at their expense . . . The Vali, or Governor, sends word to the Mussetariffs, his subordinates, that unless he forwards a certain amount within a specific time, he will be deposed"; hence the screw was put on without mercy.

And in a private letter from Erzeroum which a friend lays before me I read:

"The horrors, the cruelties, the roguery of officials | one sees in the provinces are sickening, 212 even at this moment, when one would suppose the Mussulman would be on his good behavior to save the empire. One would say the Turks are acting on the *saue qui peut* pressure of despair. Instead of 12½ per cent tithe, they are taking on some articles 20 to 50 per cent. In two cases I had to expostulate with the Vali. In one the demand of the collectors was at the rate of some 60 or more per cent. They demanded 12½ per cent on hay, fixing the value at 168 piastres a measure, when the value in the town where it was sold was only 50. Thus the tax was over 42 per cent. The case was so glaring that the Pasha was obliged to step in. But in rural districts away from here the Vali's interference could not avail. There the tithe-collectors have been levying 32⅛ per cent on hay. In the district of Ismir the Christians are at this moment being robbed of everything they have by the Government, by bands of armed deserters, and by organized bands of brigand traders. The Government takes taxes in excess; the deserters levy blackmail, and the armed traders force their goods on the villagers at three, four, and five times their value."

And again in the same letter: "An Armenian preacher in one of the monasteries of the city of Bitlis (province of Erzeroum) was severely wounded by robbers, whom he recognized and denounced to the Caimacan, or Lieutenant-Governor, but the latter made no attempt to arrest or punish the criminals. | An aged Armenian, while returning from the market-place in 213 Bitlis, was attacked by four Turks and nearly cut to pieces. An Armenian muleteer was stabbed in the abdomen, and died on the spot, and that at the very gates of the Caimacan's palace. These occurrences were all reported to the Government officials, but these made no attempt to punish the guilty parties."

In many cases the Caimacan himself is the worst offender:

"The cruel and sensual Caimacan of Boolanic compelled twenty-five young Armenian women to enter his harem. For this the outraged villagers made complaint to the Governor-General at Erzeroum. The charge was proved against the Caimacan, and sentence was passed upon him, but he escaped from punishment by means of bribes, and was soon restored to office. The Caimacan of the village of Chookhoova is of the like character."

One of Armenia's greatest scourges is that of the incursions of the Koords, utterly lawless savages, who rob and burn the houses and barns, and murder the inhabitants on the least attempt at resistance:

"In the district of Akhlaat the Koords plundered an Armenian village and carried off all the domestic animals. A few days ago a similar attack was made on an Armenian village on the plain of Moosh, and in the fruitless endeavors of the villagers to recapture their cattle, one

214 of the men was killed. A father and son while peacefully at work in the field, I were attacked, stripped naked, and nearly hacked to pieces," etc.

I could multiply the quotations to the end of time, and I assure you I suppress the most startling cases, because they seem to myself hardly credible. The letter concludes:

"Up to this date some 350 Armenians have professed to become Mussulmans, with the hope that, under the cloak of Mohammedanism, they may secure a little freedom from the cruel insults, outrages, beatings, and oppressions of Turks and Koords."

Charles Boswell Norman—?

Armenia and the Campaign of 1877.

Cassell Petter & Galpin, London, Paris & New York, 1878

A.D. 1877

Situated on the southern portion of a large plain, some thirty miles in length by twelve in 28 breadth, and nestling, as it were, under the crests of the Devi-Dagh range, Erzeroum is fully exposed to the cold blasts which I whistle over the peaks of the Giaour-Dagh. To the north of 29 the town, at a distance of three miles, flows the Euphrates, here called the Kara-Su, or Blackwater, and a small, muddy-looking, insignificant stream it is. The city possesses few peculiarities. The ancient citadel, a brick building almost in ruins, consists of a double wall, with ditch in front; the governor's house and some barracks are in it, but for defensive purposes it is useless. An enceinte on Vauban's principle, with a perimeter of about three miles, surrounds the place. The ditches cannot be flooded, nor are they deep enough to afford any serious obstacle to an assaulting army. The escarp and counterscarp have been allowed to fall into disrepair, and can be scaled in many places. Nor are there any ditch defenses, except the fire from the flanks of the bastions. The main ditch is not extended round the ravelins, and on the southern face the ground slopes down into the work. The parapets are all revetted with sods, laid on vertically, and, as may be imagined, the revetments are not of much value.

The guns, which are all Krupp's breechloaders, the majority being twelve, fifteen, or eighteen centimeter, are mounted *en barbette*. The carriages are painted scarlet, and, whilst affording a pleasing sight to the eye, they make an admirable target for an enemy's fire. In addition to the bastioned enceinte, there is a series of outworks built on the adjoining hills, as well as I was able to judge, following the general rule in Turkish fortifications, all of which were commanded by neighboring heights.

Erzeroum is by no means a striking-looking place, even for an Oriental town. It contains about 40,000 inhabitants, the majority being Mahomedans . . .

Every owner of cattle, or sheep, or goats—and nearly every household in Armenia 32 possesses some live stock—pays the herdsman a small sum annually for the trouble in escorting the beasts to the plain. I never knew which to admire most, the, utter *nonchalance* of the man, the sagacity of the dogs, or the bright intelligence of the cattle and sheep, which joined in the whole affair as a matter of course—though I fancy it would take some generations before English beasts would behave likewise.

There are a few shops in Erzeroum where European goods may be bought. These are kept chiefly by Armenians. As in most Oriental towns, each craft keeps its own quarter—one street being devoted to workers in iron, another to workers in brass, a third to leather workers, a fourth to tailors, to silversmiths, to provision sellers, to butchers, and so on. The bazaar where meat was sold was the one to be avoided—flies abound; and the dogs looking hungrily up at the joints, which appeared to have been torn from the carcass, not cut, as in England, gave me the idea that the canine species aided the butchers in their labors . . .

33 The climate of Erzeroum is bad—bitterly cold in winter, during which snow falls to a depth often of four feet; it is oppressively hot in summer. The want of drainage and the filthy habits of the people cause an immense amount of sickness, typhoid and dysentery being the principal scourges.

The manufacture of brass is carried on to a great extent in Erzeroum, some of the brazen vessels and large candlesticks being particularly handsome. There is also a large trade in leather goods—saddles, bridles, and such like; silks and wine from Kharpoot; carpets and tobacco from Persia; cats from Van; furs from Russia; and Manchester goods are also seen in large quantities. The wine is a very fair red wine, not unlike Bordeaux, but decidedly superior to much that we drink in England. I thought it preferable to some Georgian wine given me in Kars. The price was moderate, and assuredly during the hot months it was most refreshing.

38 The Turkish army is divided into seven army corps, each of which has a territorial as well as a numerical designation; and the empire is apportioned into seven circles, one of which is allotted to each corps. These circles are subdivided into districts, the number varying in each circle, and these districts are once more divvied each into four divisions. Each of these divisions forms, as it were, a depot center, and is the head-quarters of three reserve battalions—viz., one of each class. A permanent staff is quartered in the depot barracks, where are stored the arms, equipment, and clothing of the men. Each military district comprising four divisions furnishes, therefore, one complete regiment of each class. The regimental staff
41 are quartered in the chief town of the district, while in the capital of the circle dwells the staff of the army corps. The following is a table showing the name and designation of each corps, with the number of divisions and districts into which it is divided:—

. . . 4th, Armenian Corps.	Erzeroum	Diarbekir
	Van	Sivas
	Kharpoot	Kars

294 On the 28th of June, on Tergukassoff falling back from Zaidikan, Ismail Pasha's irregular cavalry, instead of following up the Russians, proceeded to scour the country in small bands, pillaging and destroying all the Christian villages in the Alashgird plain. Fortunate it was that upwards of 3,000 Armenians placed themselves under the protection of the Russian general (himself an Armenian), and under his escort passed safely into Russian territory, or the loss of life would have been ten times as great as it now proves to be. In Jeranos, Utch Kilissa, Kaya Beg, Moola Suliman, Ahmadkoi, Kara Kilissa, and Kheshishkui, all Armenian houses were destroyed, and the few remaining Christians ruthlessly put to the sword. In the church at Utch Kilissa ten men who had sought refuge there were brutally murdered. I have conversed with an Armenian priest of that place, who indignantly denies that this was committed by Russians—a statement made by Ismail Pasha, and circulated by the Porte to the European
295 Powers—and who solemnly assures me this was the work of Kurds after the Russians had passed through. Some of these irregulars, under the command of Hassaranli, of Sofi Agha, proceeded to Kaya Beg, midway between Kara Kilissa and Moola Suliman, and there killed Johannes Kehya, the head man of the village, and with him one Serkis, a merchant from Bitlis. They then went on to Moola Suliman, and killed an Armenian merchant named

Ampassoon, having robbed him first of all his property, completely destroying the place, as well as the neighboring village of Ahmad, where, together with some Circassians, they slaughtered all the cattle. At Kara Kilissa four Armenians found hiding were murdered, their wives violated and then killed, under circumstances of the most atrocious nature.

In the neighborhood of Moosh, one Moussa Bey, a son of Mrza Bey, a Kurd from near Van, has been ravaging the country at the head of a small body of cavalry. The villages of Moolah Akjam, Hadogan, and Kharkui, having been first pillaged, were set on fire. At Ardouk he extracted £60, and at Ingrakam £40 from the head men of the village, under pretense of sparing them from destruction, and straightway set the places on fire; he then proceeded to a Mussulman village called Norashen, and hearing that an Armenian merchant of Bitlis was passing through, robbed him of all his goods, to the value of 30,000 piastres, and then ordered his men to murder him. At Ehartz this monster entered the house of the Armenian priest, who had lately brought his bride to his father's home. Binding the old man and his son together with cords, this inhuman scoundrel ravished the poor girl before their eyes, and then gave orders for the murder of the three.

I can write no more.

I am not aware whether an account of the taxation of a country comes legitimately under the head of "war news," but as I have not seen any description of the interior economy of Armenia in any English journals, I am in hopes that the following brief notes may interest some of your readers, bearing as they do on the iniquitous system of government in vogue in this land, explaining in themselves the unequal burden imposed on Christian and Mahomedan, and the reason for the grave discontent that exists among the entire Armenian population. It is a custom sanctioned by usage, if not by law, that all Government servants are exempt from taxation, and as Mahomedans except the poorer classes hold official appointments, it follows that the greater proportion of the revenues is derived from the lower orders, from those classes, in fact, who in England pay nothing to the State by direct taxation. By far the heaviest and most obnoxious charge is that for "military services." Mahomedans only are called upon to bear arms, but the Christians pay for their exemption a poll-tax of sixteen piastres per annum. I find on inquiry that in the vilayet of Erzeroum this impost has been increased to thirty piastres per annum for the last two years, and that, in addition to this sum, there is a permanent war-tax which has existed in its present form since 1854, of twenty-five piastres per head on all Christian families.

The tax on house-property amounts to one-third per cent per annum, but on mills and on shops and houses of business to ten per cent. Every man following a trade or profession pays ten piastres per annum for the privilege of pursuing his calling, while a Medjlis, or committee of merchants, in every city sits annually to fix the amount of profession-tax to be deducted from all men of business. This varies, but rarely is fixed at less than seven per cent. of a man's income, in many cases amounting to as much as fifteen per cent.

Government, again, claim ten per cent of harvests, the value of which is computed by an official specially appointed for the purpose. More often, however, the viceroy of a district farms the tax, and the "mooltazim," or speculator, who has purchased this tribute has a great field for extortion. Municipalities claim, in addition to the State exaction of ten per cent, a further sum of one per cent for city purposes from all townsmen owning arable or meadow

land, and this latter is subject to the same impost—viz., ten per cent—as the harvest is. A charge of three piastres on every sheep and goat above the age of one year is levied at the expiration of each lambing-season. Horses, cattle, camels, and mules are exempt from this tax, but they are subject to a special charge of two and a half per cent on sale, each sale having to
 319 be registered in public market. All wood brought into bazaars for sale, except for fuel, is subject to an impost of two per cent. Permission to erect new buildings has to be obtained from the governor of the township, who invariably exacts a handsome fee for granting a warrant to build, while the unhappy dabbler in bricks and mortar is further mulcted in the sum of ten piastres for every workman employed. Import and export duties, though very heavy, varying from three to fifty per cent, are often evaded by a liberal backsheesh to the custom-house official. Indeed, many merchants pay a fixed sum per annum to these worthies, in order to insure a prompt clearance of their goods, and to avoid the trouble of Government dues. For the privilege of carrying arms every man (Christians are forbidden to use firearms) is called upon to pay two and a half piastres per annum for each gun he owns, but, I believe, except in towns this tax is never collected.

The proceeds of the harvest-tribute are remitted to Constantinople for State purposes, while the balance of the revenues is kept in the district treasuries for provincial purposes. By this means the governor of a vilayet is responsible for the payment of the officials under him, and each town is nominally called upon to disburse the pay and allowance of the regiments of their murkess or circle; Erzeroum, for instance, paying the Erzeroum battalion, Erzingian its own battalion, and so on, so that really the Porte is not responsible for the non-payment of its soldiery. The onus rests upon the vali or governor of the district, and to show what a punctual regard they have for the performance of their duties, I may mention that I have
 320 conversed with men of nearly every battalion and battery in this army corps, and find that they are from nineteen months in arrears.

I have had several opportunities during my recent visit to Erzeroum of conversing with many of the leading Armenian families in the place on the subject of the war, of Turkish rule, and of their ideas as to the effect of any change of Government upon them. These conversations have not improved my ideas of the Armenian. A more selfish, narrow-minded, mean, cringing race, I fancy, does not exist, the Protestant Armenian being of a lower type than those who have clung to their old religion; but both are despicable to a degree. Far preferable is the agricultural Turk, who bears uncomplainingly the heavy burdens imposed on him in the way of taxation, sends out all the males of his family between the ages of sixteen
 329 and sixty to fight the common foe—the hated Moscov—entrusts the gathering of his harvest to the women of his family, and sees ruin, absolute ruin, staring him in the face through the wickedness and corruption of his Pashas, whose ears never hear the maledictions hurled at them by their poorer, suffering fellow-countrymen. As far as I have been able to learn, the bulk of the Armenians would welcome any change. They have been oppressed for centuries, treated with contumely, unable to obtain a hearing in the law-courts, compelled to pay, in addition to the Government taxes (which fall far heavier on the Christian than on the Mahomedan), innumerable unjust levies forced on them by officials against whom there is no redress; and they consequently see that there is no hope for them to obtain an equal footing with Mussulman in this country. When the Russians, in June, were close on Erzeroum, and

the fall of the city was looked on as inevitable, the Armenian might have been seen moving briskly about, as if he longed to welcome the invader, the prowess of whose deeds, the valor of whose men, and the invincibility of whose armies had for years been old wives' tales in every Armenian house-hold. The check at Zewin and the subsequent retirement of both Russian armies caused a revulsion of feeling, and the evil deeds of the Moscov began to be recounted, his tyrannical form of government, his religious intolerance; dim visions of the knout and of Siberia flitted through the Armenian brain, and the question began to be asked whether it would not be better to bear the ills they had than fly to others they knew not of.

The idea of freeing themselves and establishing a "Switzerland in Asia Minor" has never entered their heads, and though since I saw the scheme mooted in your columns I have 330 propounded it to many well-educated, intelligent Armenian gentlemen, they have one and all denounced it as impracticable and absurd. For centuries they have remained a subject race, and so they will remain to the end of the chapter. Those few who have traveled in Europe, and become politicians of a minor character and merchant princes, may have formed wild visions of a kingdom in the mountains of Anatolia, but the idea is scouted with scorn by residents of the country itself. They long for change, that is all; they long to escape from the hateful thralldom of the Turk; they long to be taken in hand by some beneficent, just Government—to them it is immaterial, though they would prefer America, England, or Germany to Russia—and allowed to live peaceably and quietly, tilling their own land, selling their own merchandise, living the own uneventful, unambitious lives, free from all dread of their wives being dishonored by their Kurdish neighbors, their children carried off into captivity far worse than death, and themselves quite unable to move a finger in self-defense, and powerless to call for justice.

In fact, so strong has this longing for change become, that many of the wealthier families, both here and in the neighborhood, seeing the chances of Russian occupation diminish, have determined on emigrating; and more than one already, having realized all its property, has gone to America.

That the Armenians are content with Turkish rule is false. Their hatred and dread of it are evident from the fact that upwards of 5,000 families have fled from the Van and Alashgird district and taken refuge in Russia. I am aware that Ismail Pasha states that these people were 331 forcibly taken away-by Tergukassoff in his retreat from Zaidikan. Common sense repels such an idea . . . No; I have conversed with many refugees from Alashgird, who came into Erzeroum for safety from the Kurds, and these people—Mahomedans for the most part—inform me that immediately after the battle of Khaliass the Armenian exodus was made, and that Tergukassoff never broke camp at Zaidikan until he was assured of the arrival of the fugitives in safety across the Russian border. In the Van district the Muscovite never appeared. There, in consequence of the barbarities committed by the Kurds, the Christians spontaneously fled—not, however, until they had suffered terrible losses, and more than 380 332 young girls and boys had been carried off into the most hopeless slavery one imagine.

I have not yet heard a Turkish officer attempt to extenuate the conduct of the Kurds; nor have I met one who did not freely own that the Christians were fairly driven out of the country by their revolting outrage. Here is one, however, who denies all this, who writes dispatches to the Turkish Government, stating that the desolation worked in Van and Alashgird is Russian doing, in spite of the Commander-in-Chief knowing that these

dispatches are false—for has he not ordered the arrest and trial of Jelaludeen, the greatest offender?—in spite of the Ottoman Government knowing it—for have they not ordered the trial of Faik Pasha, who, by his negligence, contributed to these atrocities? The Porte circulates Ismail Pasha's statements to its Ministers abroad as evidence of Russian cruelty and oppression. I simply state as a fact, after the most careful inquiries from Turkish officers and soldiers, as well as from the Armenians themselves, that the exodus from Van and Alashgird was purely voluntary on the part of the Christians, that it was solely on account of the horrors and barbarities they were daily and hourly subjected to by the Kurds.

368 The people do not complain of the regular taxes, but what they do inveigh against most bitterly are the irregular imposts, from which they have no escape, and which they know full well never go into the Government Treasury. Christians and Mahomedans speak alike on this point, and I have met as many of the latter creed as of the former who state there will be no happiness in Turkey as long as a Pasha exists.

372 Turkey bears a striking resemblance to the Infernal Regions, which good George Herbert said are paved with broken promises; all her promises of reform have been swept away; her conduct in this war has been marked by the vilest crimes of which a nation can be guilty. She has not only committed the crime of arming and letting loose bands of undisciplined, fanatical robbers, whose passions, fed by the religious exhortations of their bigoted priests, and strengthened by the proclamations of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, have led, as the Porte knew full well and firmly intended that they should lead, to the brutal massacre of the survivors of the Bulgarian rebellion and the cold-blooded murders of the inoffensive Christians in Armenia.

373 If the Porte really meant reform, why did it not take measures for the protection of the Christians in Armenia and Bulgaria . . .

Mrs. John Elijah Blunt—?

The People of Turkey—Twenty Years' Residence among Bulgarians, Greeks, Albanians, Turks, and Armenians.

By a consul's daughter and wife. Edited by Stanley Lane Poole

In two volumes. London, John Murray, 1878

A.D. 1877

<Vol. I>

There are few nations that can compete with the Armenians in historical misery. Tossed about 128
between Arsacid Roman, and Sassanian; fought over by Persian and Byzantine; a common
prey to Arabs, Mongols, and Turk, it is a matter for amazement that the nation still exists at
all. Up to the fourteenth century the Armenians held persistently to their country; but after
its subjection by the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt, the unfortunate inhabitants, seeing no hope
of the restoration of their old independence, and despairing of relief from the oppression and
spoiling to which they had been exposed for centuries, began to migrate to other countries,
to try whether fortune would everywhere be so unkind to them. Some went to Anatolia,
others to Egypt, or to Constantinople, where they were kindly received and allowed a 129
Patriarch. Some wandered into Poland, whence they were soon driven out by the determined
hostility of the Jesuits, and forced to take refuge in Russia, where they were joined by numbers
of their compatriots and formed a colony at Grigoripol. Others went to the Crimea and
Astrachan, and many of the Armenians who had first gone to Turkey followed in their steps.
The Armenians in Russia were treated with great kindness by Peter the Great and Catherine,
and were granted special rights and privileges. A colony of Armenians was settled at New
Nakhitchevan on the Don. After more persecutions, from the Ottomans, in the sixteenth
century, a large number of Armenian refugees set out for Persia. The Shah received them
graciously, and settled them in Ispahan. Afterwards, during the war between the Shah and the
Sultan, a depopulation of Armenia was attempted, with the view of destroying the Turkish
power there. Twelve thousand families were dragged off to Persia, most of whom died on the
way. The settlers at Ispahan were at first treated well, but afterwards subjected to such
persecution that they were obliged to seek a home in other lands. The portion of Armenia
ceded by Persia to Russia, thus acquiring for the first time the necessary conditions peace and
safety, became the refuge of the Armenians who had not already left their native land, but who
now, driven beyond endurance by the oppressive rule of the pashas, crossed the frontier and 130
immediately found themselves possessed of the ordinary privileges of Russian subjects, and
able to carry on commercial pursuits, in which the nation excels, in peace and confidence.
Thus the Armenian race became scattered over the face of the earth, whilst only a remnant
still lives in the land of its ancestors. The Armenians are to be met with all over the East. There
are large numbers of them at Constantinople and a few other towns, such as Adrianople,
Gallipoli, and Rodosto. In the towns of the interior, however, their number is small.

Ages of Asiatic oppression, varied by few glimpse of prosperity, in the traditional garden
of Eden, have obliterated whatever love the Armenians formerly had for their country, which
they willingly deserted to seek a home wherever they could find one. When the first cravings

of their hearts for peace and security had been satisfied, they settled down in communities, forgot their country and its past history, and assimilated their external forms and customs with those of the nations among whom they lived, with the philosophic *nonchalance* of the Asiatic. In Armenia, the people who remain, remembering the terrible sufferings their country has gone through, have followed the wise policy of burying in the depths of their hearts any surviving sparks of patriotism or love of liberty; though these hidden sparks may some day be fanned | into flame by the introduction of education and by the influence Russia is exerting in the country. So far the Porte may felicitate itself on the success its foreign policy has met with in Armenia. This policy, with its consequences of misery and suffering, is safe only as long as ignorance and stupid docility prevail among the masses; this cannot last for ever, and in the face of present events it will not be surprising to hear of troubles breaking out in that direction as well as everywhere else. It is only a question of time. In Turkey, political feeling among the Armenians is still in its infancy; but there must be thinking men among the educated young generation who are watchful of the present and hopeful for the future.

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The Armenians as a race are strong, well-built, and hardy. With these constitutional advantages they readily take to the mechanical arts; but commerce and banking are their forte, and in these they show great ability and as much honesty as is possible in a country where, of all difficulties, that of following a straight line of conduct is the greatest. They are considered crafty, but at the same time exercise considerable moral influence in the countries they inhabit, especially at Constantinople, where some of the rich Armenians have been very closely connected with the high dignities of the empire. Their fancy for toad-eating is well adapted to please the Turks, who by turns show them regard and contempt. | There is an old saying, that no Turk can be happy in the evening without having cracked a few jokes with an Armenian during the day. The physiognomy of the Armenians is generally dark. Their heads are large, with black, coarse, and abundant hair. Their eyes, overshadowed by long eyelashes and thick eyebrows, meeting over the nose, are black and almond-shaped, but lack the luster of Greek eyes. The nose, the worst feature of the Armenian face, is large and hooked; the mouth large, with thick lips; the chin prominent. Their bearing would be dignified but for a certain want of grace. Armenians are divided into two classes denominated *Kalun* and *Inje*, or coarse and refined. The latter belong to the Roman Catholic creed, and are certainly more advanced than the former, who are far more subservient to the Turks and keep as much as possible in the background, devoting themselves to the interests of the Porte in general and to their own in particular.

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In Armenia the ladies are secluded to the extent of dining and sitting apart from the men, and are said to be very backward in every respect. Their costume very nearly resembles that formerly worn by Turkish women. They display the same disregard to neatness as the latter, without possessing their redeeming point of cleanliness: their heads are specially neglected, and abound in live stock of a most migratory | character. My mother once pointed out one of these creatures on the forehead of an Armenian girl, and reprimanded her for her neglect of her person; the girl answered that she did not know that any human being could exist without them! The Armenian ladies of Constantinople are renowned for their beauty, which is supposed to lie particularly in the languid expression of their eyes. Both in Constantinople and Smyrna there are many Armenians of both sexes who are well educated, and scarcely to be distinguished from Europeans in society. I was once invited to an Armenian fancy ball,

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where I was the only European present. Everything was arranged as in civilized society, the stewards were equal to their duties, and the costumes were *recherchés* and varied. One slight pretty girl, in particular, dressed in the old Turkish costume, produced a great sensation, and was deservedly besieged by partners, for she waltzed to perfection. Many of the ladies and gentlemen spoke English, and nearly all French, and I certainly spent a very pleasant evening among them.

In the privacy of their homes the women, as a rule, are untidy and slatternly. They are exceedingly fond of dress, and, to the best of their ability, copy the Parisian fashions; but their natural want of taste seldom fails to make itself evident in toilettes of glaring and ill-assorted colors, while their hands, arms, and necks are overloaded with jewelry. Out of doors they are shod with boots of Parisian manufacture, on whose high heels they totter along the badly-paved streets; but they exchange them for slippers down at heel on re-entering their home. Even those who have lived in Europe, and no longer consider themselves Orientals, sit cross-legged on their sofas in the most careless costumes. 134

The Armenians have advanced but a very little way on the road of education. The most enlightened are certainly those in British India, whilst those of them who are Russian subjects have of late considerably improved. Hitherto, the nation has never had a fair chance, but that it has the possibility of progress in it is shown by the fact, that no sooner are the Armenians placed under a firm and wise government than they at once begin to go forwards, in every respect. The progress of the inhabitants of Russian Armenia has begun to work a political revival among their brethren under Turkish rule. A wish for instruction is everywhere beginning to be shown, and it has received a strong and most salutary impulse from the numerous American missionaries now established throughout Armenia. The untiring efforts of these praiseworthy and accomplished workers in the cause of civilization and humanity are beginning to bear fruit, especially since education has become one of their principal objects. They are working wonders among the uncultivated inhabitants of this hitherto unhappy country, where mission-schools, founded in all directions, are doing the double service of instructing the people by their enlightened moral and religious teaching, and of stimulating among the wealthy a spirit of rivalry, which leads them to see their own ignorance and superstitious debasement, and raises a desire to do for themselves, by the establishment of Armenian schools, what American philanthropy has so nobly begun to do for them. 135

The moral influence that America is now exercising in the East through the quiet but dignified and determined policy of its Legation at Constantinople, curiously free from political intrigues and rivalry, is daily increasing, and has the most salutary effect on the country. It watches with a jealous care over the rights and safety of the missionaries, who are loved and respected wherever they settle, and make their influence felt in the remotest corners of Turkey. Next to Greece, whose educational efforts are naturally greater throughout the country, it is America that will be entitled to the gratitude of the Christians for her ready aid in elevating the ignorant masses to the dignity of civilized beings.

In the Armenian schools, the Turkish, Armenian, and French languages are taught: the two former are generally well mastered by the pupils, Armenians being considered apt linguists: a very fair knowledge of French is also common among them.

Armenians do not show any taste for the arts and sciences. One seldom hears of an Armenian artist, doctor, or lawyer, and the few that do exist attain only mediocrity. 136

It is difficult to obtain correct statistical information of native Armenian schools, but I can affirm that of late years they have greatly increased in number, and are much improved in their organization and mode of teaching. At Constantinople, Erzeroum, and many other towns where the Armenian communities are large, excellent schools for girls have been founded. In towns where these are wanting, many girls are sent for a few years to the boys' schools, where religion, reading, and writing are taught them. Turkish, the language with which the Armenians are most conversant, is also taught from books written in the Armenian characters. In all other respects, the education of Armenian girls is very much neglected; from an early age they fall into a listless, aimless existence, and are seldom taught to busy themselves with needle-work or any useful or rational employment. Some of the wealthy families at Constantinople and Smyrna are manifesting a desire for improvement in this respect, by engaging European governesses or sending their children to European schools; but it will be long before either sex gets rid of the ignorance and indolence which circumstances, perhaps, as much nature, have forced upon it.

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- 10 All Turkish mothers and many Armenians of the lower orders administer strong sleeping draughts, generally of opium, poppy-head or theriac, to their infants; some carry the abuse of these to such an extent that the children appear always in a drowsy state, the countenance pale, the eyelids half closed, the pupils of the eyes contracted, the lips parched and dry, and a peculiar hazy expression fixed upon the face; all the movements are lethargic, in marked contrast to the sprightly motion of a healthy European child. The natural baby-cry is replaced by a low moan, and no eagerness is shown for the mother's milk, only an inclination to remain listless and inactive. I have known mothers give as many as five opium pills to a restless child in one night. Besides the stupefying effect of these opiates on the brain, they are highly injurious to the digestive organs, occasioning constipation, which, treated under the designation of *sangyu* (colics), is increased by frequent employment of heating medicines, such as spirits of mint, camomile, or aniseed.
- 21 The Armenians have conformed more to the Turkish customs than any other race in the country. An Armenian confinement is assisted by a midwife, herself an Armenian, and as ignorant as her Turkish colleague; only in difficult cases is a doctor resorted to. The ceremonies at an Armenian birth are scarcely less superstitious than the Turkish rites. They are of a more vague and indefinite character. If possible, a mother and child should not be left alone the first few days; but the broom is replaced by the venerated image of the Holy Virgin or some saint, put on guard over the bed. Garlic is not resorted to as a safeguard against the evil eye, but holy water is nightly sprinkled over child and mother, who are also fumigated with the holy olive-branch. The company received on these occasions is quiet, and only part
- 22 of the Turkish show and pageantry is displayed in the adornment of the bed. The child has the same Bologna sausage appearance, modified by a European baby's cap. A neighbor of mine once brought her child to me in great distress, saying it had not ceased crying for three days and nights, without her being able to guess the reason. I made her at once unbandage the baby, and soon discovered the cause. A long hair had in some inexplicable manner wound

itself round the child's thumb, which was swollen to a disproportionate size through the stoppage of the circulation, and was nearly severed from the little hand.

About the ninth day the bath ceremony takes place; but instead of the mother's body providing food for her guests by the honied plaister of the Turkish woman, all sit down to a substantial luncheon, in which the *Yahlan dolma* and the *lakana turshou*, (Sauer-kraut) play a prominent part, and which is brought into the bath on this occasion.

As the christening takes place within eight days, it cannot on that account be witnessed by the mother, who is unable to attend the church services before the fortieth day, when she goes to receive the benediction of purification. Part of the water used for the christening is presumably brought from the river Jordan and the child is also rubbed with holy oil. The service concluded, the party walk home in procession headed by the midwife carrying the baby. Refreshments are offered to the company, who soon afterwards retire. A gift of a gold cross or a fine gold coin is made to the child by the sponsors. 23

No system of diet is followed in the rearing of Armenian children, nor are their bodies refreshed by a daily bath. Few people in the East bathe their children, like Europeans, for a general idea prevails that it is an injurious custom and a fertile cause of sickness. Kept neither clean nor neat, they are allowed to struggle through infancy in a very irregular manner. Yet in spite of this they are strong and healthy.

The Jews and Armenians have many strange and interesting customs in the matter of eating. The Armenians are renowned for their gluttony and extreme fondness for good things. Until lately they took their meals in a manner very similar to the Turks. They would use their knives and forks to a certain extent, but their fingers much more. The lower orders still sit on the floor around a table about eight inches high. Their dishes, with the addition of a few national ones, resemble those of the Turks, and they are famous for the manufacture of very rich sweets of various kinds. The kitchen, being the most important department in an Armenian house, demands the daily supervision of both master and mistress; the former has the supreme voice in selecting the dishes, and the latter often takes an active part in their preparation. I knew a wealthy Armenian who married the daughter of his cook in order to secure the permanent services of the mother. He assured me of the perfect bliss the alliance had brought him in the possession of a pretty wife and the daily enjoyment of the dolmas made by his mother-in-law. Some time ago a well-known and wealthy Englishman fell in love with and married a worthless Armenian girl, having seen her, from a neighboring house, preparing the same dish. He had, however, reason to repent thus making his appetite his only consideration; life became no longer endurable with such an unsympathetic helpmate, and he absconded and returned to his native land, it is to be hoped, a wiser man. 41

The Armenian <peasant> is still attired in his long *jubbe* or loose coat and blue turban. 61

I was present at an Armenian wedding, when the house was crowded by a large company composed of both sexes. The ladies, however, had almost monopolized the drawing-room, which was furnished with long Turkish sofas running round the walls on three sides, occupied by three rows of ladies. The first row were seated on the cushions, the second sat cross-legged in front, and the third contented themselves with the extreme edge, while some other ladies 67 68

and a few of the other sex were favored with chairs, or walked about the room. I had prudently possessed myself of a chair, and placed it in a position to have a good *coup d'oeil* of the scene, and be near enough to the sofa to hear and join in the conversation of some of its occupants. It was by no means an uninteresting sight; there was the bride, the queen of the fete, seated on a pile of cushions in the corner reserved for her, surrounded by the triple line of ladies representing all ages, types, and fashions. The dark and unassuming attire of the aged pleasingly contrasted with the gay dresses of the young and pretty, radiant with the glitter of jewelry and the sparkle of many pairs of bright black eyes that frequently met and questioned each other; a not unpleasant way of making up for the oriental laconism generally observed in large assemblies, when conversation is carried on in low tones, and generally consists only of a passing joke or criticism on the appearance of others of the company. Some of these remarks I found very amusing: for instance, a thin, yellow brunette said to her neighbor, I

69 “Doudou, do you notice how stiff and stately Mariemme Hanoum sits in her new polka? Her husband, Baron Carabet, who has just returned from Constantinople, has brought her a machine made of whale bone and steel, in which the Franks cage their wives in order to fill up what is missing, and tone down what is superfluous.” “Chok shay!”* exclaimed her companion, an exceedingly stout lady, casting a hasty glance over her voluminous person. “I wonder if the like is to be found in the *charshi* (bazar), so many articles of dress have lately been brought from Europe by one of the shopkeepers!”

This conversation was brought to an abrupt termination by the exclamation of “Ouff! Aman!” from a third lady who was sitting cross-legged, and evidently in an uncomfortable position. “Ouff! Aman!” she repeated, stretching out her feet as far as possible, and then proceeded to pull off her socks, quietly folded them up, and put them in her pocket. She was an elderly lady, evidently of the old school, for her proceedings shocked one much younger than herself seated near, and provoked from her some remark on the impropriety she had committed. The old lady, however, could not be prevailed upon to see it, and replied very quietly:

“Kesim, what does it matter? all now is ‘à la Franca’ and we may do as we please!”

70 Incidents of European fashions, completely distorted into alarming caricatures, are still very frequent, and, what is more serious, are often accompanied by so great an absence of all knowledge of the rules of good breeding, that everything out of the common, however free or strange it may be, is put down to the “à la Franca” or European liberty. Only two years ago, at a ball given by one of my friends, a functionary of the Porte, Armenian by birth, coolly entered the boudoir, pulled off his boots, which were, it appears, too tight for him, and seated himself on a sofa smoking his cigarette. This gentleman was requested by the host to resume his chaussure and withdraw from the house; and yet civilized notions had so far penetrated the somewhat dull imagination of this Effendi as to have induced him to use visiting-cards upon which was engraved, together with his name, his title of “Membre perpétuel de la Justice,” surmounted by a gilt pair of scales.

125 The Armenian *fiançailles*, although contracted in a very simple fashion, are not easily annulled, and can only be set aside for very serious reasons.

* Wonderful.

A priest, commissioned by the friends of the aspirant, makes the proposals of marriage to the young lad's parents. Should the offer be accepted, he is again sent, accompanied by another priest, to present to the *fiancée* a small gold cross bought by her betrothed for the benefit of the Church, and of a price proportioned to the means of the family. 126

Girls are given in marriage at a very early age, some when they are but twelve years old; but men seldom marry before they are twenty-two.

The wedding ceremony, as I remember seeing it in my childhood, and as it still takes place in Armenia, where customs *à la Franca* have not yet penetrated among the primitive, semi-civilized people, is a truly curious proceeding. Like the Turkish wedding, it takes place on a Monday. A priest is sent by the bride's parents to inform those of the bridegroom that all is ready and the *Duhun* may begin. On the Friday, invitations are issued, and the bride is taken to the bath with great ceremony. On the Saturday, musicians are called in, and all the young maidens assemble to partake of a feast intended especially for them, and extended to the poor, who come in flocks to share in the good things.

Next day this festivity is repeated: the dinner is served at three, and the young men are allowed to wait | upon the girls—a rare privilege, equally pleasing to either sex, at other times 127 excluded from each other's society,—and, it is needless to say that they now make the most of their opportunities.

As soon as this repast is over, the married people sit down to the wedding dinner in a patriarchal fashion, husband and wife side by side, while the young men are the last to partake of the bridal repast. In the evening, they are again admitted to the company of the ladies, on the plea of handing refreshments to them. About ten o'clock the bride is taken into another room by her friends, who place upon her head a curious silver plate, over which a long piece of scarlet silk is thrown, falling to her feet, secured at the sides by ribbons, enveloping her in a complete bag, drawn tight at the top of her head, under the silver plate; two extraordinary looking wings called *sorgooch*, made of stiff cardboard, covered with feathers, are fastened on each side of the head. When this disguise is complete, the bride, blindfolded by her veil, is led forth from the apartment, and conducted by her father or nearest male relative to open a round dance, during the performance of which money is showered over her. She is then led to a corner, where she sits awaiting the arrival of the bridegroom in the solitude of her crimson cage.

The bridegroom's toilet begins early in the afternoon: he is seated in the middle of the room | surrounded by a joyous company of friends; the *gingahar* or best man and a host of 128 boys arrive, accompanied by the band of music sent in search of them.

The barber, an all important functionary, must not be overlooked: razor in hand, girded with his silk scarf, his towel over one shoulder, and a species of leather strap over the other, he commences operations, prolonged during an indefinite period, much enlivened by his gossip and *bon mots*, and turned to his advantage by the presents he receives from the assembled company, who, one by one, suspend their gifts on a cord, stretched by him for the purpose across the room. These gifts consist chiefly of towels, pieces of cloth, scarves, etc. When the gossip considers the generosity of the company exhausted, he gives the signal for the production of the wedding garments, which, brought in state together with the bridegroom's presents to his bride, must receive the benediction of the priest before they can be used.

After the evening meal has been partaken of, the gifts, accompanied by the musicians, are conveyed to the bride, the company following with the bridegroom, who walks between two torches, and is met at the door by another band of music.

On entering the presence of his future mother-in-law and her nearest relatives, he receives a gift from her and respectfully kisses her hand. Allowed a few moments' rest, he is seated on
 129 a chair between two | flaring torches, after which he is led into the presence of his veiled bride, to whom he extends his hand, which she takes, extricating her own with difficulty from under her *duvak*, and is assisted to descend from her sofa corner, and stands facing her betrothed with her forehead reclining against his. A short prayer, called the "half service," is read over the couple; their hands, locked together, must not be loosed till they arrive at the street door, when two bridesmaids supporting the bride on each side lead her at a slow pace to the church.

The procession is headed by the bridegroom and his men, followed by the bride and the ladies; no person is allowed to cross the road between the two parties. On entering the sacred edifice, the couple, making the sign of the cross three times, offer a prayer, believing that whatever they ask at this moment will be granted them; they then approach the altar steps and stand side by side.

An Armenian superstition considers some days more propitious than others for the celebration of weddings, consequently a number of bridal couples generally collect on the same day, and at the same hour. I was present on one occasion, when the church at Broussa, although a vast building, scarcely sufficed to accommodate the friends of the sixty couples waiting to get married. The brides, all similarly dressed, were pushed forward by the dense
 130 crowd of relatives, friends | and spectators, towards the altar, where the sixty bridegrooms awaited them, standing in a line. Two brides, alike in stature, changed places, in the hurry and confusion of the moment. One was a pretty peasant girl, whose only dower was her beauty, destined to become the wife of a blacksmith; the other was the ugly daughter of a wealthy Armenian, about to be united to a man of her own station. The mistake was noticed, but the nuptial knot being already tied, it was too late to be rectified, no divorce for such a cause being allowed among Armenians. The bridegroom who could only complain in a pecuniary point of view made the best of it,—doubtless consoled by the adage, that beauty unadorned is adorned the most; while the blacksmith, greatly benefited by this unexpected good turn from Dame Fortune, had probably pleasant dreams of abandoning the hammer and anvil and passing the rest of his days in ease, affluence, and plenty, and was ready to admit that riches, like fine garments, may hide a multitude of defects.

But let us return to the marriage ceremony. The first part of the service is read by the priest, standing on the altar steps; the couples, placed in a row before him, with the best men and boys behind him. He asks each couple separately, first the bridegroom, and then the
 131 bride, the following question:—"Chiorus topalus cabullus?"* To which the parties answer | in the affirmative. Should either person object to the union, the objection is accepted, and the marriage cannot be proceeded with; but incidents of this kind are rare: only one ever came under my notice.

After the formalities of the acceptance have been gone through, the couple stand facing each other, with their heads touching, and a small gold cross is tied with a red silken string

* <In Turkish> Blind or lame, is he or she acceptable?

on the forehead of each, and the symbol of the Holy Ghost pressed against them. The ceremony terminates by the partaking of wine; after which, the married pair walk hand-in-hand to the door of the church; but from the church to her home the bride is once more supported by the bridesmaids. The moment they are about to cross the threshold, a sheep is sacrificed, over whose blood they step into the house.

When husband and wife are seated side by side, the guests come one by one, kiss the crosses on their foreheads, and drop coins into a tray, for the benefit of the officiating priests.

The bride is now once more led to her solitary corner; the veil, which she has been wearing all the time of the ceremony, is momentarily lifted from her face, and she is refreshed with a cup of coffee, into which she drops money as she gives it back: a male child is then placed on her knees for a short time. This formality is followed by a regular scramble for her stockings by a flock of children, who make a great | rush towards her feet, pull off her boots and stockings, which they shake, in order to find the money previously placed in them. 132

The bride and bridegroom soon after open a round dance, and during its performance money is again thrown over their heads.

The bride is again led back to her corner, where she remains a mute and veiled image; sleeping at night with that awful plate on her head, and guarded by her maiden friends, who do not desert her until Wednesday evening, when the bridegroom is finally allowed to dine *tête-à-tête* with the bride. The only guests admitted that day to the family dinner are the priest and his wife; the latter passes the night in the house, and is commissioned the next morning to carry the tidings to the bride's mother that her daughter has happily entered upon the duties of married life.

At noon a luncheon is given to the relatives and friends, who collect to offer their congratulations.

On Saturday, the ceremony of kissing the hands of her mother and father-in-law is again gone through; the bridal veil on this occasion is replaced by one of crimson crepe, which she wears until her father-in-law gives her a present, and allows her to remove it. Brides are not allowed to utter a word in the presence of a near relative of their husband, until permitted to do so by his father. This permission, however, is sometimes not easily obtained, and years may elapse | before it is given. Many a young wife has gone to her grave without having spoken to her father- and mother-in-law. 133

Though the Armenians are sensual and despotic, they generally make good husbands; but the standard of morality is getting lax among the emancipated followers of the customs *à la Franca*, who . . . often abuse the freedom of European manners.

The Armenian churches are not unlike those of the Greeks; they are similar in 325 decoration—pictures of Christ, the virgin, and the saints, being the principal ornaments of their altars. These pictures are slightly superior to the expressionless ones used by the Greeks, The pious often decorate parts of these with a silver or gold coating on the hands, or as an aureole, and sometimes over the whole body. The Armenians have faith in the efficacy of prayers addressed to these images as well as in the laying of hands on the sick or distressed, who are often taken to the church and left through the night before the altar of some special saint. The Armenian patriarchs and bishops enjoy the same rights and privileges as the Greek, and administer justice to their respective communities on the same conditions.

Like the Greek, the Armenian clergy are of two orders; secular and monastic; the former are allowed to marry, but never occupy a high position in the church. They are usually very
326 poor, even poorer and more retired than the Greek pariah priests, living like the lower orders of the people, who look upon them as their friends. Although ignorant, they are much respected for the morality of their lives, but knowing nothing more than the routine of their office they are unable to give any religious instruction to their parishioners beyond that contained in the books of prayer used in the church: a passage from the lives or writings of the saints is read in place of a sermon.

This drawback to the propagation of more practical religion is being by degrees removed since the introduction of excellent religious books published by the Mechitarist College at Venice, and by the American Missionary societies. The latter especially have done much to stimulate the dormant spirit of inquiry; the large circulation of Bibles, which by their low price are brought within the reach of all, encourages the propensity shown by the Armenians to admit Protestant ideas, which are being daily more extensively spread among the community. "In Central Turkey alone there are now no less than twenty-six organized churches, with some 2,500 members, and audiences amounting in the aggregate to 5,000 or 6,000 steady attendants."

Grattan Geary—d.1900

Through Asiatic Turkey—Narrative of a Journey from Bombay to the Bosphorus.

In two volumes. Vol. II, London, Samson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1878

A.D. 1877

The population of the city <of Mardin>, according to the latest government returns, is 166
16,386, distributed as follows: Moslems, 8,184; Papal Armenians, 3,188; Syrians, 2,922;
Papal Syrians, 1,340; Chaldeans (Papal Nestorians), 420; Protestants, 308; Jews, 24.

The population of the town <of Diarbekir> is about 60,000, of whom rather more than 209
half are Christians. The Armenians are the most numerous of the Christian sects. The |
Armenian Protestant Church, of which the Rev. T. Boyajian is the pastor, numbers a 210
congregation of eight hundred souls . . .

There are several Armenian churches of considerable pretensions in Diarbekir; this being 222
the first city where I had yet visited where that community forms an important element in
the population. I visited the church of the Armenian Protestants and found it to be well-built
and convenient, with a handsome dome over the center.

The continued existence of the Ottoman Empire as a strong military power is 353
indispensable; but some changes are from time to time suggested and advocated in influential
quarters, which, if carried out, would obliterate Turkey from the list of States. It has even been
proposed that all the Turkish provinces, except Arabia proper, should be made autonomous,
and that only the shadow of sovereignty should be left to the Porte. The mere attempt to do
this would, of course, effectually abolish the military power of Turkey. The mere name of
Empire would be left. The autonomy of the Asiatic provinces is out of the question. How
could Mesopotamia or Kurdistan become autonomous? The Arabs and the Kurds are too
“autonomous” already, and the first thing to be done with them is to place them under a
régime of well-armed police. Asia Minor is Turkish, and does not ask for autonomy. The
elements of self-government do not exist in Armenia. The Armenian Christians are the
minority of the population, and are deficient in the military virtues; they could not hold their
own against the warlike Kurds. Syria could not govern itself: it could not even defend itself
from the Bedouins if the present Turkish administration, inefficient as it is, were withdrawn.

Charles Williams—1838–1904

The Armenian Campaign: A Diary of the Campaign of 1877, in Armenia and Koordistan.

London, C. K. Paul & Co., 1878

A.D. 1877

- 171 Yesterday, there being nothing doing, I rode over to have a look at the ruins of the ancient Armenian city of Anni or Ani, which lie about twenty minutes to the south of our extreme right, and I must say that there is a great deal to repay a visit in what Murray's "Guide to Turkey in Asia," with its usual blundering, does not think worthy of a line. Premising that I am no archaeologist, there seems to be here enough to furnish a learned paper for some of |
- 172 the societies which especially affect antiquarian lore. The city is built on the edge of a steep ravine, which effectually protects it on two sides. The other two are guarded by walls and round towers, not later, at a guess, than the fourteenth, or early in the fifteenth century.

These walls and towers are in a wonderful state of preservation, and many parts of them are absolutely perfect. But the town itself, which covered a space of three-quarters by half a mile, and contained many architectural monuments, if we may judge by the fragments, is a wilderness and a desolation. Hardly anything remains but a couple of what may have been tombs, but rather resemble covers for fountains, and have a distant resemblance to the conduit at Lichfield; two round towers of brick and stone—minarets perhaps—not far from perfect, although ruined at the top, and the bulk of a building almost in what we should call the Queen Anne's style; that is, of brick, with white stone dressings, such as those we see at Queen Anne's Gate in St. James's Park.

- I know nothing whatever of this city and its history, but it is doubtless described by Hamilton and Texier, who, according to Kiepert's map, would seem to have visited it. But I hope the next archaeologist or architect who may be passing this way, or be in this part of the world, will make a point of critically examining and describing what I do not exaggerate in calling some of the most interesting and picturesque remains of a strong-walled Eastern city I have seen; a city whose strength ceased with the introduction of even imperfect artillery, and which bears evidence of a once high state of civilization in this now desolate land, in which man lives in houses not fit for "the beasts that perish," and in which the inhabitants have fallen back upon the most primitive form of industry and the earliest means of accumulating
- 173 wealth, the tending of flocks and herds, | without the smallest effort to improve the breed of the one or to increase the produce of the other.

R. A. Hammond—?

A History of the Empire and People of Turkey and the War in the East, giving a full account of the origin of the Turks and the growth of the Empire; the habits and customs of the people; their religious rites and ceremonies; the life of Mahomet; the doctrines of the Koran, and the Mahometan and Greek Church religions; a description of the country; mosques, temples, and seraglio; manufactures and products; the Government, its Sultans, Viziers, and Pashas. With a narrative of the late rebellion and butcheries in the provinces: and the origin and progress of the Turko-Russian War; the financial and military condition of the two countries; biographies of leading officers, etc.

C. E. Hunt & Co., Rockland, Mass., 1878

A.D. 1878

The Turkish portion of Armenia comprehends the important pashalic of Erzeroom, together 261 with the smaller pashalics of Kars, Bayazid, Moosh, and Van. These territories occupy the space that extends from the government of Trebizond (along the shores of the Euxine) to the source of the Euphrates, and thence to the foot of Mount Ararat—a high plateau, with a climate that exhibits the severest extremes alike of summer heat and winter cold. Erzeroom, the principal city in this region, stands upon a plain that is upwards of 6,000 feet above the sea. Owing to its extreme elevation the cold is intense. The wells were frozen over in April, and vegetation was very backward in July. The description of its winter aspect might serve for the experiences of recent Arctic navigators. A bright sky there was, with the sun shining away as if it was all right, but his ray gave no heat, and only put your eyes out with its glare upon the snow. The glare has an extraordinary effect, sometimes bringing on snow-blindness . . .

Erzeroom is a flourishing city, with some manufactures of leather, carpets, etc., and a considerable transit trade. The present population, estimated at thirty | thousand, is, however, 262 much below its amount at a former period. Erzeroom is 115 miles in direct distance from Trebizond, in the direction of S. E.

The town of Kars (12,000 inhabitants) lies in the direction of N. E. from Erzeroom, at a distance of 110 miles, and not far distant from the frontier line between the Turkish and Russian empires. The stream beside which it is built (and which bears the same name) flows into the Arpa-chai, which joins the river Kour. The houses of Kars are nearly all built of black basalt. This town also stands at a great elevation above the sea, and the climate is consequently cold and bleak. Throughout this high region no one thinks, except in cases of great emergency, of traveling for eight months of the year, owing to snow, ice, and intense cold. As a protection against it, most of the houses we found to be constructed wholly or partly underground . . .

The ruins of Anni—once the capital of an independent Armenian kingdom, now only marking the site of an ancient and deserted town—lie twenty miles to the S. E. of Kars . . .

The plain of Bayazid is further to the southward. The town of that name (150 miles E. S. E. of Erzeroom, and not far distant from the base of the lofty Ararat) is famous for a magnificent monastery, but is now in a ruinous condition and in great part deserted. Its present population is only 5,000.

Moosh, a badly built place, with only 5,000 inhabitants, though the capital of a pashalic, lies eighty miles to the southward of Erzeroum, upon a conical shaped hill. The stream of the Murad-su, as the eastern arm of the Euphrates is called, flows at some distance to the northward of this town. The bazaars of Moosh are well supplied. The chief part of its population is Armenian.

263 The town of Van, upon the eastern shore of the lake already described, has 15,000 inhabitants, and the usual characteristics of Oriental towns—dirty, narrow, and ill-paved streets. Its citadel, now in a ruinous condition, crowns an adjacent height.

The pashalic of Diarbekir is situated on a lower level, in a fine plain watered by the upper course of the Tigris, and terminated to the north by the high mountain range of Asi-Kour, the ancient Niphates. The town of Diarbekir stands upon an elevated rocky range, stretching from the citadel, at its north-western extremity, towards the south-west, in the shape of a boat, and is about 200 yards from the river at the nearest point. The citadel is on a precipitous mass of volcanic rock, to which the walls of the town are joined. These are high, well built, and strong, being flanked by 72 towers, which, like the walls and even the houses, are constructed of lava, mixed with the ruins of ancient buildings. The walls enclose a space of which the circumference is about five miles. The houses are flat-roofed and two stories high, the lower one of stone, and the upper of clay; and the buildings rise in stages, like a succession of terraces, one above another. The streets are paved, and there are sixteen mosques, most of them covered with lead.

The Diarbekir in its prosperity contained 40,000 houses, with numerous cotton-looms constantly at work; and it enjoyed active trade in gall-nuts, not only with Koordistan, but also with India, on one side, through Bagdad, and with Europe, through Aleppo, on the other; but at present there are scarcely 800 houses, and its commerce is almost annihilated.

The situation of Diarbekir is admirably calculated for that of a great commercial city, and nothing appears necessary to revive its ancient importance but the removal of the chief cause of its decline; namely, the insecurity of its commercial communications with Syria, Asia Minor, and Koordistan, and with the estuary of the Shatt-el-Arab.

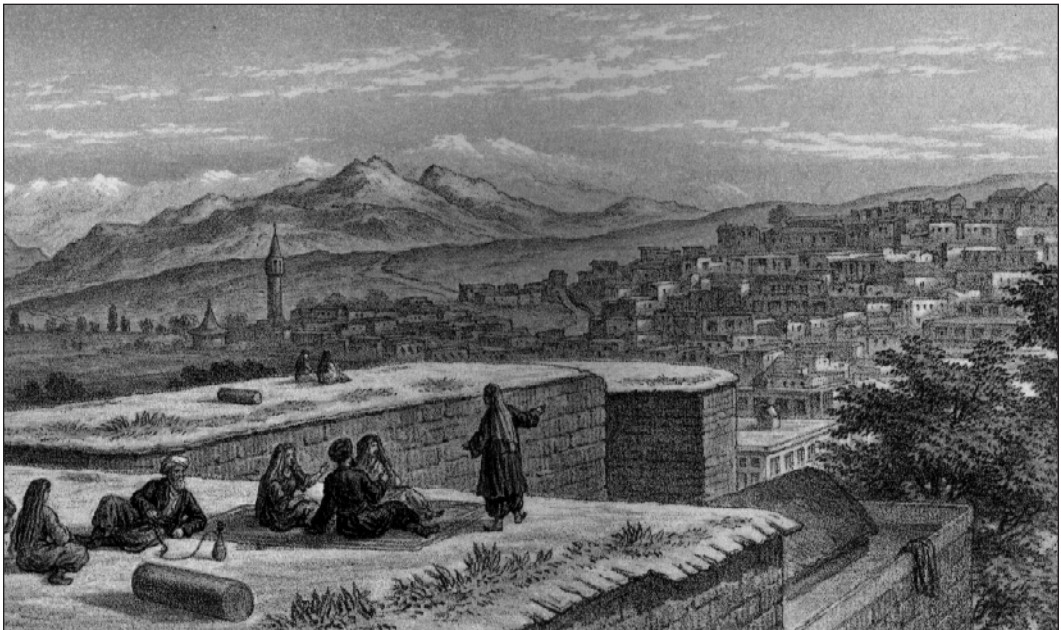
299 Tokat, to the north-west of Sivas, is enclosed by hills on three sides, the only opening being in the north-eastward, in which direction it is watered by a little stream—the Tokat-su—which afterwards joins the Yeshil-Irmak, or ancient Isis. Tokat contains about 6,730 families, of which 5,000 are Mahommedan, 1,500 Armenian, 150 Greek, 50 Jewish, and 30 Roman Catholic.

302 The city <of Trebizond> contains between 25,000 and 30,000 inhabitants. The Greeks may be estimated at 3,600 to 4,000, the Armenians at 1,600 to 2,000, and the Mohammedans at 20,000 to 24,000. The walled part of the city is inhabited solely by the latter; and that portion without the walls contain the Christian population . . .

304 The modern city of Kaisariyeh is walled; some of the houses are well built, but the streets are narrow and dirty, and the place has, upon the whole, a ruinous and neglected appearance. The population is 30,000—of which 5,000 may be Turkish, 2,500 Armenian, and 500 Greek.

Throughout the Armenian families and communities the patriarchal system of government prevails, and under it there is the most complete harmony. The religion of the Armenians is nearly that of the Greeks, but in many particulars resemble that of the Romanists. The first two denominations of Christians, however, differ from one another on a few fundamental points. The Armenians, for instance, believe that Christ had but one nature, while the Greeks contend that he had two, and that the Holy Ghost is derived from the Father only; the secular clergy belonging to each of these two sects are permitted to marry once before they are ordained. Like the Roman Catholics, both the Armenians and Greeks have the seven sacraments, and believe in transubstantiation; fasts are also strictly enjoined, not only every Friday, but more particularly at four periods of the year. At such times their food consists of dried or salted fish, olives, and bread; but during Lent the Armenians are restricted to the last two. 316

The chief architects <of Constantinople> are Armenians, who build usually by contract, and employ chiefly the Bulgarians as day laborers. 369



Marash.

[From E. J. Davis' *Life in Asiatic Turkey* (London, 1879).]

Edmondo de Amicis—1846–1908

Constantinople.

Translated from the seventh Italian edition by Caroline Tilton

New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1878

A.D. 1878

153 . . . Though each of these peoples <Armenian, Greek, and Hebrew> has preserved more or less its own characteristics, the exterior life of all the three has become overlaid with a Mussulman color, which is now being merged in its turn into a tint of European civilization . . .

The Armenians in especial, “Christians in faith and spirit, and Asiatic Mussulmans in birth and blood,” are not only difficult to study closely, but also difficult to distinguish at sight from the Turks, because those among them who have not yet adopted European costume, still wear the Turkish dress with very slight modifications; and the antique felt cap that with certain special colors used to mark the race, is now scarcely ever seen. Nor do they differ much in feature from the Turks. In general they are tall of stature, robust, corpulent, light complexioned, grave and dignified in walk and manner, and showing in their faces the two qualities proper to their nature; an open, quick, industrious, and pertinacious spirit, by
 154 which they are wonderfully well adapted to commerce, and that placidity, which I some call pliant servility, with which they succeed in insinuating themselves everywhere, from Hungary to China, and in rendering themselves acceptable, particularly to the Turk, whose good will they have conquered as docile subjects and obsequious friends. They have neither within nor without any trace of warlike or heroic qualities. Such, perhaps, they were not formerly in the Asiatic region from which they came, and their brethren who remain there are said to be quite different; but the transplanted ones are truly a quiet and prudent people, modest in their lives, having no ambition beyond their traffic, and more sincerely religious, it is said, than any other people in Constantinople. The Turks call them *the camels of the empire*, and the Franks say that every Armenian is born a calculator; these two sayings are in great part justified by the facts, for thanks to their physical strength, and their quick and acute intelligence, they not only furnish Constantinople with a large number of architects, engineers, physicians, and ingenious and patient artificers of many kinds, but they form also the larger part of the porters and bankers; porters that carry marvelous weights, and bankers that amass fabulous treasures. At first sight, however, no one would notice that there was an Armenian people at Constantinople, so completely has the plant adapted itself to the strange soil. The women themselves, because of whom the Armenian houses are closed against the stranger as closely as those of the Mussulmans, dress like the Turkish women, and none but an experienced eye can distinguish them from their Mahometan neighbors. They are for the most part fair and fat, and have the aquiline profile, and the large, long-fringed eyes of the Orientals; tall in
 155 stature, and of I matronly form, when crowned with a turban they present a handsome and dignified appearance, and at the same time modest . . .

George Douglas, Eighth Duke of Argyll—1823-1900

The Eastern Question from the Treaty of Paris 1856 to the Treaty of Berlin 1878, and to the Second Afghan War.

In two volumes. Vol. I, Strahan & Company Limited, London, 1879

A.D. 1878

. . . In one district, Consul Taylor reports, that during three years, “out of 106 villages, only 76 now remain, and in each of the latter, five or six small farms are entirely deserted.” Then there is the “old, old story” of all the consequences which flow from the farming of the revenue, and the personal corruption of the governors. Of one province (Diarbekr) Consul Taylor reports that a new Turkish governor had arrived with the appropriate name of “Wolf Pasha,” and of this officer of the Turkish Government, we have the following account:—

“The new Vali, Ismail Pasha, who also bears the appropriate name of Koort, or Wolf Pasha, exerted himself vigorously to recover a portion at least of this vast sum, and succeeded, by means incredible in our age, in wringing some 40,000*l.* from real or imaginary debtors. I use the latter term also, as, in the case of the Mardin Protestants, reported to Her Majesty’s Embassy, any false charges, suggested by jealousy, religious intolerance, or revenge, was, if it involved a debt to Government, at once seized upon by the Vali.

“It must be confessed his conduct was impartial, as Moslems and Christians, rich and poor, were equally the objects of his attacks and victims of an unheard-of treatment to compel prompt discharge of real or fictitious obligations. Moolas, aged men, and Council members, were made to transport heavy loads on their backs in a burning sun, from one place to another, for no other purpose than by such torture to accelerate payment, their steps being unnaturally quickened by frequent blows from the muskets of the brutal soldiery appointed to superintend their unaccustomed labor. Married Christian women (Protestants) were dragged by night, in the absence of their husbands, from the harems, and stripped of their gold ornaments; while several of the aged male members of the same creed were so severely injured by the treatment they were subjected to, as to be confined to their beds for months.

“A system of government allowing such practices, however much it may for the time intimidate defaulters, evil-doers, hordes of Koordish thieves, and temporarily relieve the Treasury, can in the end result in nothing but the depreciation of revenue, and effectually prevent any improvement in the present wretched condition of the Diarbekr Vilayet.”

Then we have, in the same paper, ample evidence of the force of Moslem hatred and contempt of the Christian inhabitants, and of the actual protection afforded to the Kurds and to all other Mohammedan depredators. Fanatical Sheiks “preached their conduct to be lawful, and even meritorious, when practiced against Giaours.” When the Government pretended to interpose for the protection of the aggrieved population, it “inquired” through agents, as corrupt as those whose conduct was the subject of inquiry.

“Lately a new Commissioner, Osman Bey, a native of Erzeroum, has been sent to undertake a fresh inquiry, with a view of bringing the guilty parties to justice, but public opinion places no faith in the native selected for this purpose, or his desire to institute a

searching inquiry. The immunity the Koords seem to enjoy disinclines the Christians from making complaints, or following them up if they do so, for, as stated before, should they do so and the guilty parties be punished, sooner or later they would, both in person and property, suffer more, endure infinitely greater calamities than those they originally complained of. It is thus that great crimes always unpunished, grievous oppressions unredressed, are perpetrated, and merge into what the Koords and Sheikhs consider, as warranted by custom, permissible. An active, upright Governor, really desirous of putting a stop to such practices, and punishing the criminals, is thus, from the popular Moslem clamor, unable to hold his post a month, while the term-server becomes a tool in their hands."

51 As the general result, Consul Taylor's Report represents the country as in many parts becoming desolate.

"It was dispiriting, on my onward route to Kaghizman through Shuragel, the ancient Shiraj, formerly the richest and most populous district in Armenia, to pass so many spots marking the sites of towns and villages, some of them only recently deserted, but now encumbered with their ruins or the mean huts of the indigent population that remained. On many of these deserted sites the massive fabrics of early Armenian churches had successfully resisted the ravages of time and the efforts of man, urged by an implacable hostility to everything Christian, to destroy them. Round several, in spite of decreasing numbers, poverty, and oppression, the Armenians still cling with affectionate pertinacity, dragging on an existence, as well as they are able, under the tolerance of the Turkish Aghas or Beys who, either as the descendants of the Timariots or in consequence of the poverty of former owners, have in the course of time dispossessed the Christians of the lands and villages about."

Similar is the account given by Consul Taylor of the condition of the country round one of the ancient centers of civilization in this part of Western Asia:—

52 "From Van, following the southern shores of the lake over a good though hilly road at times, I reached Bitlis, already noticed, and from thence by the western side of the Van lake Ikhlal, situated on its shore.

"*Ikhlal*.—The miserable hovels of the new town are built out of and amongst the splendid ruins of the old Armenian city of Klat. Gardens and ploughed lands occupy the extensive site of this once magnificent place. In the whole of the Erzerum Vilayets I know no other spot so favorably situated for trade and agriculture, or for a military position from whence the Koords about Bayezid, Malazgerd, Boolanik, and Tchookoor, near Moosh, could be coerced and kept in due subjection, so as to allow peaceable subjects proper facilities to develop their industry and the producing qualities of the extensive lands, now deserted, in its vicinity.

53 "The system of agriculture practiced is more careful than anywhere else in my district, and the returns, both in quality and quantity, consequently exceed in proportion all other localities in the vilayet. But here again, although only fifty miles from Erzerum, the Koordish element is paramount, and its effects, as everywhere else where it exists, blighting. The Koords belong to the Hassanalee and Millikanlee tribes living in the vicinity of Akhlal, Boolanik, and Malazgerd, under the chieftainship of Soofie Agha, Khaznadar, and Eeseh Oghli. The depredations of their dependents, encouraged by, and proceeds shared in by them, are manifest all around. Deserted villages, ruined churches, crumbling mosques, abandoned fields, meet the eye everywhere. The ruthless conduct of these ruffians, rendered bolder by the feebleness of the Executive, has rendered what ought to be a paradise a desert. People who

formerly possessed thirty to forty buffaloes, besides sheep and cows, at the same time working ten ploughs, are now begging their bread; and within the last two years the Christian villages of Medzk, Kosthiyan, Tapa Vank, Jizroke, Khulleek, Jogkey, and Sivratore have been utterly abandoned by the Armenians, owing to the depredations of the people mentioned above."

. . . Consul Taylor says that he has dwelt principally on the oppression of the Christians, 55 not because others do not suffer also, "but because the Christians, in addition to deprivation of property, daily jeopardize their lives, and what is more terrible, the honor of their females, in daily struggles for existence; trials from which the Moslems are exempt."

. . . Consul Taylor's Report of 1869 abounds in evidence that the population subject to 56 the curse of the Turkish Government were escaping wherever they could into the neighboring territories of Russia. Of one district he says that "750 families have within the last six years emigrated to Russia, whilst 500 more have sent this year representatives to Erivan to negotiate a similar step." Again he says: "At the village of Arvos, eighteen hours from Erzerroom, I was witness to the strong Russian feeling pervading most of the Armenian peasantry." Again he says: "I believe that which personal observation has demonstrated, a large and influential party of nearly all classes and creeds, if not openly, secretly incline to Russia." Even the Kurds, in spite of the license they enjoyed from the Turkish Government, are described by Consul Taylor as "united in their partiality for Russia." Of the Armenian population, which is the backbone of such industry as is possible under such a Government, Mr. Taylor reports as follows:—

"Armenians.—The advice and ostentatious leaning towards Russia of the Armenian clergy in my district, headed by the Catholicas <Catholicos> residing at Etchmiazin in Russia, and his bishops in these parts, have naturally enough inclined the more ignorant | members of 57 their flocks—rich and poor—to adopt the same views; and considering also that a whole Christian house of ten souls in Russia pays only, for all taxes, 9 rubles (1*l.* 10*s.*) annually as against three times the sum here, if there has not been a general emigration, it is simply owing to the fact that disposable arable lands in Russian Armenia are scarce while the reverse prevails in Turkey.

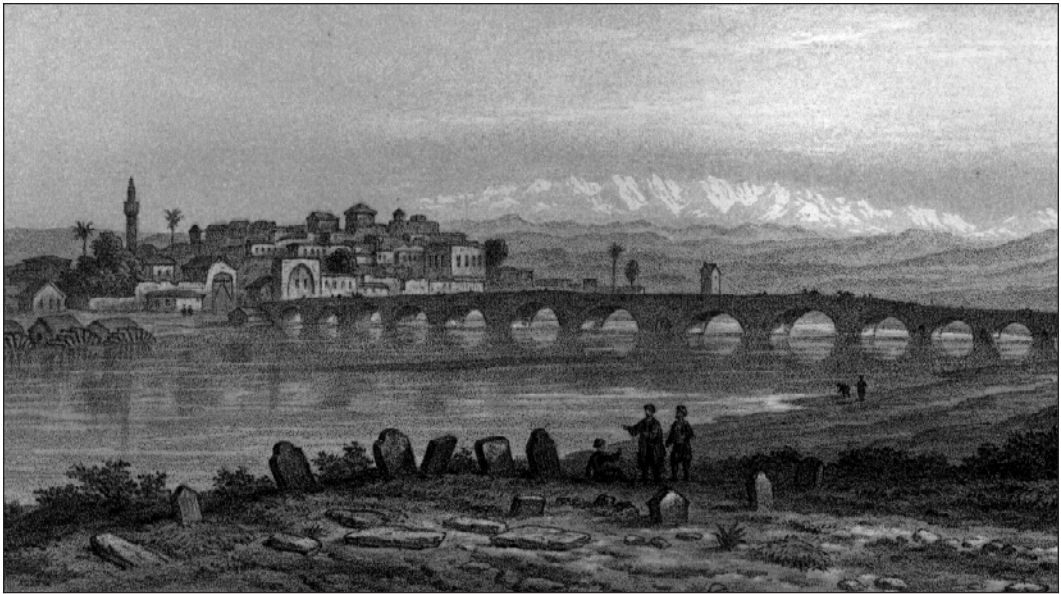
"Everywhere throughout these districts I found the Armenians bitter in their complaints against the Turkish Government, at the same time that they were unreserved in their praises of Russia, openly avowing their determination to emigrate. This bias is owing, as already stated, to the constant hostile teaching of their clergy; at the same time, ample cause for discontent, as has already been shown further back, is afforded by the really wretched system of Turkish provincial administration, the unequal imposition of taxes, scandalous method of levying them and the tithes, persistent denial or miscarriage of justice, and practical disavowal of the Christians' claim to be treated with the same consideration and respect as their equals among Moslems."

. . . Consul Taylor not only states the facts faithfully, but draws the right conclusion in the 60 following important passage:—

"I have ventured thus far to intrude my opinions of what I believe to be the predominant feeling among the Armenians in this province, because they form in their numbers, position, and occupations, the most influential class, and as being the one most favorable under present

circumstances to Russian interests, the most dangerous in an underhand way to the State. The only efficient panacea for such hostile feeling rests entirely with the Government. Were it to take efficient measures to insure the content of the people by radically redressing their wrongs, inflicting severe and impartial justice on their oppressors, remodel its system of tithe assessment, that under which at present the other taxes are divided and collected, and really carry out the spirit of its numerous firmans in favor of Christians, it would, I am confident, remove existing disaffection and promote the present and progressive loyalty of its subjects.

- 61 Without such a program they will be forced into bankruptcy; that sooner or later must give rise to emigration or open downright rebellion. I cannot exaggerate the gravity of the situation, nor urge too emphatically that the measure alluded to be recommended to the authorities.”



Adana.

[From E. J. Davis' *Life in Asiatic Turkey* (London, 1879).]

Edwin John Davis—b.1826/7

*Life in Asiatic Turkey—A Journal of travel in Cilicia (Pedia and Trachoea), Isauria, and Parts of
Lycaonia and Cappadocia.*

London, Edward Stanford, 1879

A.D. 1878

The environs of Tarsus seen from a height resemble a great neglected belt of woodland, in 35
which the few houses seem as if choked and buried; and no doubt this luxuriant vegetation,
and the exhalations from the damp soil, contribute much to the unhealthiness of the place.
The variety of the trees is very great. I noticed, on a cursory examination, oak, plane, ash,
poplar, fig, lemon, orange, vine, peach, apricot, pomegranate, mulberry, quince, olive,
almond, and pistachio. There were other shrubs unknown to me; and there is, besides, a
surprising quantity and variety of vegetables.

The new Armenian church is the finest building in Tarsus. It has nothing resembling a
nave, and | contains only the usual three recesses at the east end, and a large cupola, supported 36
by four spacious arches, which, however, appear too insubstantial for the weight that rests
upon them.

Adana . . . is closely built, and probably has a population of at least 20,000 souls. There 50
are many very good houses, and it conveys the impression of being a thriving, bustling place.
The greater part of its people are Muslim; but there are many Christians, mostly Orthodox
Armenians, with a few Catholic Armenians, a few Greeks, and some Protestants attached to
an American Presbyterian Mission.

The Turkish Government, however, were aware of its great advantages, and would not 58
allow any of the land near it to be sold. It may one day be the port for an Euphrates Valley
Railway. The population of this great plain <of Adana>, which in ancient times probably
supported at least 3,000,000 inhabitants, and was full of great cities, does not now exceed
300,000, not one-quarter enough for its cultivation. The communications are very bad. In
winter and in the rainy season the roads, excepting the *one* road, are impassable even for
horses, much more for camels. Grain, therefore, for which the merchant had advanced money
to the “fellahhin,” could not be brought down to the ports, and lay on the farms, at the
buyers’ risk, exposed to damage from the weather, owing to defective storage, bad barns, &c.

All the trees on the plain had been gradually destroyed and none planted to replace them,
and the landed proprietors, even the rich Greeks and Armenians, would not plant.

A few years ago there was a fine oak forest about six hours up the Sarus, on the east bank
of the river, this had now been destroyed, and it was necessary to go two hours’ distance from
the river before wood could be obtained. Twenty-five years earlier the edge of the forest could
be seen from Adana! If ever the forests on the mountains round the plain should be much
diminished, the plain would suffer immensely from want of rain. Our friend added that | the 59
Turkish portion of the population was losing ground in wealth, in social influence, even in

number. There were very few rich Turkish families now in Adana, while, on the contrary, the Christian population was increasing, and gaining ground also in influence and wealth. A large number of the Christians were now rich landed proprietors, but they were ignorant and prejudiced, and, unlike the Christians in many other parts of the empire, had not yet begun to recognize the necessity and advantage of education for their children. Moreover, they were disunited, the different sects could not “pull together.” They had begun to lift up their heads considerably, yet it was only within the last few years that they had ventured to display their wealth. Formerly a rich Christian proprietor, who might have several thousands of pounds sterling, *in cash*, in his house, would borrow money . . . in order to appear poor, like the Egyptian “fellahs,” but now they are not so fearful of the authorities.

I have since heard (1876) that the Government is exacting the taxes, and all arrears, with the utmost severity, owing to the great financial straits to which the war has reduced it. But the unfortunate peasants are utterly impoverished, and, in consequence, large Governmental sales of real property are taking place all over the interior. At such sales a human jackal, some miserable Armenian or Greek, attends as agent for the rich rayahs, and buys up the peasant’s land and houses, often for a quarter of their intrinsic value; and in this way the land is falling into the hands of the native Christians to a very great extent.

65 The modern village <of Messis (Mopsuestia)> contains about 300 houses, some on the east, some on the west; side of the river. The greater part of the population is Muslim, but there are seventy Armenian families, and a few Greeks.

81 Our host told us that there were only five Armenian families in Osmanieh, and complained much of the hard treatment they endured from the Muslims. He seemed a good, simple kind of man. He had lately lost his wife, and was left in a miserable state of poverty with two or three little children. He told me that owing to the wildness of the country, and the want of population, wild animals were numerous, and sometimes dangerous. A year ago a leopard had killed four children and a man before it was itself hunted and killed. In severe winter weather the wolves are dangerous; about three years back five persons had been killed by them in that neighborhood. The cattle and sheep must be driven into the villages every night to secure them from wild animals and robbers.

87 . . . We reached the Armenian mountain-village of Kizil Aghadj Oldousou, and alighted at the house of the mukhtar, a rich Armenian land-holder, named Toros Chakrian, welcomed
88 by the fierce baying of a pack of huge wolf dogs; but I was so cold, so stiff, so exhausted by fatigue and want of food, that I could scarcely mount the stair-case of wood that led up to the house. The hospitable host kindly helped me up, and we entered a handsome room, well carpeted, well lighted, and with cushions and silken coverlets on the floor. A raised dais ran along one side of the room, and a blazing wood fire cast its cheerful gleam over the company. Nothing could exceed their hospitality. I was so benumbed that I could not take off my boots and riding gaiters (a necessary piece of etiquette for a guest), so that the master himself kindly helped me, and I was soon seated at the fireside. Two more candelabras were brought in, and coffee and cigarettes offered. Two splendid silver narghilehs succeeded, which Toros himself lighted for us. Then, seeing that I was still shivering with cold, he ordered glasses of hot tea

to be prepared, but it was long before I could recover the natural heat, so chilled was I by the sharp mountain air and by want of food; and our host, with the best intentions, kept us waiting till nearly eleven o'clock for an elaborate supper, instead of giving us what was at hand. In the meantime we sat and conversed. Our host was a well-made man of about thirty-five years of age, with handsome features, splendid teeth, bright eyes, and a look of great determination. His dress was of the Marash style, a maroon-colored woolen robe, heavily embroidered with gold and crimson silk, a waistcoat of the same, thick cloth trousers, and a Syrian silk turban round his fez. He had been indulging in a little raki, and was very voluble. 89 He seemed delighted to welcome us, and repeated twenty times at least, "memnoun im," "I am thankful" (*i.e.* that you are come). Now, pleased at finding that I could converse a little with him, he would take me by the hand and squeeze it affectionately. Anon he would order one of his children, or servants, to bring out something for our honor or amusement, a plate of preserved violets, Samsoun and Latakia tobacco, fresh narghilehs, a bag of antique coins (very few of the least value, but I saw one good Demetrius Theos), a Persian decoration—an order of some kind, but I forget how obtained—a handsome rifle, which he said he had taken about eight years before in the attack on Zeytin, a semi-independent Armenian village, where he had served under Atesh Pasha. In the meantime his tongue ran on incessantly. He told us about his land, his cattle, his business transactions, how at times he drove down herds of his own cattle to Alexandretta for sale, and only a short time back had been attacked by robbers on the road, whom he had beaten off, but not before one of their shots had wounded his horse in the breast. He had been to Constantinople, and showed us his photograph taken at Sabah's, with all his "accouterments" on, and with his captured rifle in his hand. Our interpreter said that Toros had an income of about \$4,000 a year, a very large revenue for this country, but the Government taxes absorb a considerable part of it. With the remainder he lives a happy life enough, keeping open house, and exercising the greatest hospitality. It is a pity the Government do not employ men like this in the public service. This man I am sure would 90 serve the State well, and as an officer would lead his men valiantly. But they dare not give power to men of this stamp. If they did so to any extent, the present miserable system of misrule would soon come to an end.

Supper was at length announced, and our host took my hand, led me into an adjoining room, and placed me near the great copper tray on which the dishes were arranged. Small pieces of calico were given to us as napkins. Raki and home-made wine were served, the latter very palatable. It is invidious to criticize the *cuisine* of a hospitable host, but the result after three hours' preparation was but poor. The only really good things were the bread and the yaourt. The rice pilaff was gritty, the meat so tough that one could not eat it, and one dish so strongly flavored with garlic that I did not venture upon a second taste of it. By way of grace before meat, a young Armenian, who acts as schoolmaster to the village, and as a kind of extra servant to Toros—no very pleasant berth, by the way—chanted the Lord's Prayer in Turkish; the children accompanied him, and I noticed that they turned the palms of their hands upwards all the time ("manus supinas"). Then, while we were eating, they stood in front of us and chanted hymns in Turkish, with those peculiarly loud and nasal intonations which are only to be heard amongst the Eastern Christians. The master of the house kept time during the intervals of eating by gently waving his spoon, and when the hymn languished he would rap the dish sharply, and utter a loud "ha!" with a few words of command, which acted like 91

an electric shock on the performers, and set them off again vigorously. I did not eat as much as I could have eaten, in pity for the chorus, and so rose hungry but warm. The attendants quickly finished the remains of our supper. We returned to the “salaamlık,”* smoked a narghileh, and at midnight lay down to sleep.

94 The number of Armenians in Cilicia is estimated at 153,000 souls, and nearly 14,000 of these are Protestant, with twenty-six churches and chapels, many of them having schools attached. In Marash alone there are four chapels and eleven schools large and small, with an attendance of 450 children for five days in the week. In each chapel divine service is held twice on Sundays and twice during week days.

. . . Marash contains from about 25,000 to 30,000 people (this is a probable estimate). Of these 7,000 to 8,000 are Christians, principally Orthodox Armenians and Protestants—the Protestants being about 2,700 in number.

96 The bedeliyeh, or exemption tax from military service, presses heavily upon the poorer Christians <of Marash>, although its amount is trifling, and cases of Christians becoming Muslim were not uncommon; sometimes an Armenian would apostatize in order to spite and vex his relations.

97 At present the trade of Marash, as also that of Adana, is suffering in consequence of the famine in the interior. The chief trade of Marash is the manufacture of woollen fabrics used for clothing. Some of these are very beautiful, being embroidered or interwoven with gold and silk, and all are wonderfully cheap, so great is the lack of money in the country. The leather work of all kinds is excellent, and we saw some fine specimens of saddlery inlaid with gold. The boots are very good, being strong and well made, but the waste of leather in them is strange.

152 The approach to Sis is very beautiful, from the picturesque appearance of the great red rock, with the fortress on its top, backed by a broken range of mountains of the deepest purple tint. A little stream descends the valley, along which the road from Anazarba passes, and its course is marked by gardens and orchards full of orange and lemon trees, an uncommon sight in Cilicia.

The town of Sis is on the steep slope at the base of the mountain. It looks well from a distance, but like most Eastern towns its beauty is all external. It is a wretched decaying place, consisting of ruinous stone houses, filthy in the extreme, and (unlike Marash) appears to have no special industry. The people, who are chiefly Armenian Christians, present a very wretched appearance.

153 We alighted at the khan after about four hours' ride. The appearance of our lodging was not very inviting, and I preferred to sleep outside on a bench, rather than in the room which the khanji offered. The room was fitted up with a stage about three feet high, but in place of stairs a loose stone was placed. This was the only help for mounting the stage, so that every time one descended there was a risk of spraining the ankle, and every time one mounted it

* The reception room in a Turkish house for male visitors.

was necessary to be very cautious not to strike the head against a beam placed exactly above the edge of the stage . . .

And here I must digress, in order to make a few remarks on the stupid “insouciance” of the Orientals. If, as was the case at Sis, a stage be placed in a room, it is usually as high that there is difficulty in mounting, and risk of a fall in stepping down from it, and very seldom is it thought necessary to arrange two or three steps, by which to go up or down. I noticed in several places flights of stairs, stone and wood, the upper step of which is less in width than the others, so that a stranger descending in the dark is very apt to fall, for who could anticipate such a perverse arrangement? Holes in stairs or floors are never repaired, and if you put your foot through one of them and hurt yourself, so much the worse for you! Nothing will be done until the stairs or floors are so utterly ruined that they cannot be repaired, but must be renewed. Again, if there be any inconvenient place in which to fix a nail, or a piece of wood, in itself utterly useless! so that it may wound hand, or face, or eye, or head, there, where one has least reason to expect it, it is certain to be found.

The Oriental, however, is seldom or never “in a hurry,” and by reason of his slow, deliberate, movements suffers less from such inconveniences than the more impetuous European. Still, all these little matters mark the general character of the people, and if there are two ways of arranging anything, or doing any thing, the one easy, safe, and convenient, the other difficult, inconvenient, or dangerous, the latter is that which these Orientals will prefer to adopt; and I am convinced that the Osmanlis, if left to themselves, would go on for centuries exactly as they go on now; there would be no change, no improvements nothing but stagnation and decay! 154

May 11.—The fatigue and heat of the last two or three days had quite exhausted us, and we felt but little inclination for the hard work of ascending to the top of the mountain, on which is the old fortress of Sis, an expedition, as we heard, far more laborious and difficult than the examination of the fortress of Anazarba. But besides this, my friend was already suffering from the first attacks of the disease which a fortnight later, alas! was to prove fatal to him. We therefore determined to give up to-day to comparative rest, and on the morrow to make the best of our way to Adana, where some degree of comfort, and medical help if needed, could be obtained.

Excepting the fortress and the Church of the Patriarchate, which is on the site of the old palace of the Armenian kings, Sis offers nothing whatever of interest. Although Sis is the seat of the Patriarchate, the Patriarch prefers to reside at Aintab, only coming to Sis at intervals “because (we heard) the Armenians of Sis do not show him much respect or regard.”

The monastery containing his palace, with its garden, and the church, is some hundreds of feet above the town, and the whole forms a triangular space, surrounded by a high wall.

Although unable to exert himself to any great extent, my friend paid a visit with me to the church. We were received by the resident priest, a man of about fifty, with an extremely handsome face, aquiline nose, and bright piercing eyes. We saw no other ecclesiastic, and he appeared to be living almost alone, in this dreary solitude. 155

After entering the lower gate of the enclosure, we passed, by means of successive flights of steps, from one platform to another. The whole is a confused assemblage of courtyards, corridors, rooms large and small, but all in a dirty and neglected condition. The priest received us in the house of the Patriarch, which is at the highest point of the triangular

enclosure, and looks down upon the town, with its flat-roofed houses built in terraces, one row rising above the other. The monastery with most of the church was built by the Patriarch Kyriakos in about 1810, but already is falling to ruin, being in a sad state of neglect and disrepair. This Patriarch was afterwards murdered by the chief Turkman Bey of the district.

The church is a spacious square building, with a flat roof supported by square pillars of masonry. At its east end are the usual three apse-like recesses, each with its altar. Over the central altar is a canopy of Italian stucco work, covered with gilding, all in very bad taste. The walls at this end of the church are inlaid for some feet from the ground with porcelain tiles resembling those in the mosque of Sultan Suleiman at Constantinople. There is another shrine on the north side of the church, to which a steep flight of stone steps led up. This shrine also was richly ornamented with stucco work and gilding. The Patriarch had a seat there, as well as one in the nave. Pictures of the usual quaint style were hung in various parts of the church. In front of the central apse, the floor of which was raised high above the floor of the church, are a number of quaintly carved bronze lions, which serve as stands for two large and rather fine brass candelabras. The most remarkable thing in the church is the marble chair in which the kings of Armenia sat at their coronation. On the back and sides of the chair is carved their blazon, a lion rampant, and a double eagle. In the north-west corner are the tombs of several of the patriarchs. The portico along the west front of the church is in a most dangerous state of disrepair, and may fall at any moment. Our guide said that on the return or next visit of the Patriarch it would be repaired; but it appeared doubtful whether it would remain erect for many days!

Against the wall, under the portico, were hung what served as the bells of the church (for the Muslims in general hold bells in the utmost abhorrence), viz. a large piece of iron, a large and thick piece of wood, and a smaller similar piece. These are sounded at different times, according to the divine service that is to be celebrated.

Although I put many questions through our interpreter to the Armenians with whom I came in contact, not one could give me the least information about the history or antiquities of their town; so that, though there are several other churches (all, however, in a ruinous state), I could find out nothing about them; my account of Sis is, therefore, of necessity very incomplete.

The fortress, as seen from below, appears to crown the rugged points of the mountain in several places, and a high wall enclosing the whole follows the undulations of the surface. It has precipices of enormous depth on almost every side, and must have been nearly impregnable in the old days. With the capture of the fortress of Sis, by El Melek el Ashraf, Sultan of Egypt, in 1374, the Armenian dynasty in Cilicia ceased to reign; for, although the king, Leo VI (of Lusignan) succeeded in escaping to the mountains, he has blockaded in the fortress of Capan, which is to the N.W. of Sis, and after a siege of nine months was forced to surrender by famine, and with his family sent prisoner to Cairo. To my great regret I was prevented from visiting the fortress, owing to the intense heat and to my friend's ill-health.

About half the population of Adana is Christian, chiefly Armenians; there are about five hundred Greek houses, but very few Roman Catholics. The Muslims of Adana are fanatical, the rich and the higher classes being extremely bigoted, and the poorer classes of course follow their example. In fact, the society of Adana is a relic of the old state of things; all the women—

not excepting the Christians—go out veiled up to the eyes, not in the semi-transparent Stambouli “yashmak”; and even the Christian women never meet strange male society . . .

The ignorance of all classes is, of course, intense.

The town is really well paved . . . | the streets are kept well swept every night and in some 170 places even lighted; of course much more might be done; still, all this is creditable. The houses are of brick, set in clay; much wood is used in their construction; the better kind of houses have large open galleries in which the people live during summer. The roofs are flat, and the people are now obliged to sleep out “a la belle etoile,” in consequence of the heat inside the houses. On the roof of nearly every house is a crib, or summer bedstead of wood, in which the inmates sleep, thus securing a cool night’s rest. It is curious to see the people rising early in the morning, all about you, and tossing off the mat, tresses by which they had been covered. The whole family generally repose together in the same great crib.

The street cries of Adana are very curious, but I can only remember a few: Dymasoon! (Look out!), Donderma! (Ices!), Isar istyan? (Who wants snow?). The town is well supplied with frozen snow, which is brought daily on mules from the high chain of the Taurus, some nine to ten hours distant. Regularly at about 3 A.M. the muezzin of a neighboring mosque used to begin the call to prayer; the chant lasted for about half an hour; it was extremely beautiful in itself, and the man had a remarkably fine voice; he always began very softly, and the effect of the sound coming from the lofty minaret in the deep silence of night was quite entrancing; the end of the chant was always abrupt and in a high note. My poor sick friend 171 did not like it, it seemed to disturb | him, and he would mutter, “Those madmen!” but to me the effect was extremely beautiful. Sometimes another voice could be heard far off in the darkness, from the minaret of a more distant mosque.

May 18.—Market day. A vast number of laborers and villagers entered the town soon after daybreak. On this day wages are paid, and the rate of wages for the following week settled, as the hiring is by the week. The great cultivators fix the rate, others follow their lead. The pay this week was, for grass cutters, 1½ piastre per day; for reapers, 2½ piastres—equivalent to about 3¼*d.* and 5½*d.* per day, but as the number of piastre in the mejidieh or silver dollar varies continually, I only give this as an approximation. Gold is seldom or never seen, except in the largest cities; even silver, though it has become a little more plentiful, is scarce; the usual money is a debased coinage of alloy that had once been silvered over (one of the heritages of the Crimean war). Endeavors have been made to call it in, and replace it by a silver coinage, but, like the many other good projects and intentions in Turkey, the success of this attempt had been very partial.

The food of the laborers is also found by the employer, such as bread, soup, pilaff or “burgoul” (*i.e.* pilled wheat), onions, &c., &c. Sometimes wages are very much higher than now. On one occasion, a few years back, they were at ten to twelve piastres a day—a heavy cost to the farmers. The rate depends upon the number of laborers and the state of the crops. So great and sudden is the heat, that the whole crop must be reaped almost all together, otherwise there | is great loss by shedding of the grain. The mortality amongst the laborers is 172 high. These poor fellows come down from a pure mountain air to the deadly heat of the Cilician plain; they are exposed all day to the burning sun, often with very insufficient protection on the head or body, and all night to the dews and damp, in a climate always more or less malarious, with nothing but the chance shelter of a tree—and trees are very rare in the

plain—or their own poor clothing, as their covering, so that sunstroke, fever, and dysentery, are very common and fatal amongst them. A man feels a little ill, headache and shivering come on, he is obliged to retire, and in an hour or two he is dead; for though strong and stalwart men enough, they seem to have no great vital power.

From 50,000 to 70,000 laborers annually come to reap the harvest in the vilayet of Adana (*i.e.* the great Cilician plain); of these, about 20,000 are Syrian Arabs, from the districts of Latakia, Tripoli, Antioch, &c. Some 30,000 to 40,000 are Keurdtz (Koords) and men of Marash, Aintab, Kharpout, or Diarbekir. Some even come from Aleppo. In a few weeks all is finished, and many of these men return to their homes with enough ready money to keep themselves and their families for several months in this cheap, because moneyless, country. Most of them probably have each his own cottage and his little plat of land, and his little flock of goats or sheep in his native mountain village. Naturally, there is at times a great deal of bickering amidst this motley multitude; and on such occasions knives and reaping hooks and
 173 | clubs are freely used, but the tranquillity and peaceable demeanor of the great multitude assembled in Adana on the 18th, certainly not less (so I was told) than 20,000 men, was truly admirable; and at evening, all had gone off to the country to their work; no riotous, drunken companies remained, “making night hideous.” By sunset the town was as quiet as if no such assemblage had taken place. How many countries of civilized Europe could present a similar spectacle? It may be unfashionable to say so, but I confess that I see much to admire in the character of the Osmanli people, as distinct, of course, from their government and their political system. To an impartial observer, not without some experience in the matter, the senseless outcry against them as a people, which prevailed in England in the latter half of 1876, could hardly fail to appear both cruel and unjust. There are many points in their character, which it would be well could nations of higher pretensions than they, imitate and practice.

I saw no reaping hook like our own bill-hook, and very few indeed of the sickle shape. When engaged in cutting the grain the reaper wears a wooden defense, like a finger-stall, on several fingers of the left hand. When not in use, it is usually hung by a thong to his belt.

There were five executions in Adana in the year 1874, all for murder; two by hanging, three by beheading. The Wali has not the power of life and death. An order for an execution must come from Constantinople—I believe from the Sultan himself; and the usual way in
 174 | which the punishment of death is inflicted is by beheading, although sometimes criminals are hanged. A tree on the road to Tarsus was pointed out to me, which in the old days used to be the gallows. It happened to be in the line of the new road, and the engineers wished to remove it, but the feeling of the population was in favor of sparing it, and it was spared accordingly. Generally, however, the criminal is hung up in any convenient place, without ceremony; in the bazaar, to a lamp-post, to the projecting eave of a shop, &c. The usual place of beheading is in the open space at the entrance of the bridge. A horrid scene took place there last year, on occasion of the execution of a Persian for murder. Great exertions were made to induce the wife of the murdered man to accept blood-money. The Persians of Adana even offered her as much as 300*l.* Turkish (= 260*l.*) to spare the criminal, but she was inexorable, and stood by, all the time. The executioner, either nervous or wanting in skill, mangled the poor wretch horribly; he did not, however, stir or cry out, the first stroke having probably stupefied him. The first stroke cut his cheek and the side of his neck, the second his shoulder;

the rest was a horrid chopping and sawing. The body, with the head under the arm, or, if a Christian, between the legs, is exposed an hour or so, and then buried.

There are in Adana, of Orthodox Armenians, from 3,200 to 3,500 residents, and from 1,200 to 1,500 only temporary dwellers there; the number of families is reckoned at 1,700, which, if correct, would give less than four to the family, so that this estimate cannot be quite relied upon, but I believe the number is nearly correct. Very many of the Armenians, however, are unmarried. There are two Armenian churches, with two schools attached, the number of scholars ranging from 300 to 450, one-third of them girls. The instruction given comprises reading, writing, arithmetic, and the Armenian language only. The community is in general very poor. There are also two small Orthodox Armenian schools, not connected with the churches, but the attendance of scholars is altogether irregular.

In answer to my inquiry why Turkish was not taught in any of these schools, the answer was, "Inability to raise sufficient money for the master's salary"; but I suspect that there is a dislike to teach it.

Of Protestant Armenians there are about 120 families, in general young people, and the families small, but it is an increasing community. Their school has sixty pupils, about a third of them girls, and the instruction at present is in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, and the Armenian language only. This community is very poor, only five families being in circumstances at all independent.

The commerce of the province <of Adana> is almost entirely in the hands of the Greeks. The Armenians are generally either retail traders or agriculturists.

We turned off the road again northwards, at a village called Zeyteen. The people of the village were sick of marsh fever, and we could actually "hear" the shivering and groans of the poor patients, many of whom were lying at their doors.

The darkness had now begun to pass away a little; but at least an hour before the first peep of dawn the larks and other birds were astir, and even beginning to warble. At 2.30 A.M. we halted in a corn-field, and our horses were turned in to graze, which they did with a will. If only the proprietor had seen them! But all my people assured me that the cultivators are very indulgent, provided their kindness is not abused. The men all lay down to sleep, but I did not care to do so, for both air and ground were very damp.

We reached our destination at 3.15 A.M. just before sunrise, and a few minutes after our arrival the moon rose in a bright silver crescent. It was a beautiful sight to see the thin line of silver rise above the horizon, till the resplendent colors of dawn effaced it.

The village was a miserable collection of mud-built houses. We chose a kind of open portico to rest in, but the flies and fleas prevented me from sleeping. There was an open-air sleeping place on a large scale (like the cribs at Adana) not far from the house, but some women and children were occupying it. These sleeping stages, raised a few feet above the ground, are a slight defense against malaria.

. . . We reached a very pretty little spot, Yaramiz Cheshme, where a fountain pours forth a slender, trickling stream, and forms, in consequence, one of the chief halting places on the

passage through the mountains. Several tents were pitched here, belonging to a wealthy Muslim of Adana, and President of the Tribunal of Commerce there, named Abd-el-Kader, a native of Bagdad. He and his family were on their way to their summer quarters in the mountain above Kulek Boghaz. I had met him in the room of the Prefect of Police a few days before, and when he heard at what place I intended remaining that night he kindly sent me a large leg of mutton as a present, for he said I should "find nothing but stones there." Unfortunately the meat was very tough, but the zaptiehs nevertheless fully appreciated it. I have heard since that he met with great trouble in 1876, having been accused, with a dozen or more of the chief Muslims of Adana, by the Wali, of conspiring to get up a massacre of the Christians. Abd-el-Kader was imprisoned, but managed to send a letter to the principal Europeans in Mersina, in which he implored their help. "You know," he wrote in it, "that I am and have been always friendly disposed to you and other Christians." They sent up a memorial in his favor to the Governor, who reluctantly released his prey, not however, in all probability, till he had wrung money from the prisoner. There may have been some suspicious circumstances which led to this arrest, for most of these men were pounced upon by the Wali in secret conclave, and at night. Soon afterwards several of the richest Armenians in Adana |
 203 were arrested on a charge of conspiracy against the Government; but this time the object of the arrest was evidently to extort money . . .

240 A doctor of the town, Saleh Effendi . . . told me that Eregli contained about 650 to 700 houses, and under 3,000 people, of whom only about 150 were (Armenian) Christians. At prosperous seasons many traders from Kaisariyeh resort to Eregli, but at present there is no trade, and the place seems deserted . . .

477 It might be supposed from the complaints of certain English orators, that the Muslims *as a class* systematically oppressed the rayahs *as a class*. So far as my own experience extends, this is not the case. Both classes suffer alike: both have to bear the burden of a corrupt and immoral bureaucracy; both are crushed under a taxation which, though in itself not excessive, is, compared with their resources, most burdensome.

Certainly the rayah, besides the very real and tangible grievances which he has in common with his Muslim fellow-subjects, has also grievances of his own (e.g. he is practically excluded for the most part from State employ), and grievances too of sentiment; but in most *essential* points he is on the same footing as the Muslim; and not once, but several times, Christians in the interior of Karamania have admitted to me that the central Government *at least tried* to act justly towards both classes alike.

The misfortune is that so much depends on the character of provincial governors, and of the leading members in the provincial councils (medjlis), for these give the tone to the administration. If such administration as that of Midhat Pasha in Bulgaria was more common, less would be heard of complaint against the Central Government; unfortunately, such governors are very rare. Such grievances, however, can hardly be cured by mere legislation, but the natural course of events is gradually removing them. The Greek and
 478 Armenian | Christians, for instance, are rapidly rising in numbers, wealth, and education, while the Muslim is stationary, or even falling back, in these respects, and this in a short time must have an effect.

Henry C. Barkley—?

[On the cover: The Disturbed Districts of Asia Minor]

A Ride Through Asia Minor and Armenia, Giving a Sketch of the Characters, Manners, and Customs of Both the Mussulman and Christian Inhabitants.

London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1891

A.D. 1878–1879

We made a visit to the principal silk-spinning establishments here <Brusa>, the first belonging 35
to an Armenian, the second to a Frenchman. They both consisted of a long room, with a row
of some fifty women on either side, each with a big pan of hot water before her, and a winder
at her back. In the water bob about the cocoons, and from four at a time the women wind
the silk, that is, they attach to the twisting threads new cocoons as the old ones are spun off,
whilst the thread so made passes over their heads to the winder behind. In the Armenian
Factory we found several Turkish women and girls hard at work, and, what is more, they had
no yashmaks on, nor did they attempt to hide their faces from us in the least. At the present 36
time there is exported from Brusa and the immediate neighborhood about 50 bales of silk. A
bale weighs 2 cwt., and costs there £250. There is, therefore, some £12,500 earned by this
industry alone, and if the export duties were only moderate, and a little encouragement given
by Government, this might be greatly increased. But, as it is, it has been going down hill for
some years. The native worms have had the disease badly, and the seed (eggs) of the country
only suffices to keep the factories at work for two months in the year. All the seed comes from
Japan, Italy, or Bagdad, and the two former are of a very inferior quality.

The factories are worked by steam-power, and the man that drives the engine, and the
owner of the factory, are the only males about the place. The women earn from two to three
shillings a day, and look clean, well dressed, and well fed. Their hours of work are very long,
how ever, being from sunrise to sunset, with two stoppages in the day, of an hour each, one
for breakfast, and another for dinner.

Besides the silk-spinning, there are other industries in Brusa, such as tanning leather, and
weaving cotton. The former trade is fast dying out, owing to the inhabitants having found out
that foreign, and notably Russian leather, is both better and cheaper than the local
manufactures.

All the cotton thread used here comes from England, and is taxed both on coming into
Turkey and on going | out. I visited one or two wretched sheds, where Turkish towels and 37
embroidered handkerchiefs were being made, and nothing could have been rougher than the
old fashioned hand-loom; but the Turkish owners evidently looked on the miserable frames
as something to be proud of.

We also visited, one day, another kind of manufactory, and, as far as money goes, I fear
not a very thriving one. It was a manufactory of Protestants. The mistress of this
establishment, Mrs. Baghdarian, is an English woman married to an Armenian. Some two
years ago, she opened a house in the Turkish quarter for the reception of orphans and destitute
children, and when we visited her house she had twenty-seven small girls under her care, and

expected two more Bulgarians from Philippopolis in a few days. Her establishment is connected with the "Turkish Missionaries Aid Society," and, for further particulars, I was referred to the Rev. Henry Jones, 8, Adam Street, Strand. The house in which the orphanage is now established is a Turkish one—spacious, clean, and airy. The great salaamlik upstairs, is fitted up as a schoolroom, from which opens two dormitories, with beautifully clean, comfortable-looking beds. The children were all neat and tidy, and nicely dressed in cotton frocks, and, at the mistress's request, they sang to me some rather gushing hymns. Their singing, I should say, was rather above the average of village-school children in England, but, as none of them understand English, the words were somewhat lost upon them. I looked over
 38 their sewing, which seemed, to my poor male eyes, very well put together, and evidently the small creatures were uncommonly proud of their performances. They struck me as looking pale and unhealthy, and generally doltish; but the mistress told me this was only on the exterior, and that they were seldom ill, and were as sharp as possible, and could learn anything.

The scheme, as far as I could gather, on which the orphanage works is a good one. The children are cared for and educated, and are brought up as Protestants; then the most capable are sent to the Armenian villages in the interior, where they open schools, the Armenians gladly paying their salaries. Those that are not up to this, are sent into Armenian families as domestic servants.

As usual, *money* is the great thing needed. Mrs. Baghdarian says that living in a Turkish quarter (there are no other houses in Brusa large enough for her) she is a good deal annoyed by the Turks. For instance, the children are not allowed to play in the yard, or even sing much in the house, for fear of disturbing the faithful. She said she was hoping to raise £400, for which sum she could, with her husband's help (who, being a native Armenian, is up to the way of getting things done cheaply), build a good house in the Christian quarter, with many more rooms, so that she could take in double the number of children. She also hopes to be able to raise sufficient funds to enable her to open a hospital, under the management of a trained nurse from England.

39 There is also a school in Brusa for Greek girls, under the management of an American lady; but, as the school was closed for the holidays, we were unable to go over it. This school is in connection with the American missionaries.

44 As I have said, to be successful is sure to create jealousy and opposition. "Why should this Christian be making money in our land; why cannot we, the owners of the soil, make money as he is?" It is useless to point out that by his prosperity he is enriching the Government and country; that he employs labor, pays taxes, and creates wealth for the community. The governor and his officials do not individually pocket a piastre that they know of, and therefore they set to work either to prevent the Christian from succeeding or to get the industry into their own hands.

A year or two ago a few enterprising people started to work to grow rice on the flat plain some five miles below Brusa. They bought land, they diverted streams for irrigation, and made thrashing-floors, and were eminently successful, and the great extent of waste unprofitable land that now exists had the prospect of becoming one of the richest spots in Turkey. The success of the undertaking was its ruin. The jealousy of the Turks was aroused,

and so they reported to Constantinople that the rice-fields produced fever, and an order was sent that no more rice should be grown. As I have said, the rice-fields were five miles from the town; between them and it extended a vast stagnant swamp sufficient to breed fever for the whole district, a swamp that might at a small cost be drained and brought under cultivation, and which, if the rice-fields had turned out well, would have been reclaimed and cropped, and so rendered harmless. But the fact is, the Turk can bear with the fever—"it is sent by God"; but he cannot bear the successful Christian—he is sent by quite another power!

When we left Brusa there was some hope of starting the rice-fields again. Bakshish was being used to soften the hearts of the megliss (council); but, as our informant remarked, "it will end in nothing, for they will require so much bakshish year after year, that the profits will be all swallowed up and the enterprise abandoned."

The swell Turks delight in making up parties to the kiosks in the neighboring vineyards, taking their women kind with them. Several families will join in these outings. All get drunk, men and women, for days together. Husbands get confused and mistake their neighbor's wives for their own; quarrels, fighting, and murders often take place, and the generally phlegmatic Turk becomes when drunk a raging madman. If this is all true, and we had it so constantly repeated and confirmed in different towns that I cannot help believing it is, the end of the Turk is nearer than I thought. With a people as indolent and lazy as the Turk, a people as incapable as children of commanding their passions, drunkenness will find a ready victim, and will, if I mistake not, make gigantic strides in a few years. I had up to this time believed, and I am not now sure I was not right, that the Koran forbade the Turk drinking alcohol; but a pious Mussulman, much given to liquor, informed us this was not so. It only says it is well to abstain from fermented drinks. Others say the wine in the days of Mohammed was bad and sour, and gave stomach ache. Had it been as good then as now, Mohammed would have had a good word to say for it. My brother asked a Turk how it was that when both pigs' flesh and wine were forbidden to good Mussulmen they abstained from the one and indulged in the other. The answer was, "Oh, pig is filthy, and wine" (with a sigh) "is so nice."

We learned another fact at this place, which is that a Turkish woman thinks she will lose her husband's affection if she becomes a mother, and therefore has recourse to drugs. Even those who do have children rarely have more than one or two, and then, owing to their ignorance of the most common treatment of infantile maladies, and to the absence of doctors, infant mortality is very great; and so, and so, the Turk is passing away!

When we were at Eski-Shehr, the town was swarming with Circassian emigrants, who appeared in no hurry to leave; and as the Government only allowed them a half oke each man or woman (about $1\frac{3}{8}$ lbs.), and each child ninety drachms ($\frac{7}{8}$ lb.) of bread a day, it seemed strange to us that they were so contented; but our host, on our mentioning this, soon gave us the key to the mystery. Pointing to a large open shed opposite, he said, "Look in there; you, see the whole floor is strewn with sleeping men. Now, we will look in again before we go to bed, and you will only see women and children." As we happened to be passing the shed at 11 p.m., on our way from a bath, we did look in, and behold! what he said was true. Every man was out marauding, and at daybreak one by one the band would return, one with a chicken, another a bit of a cow, the head of a horse, and so on, and these being put in the common stewpot, would make a savory mess, and greatly help out the Government pittance.

Our host concluded by saying, "We are all robbed by them, we cannot escape, they are so
 73 devilishly clever; but, thank God, there | will soon be an end, they are very rotten, and are
 dying fast!"

Having mentioned the bath, I must here give an account of this our first satisfactory wash since we left Brusa, for during our journey from there we had not been able to procure any sort of vessel to hold water for washing, and the largest we carried with us was a tea-cup. When fine and warm, we afterwards from time to time took a dip in some stream, or a good soaping at a roadside fountain, but in an ordinary way we had to put up with the fashion of the country, and make a bath of our hands, the water being poured into them from a bottle-shaped jug.

On asking our Armenian host for something to wash in, he said he had nothing, but that, if we liked, he would secure the bath for us in the evening, and we should have a real clean up. Agreeing to this, we started soon after supper, and accompanied by our host and his brother-in-law, ferreted our way out through narrow streets and by-lanes till at last we entered a solid stone dome-shaped building, in the center of which was a marble basin four feet deep and ten or twelve feet in diameter; into this on one side ran a stream of natural hot water, and as quickly overflowed down a drain on, the other. Round the edge of the basin ran a narrow path, and in the thickness of the walls were niches to undress in. Proper Turkish towels and body cloths had been brought with us, and soon we were undressed and ready.

84 Having a short day's journey before us, we did not start from Kimas till 8 a.m. (on Friday, 4th), and then we mounted the hill immediately behind the village, and after half an hour's ride arrived amidst some crags, which we had seen in front of us all the previous day. They were the first things we had come across to break the monotony of the plain, and rising on the flat top of the hill in ragged masses, covering about twenty acres, they really were grand and interesting. We estimated them to average from four hundred to five hundred feet in height, and they were cracked and split up into a mass of blocks from the size of a church to that of a cannon ball, some round, some pointed, all more or less stratified, but the strata never running far in the same direction. We got off our horses to examine these stones more closely, and found them to consist of rough granite of different colors.

Running all over the stones were numberless little birds, I believe called "stone creepers,"
 85 back and head bluish-gray, throat and breast white, turning to rust color | towards the legs. They kept up a continuous merry twitter, the notes being clear and something like the song of the robin, though faster and brighter. Besides these little fellows, we saw numbers of falcons of different kinds, and all over the rocks were white splashes denoting the nests of eagles and vultures, which must build here in vast numbers, as these are the only precipitous rocks within many miles.

This pleasant break only lasted for a few minutes, and then out we went once more on the burning, "howling desert," keeping the summit hills close to us on the left, and every half mile crossing small dried-up gullies that came down from them. It was a dreary ride, but fortunately only lasted five hours, when we arrived at a place called Sivri-Hissar (Pointed Castle), which stands in a semi-circular bay formed by the hills, the hills themselves here changing from rounded earth slopes to jagged granite crags which, like the crags we had passed in the morning, reminded us of Dartmoortors. The semi-circle is about half a mile

across, and in this are thickly clustered the houses, forming an irregular mass. Rather more than half belong to Turks, the rest to Armenians. Here, again, the houses are all built against the hillside, the hill forming the back wall, while the roofs are flat and covered thickly with earth. In front most of the houses are two storeys high, the upper storey being often one deep open verandah, in which the people live in summer, while on the ground-floor are a lot of small rooms.

Sivri-Hissar is a very picturesque, quaint-looking little town, the houses built one above 86 another on the steep slope of the rocks, and backed up by the bold crags, it is, however, quite a small place, containing but six thousand inhabitants. All are well off, and some (for this country) rich, having often a capital of £8,000. The chief source from which they derive their wealth is the cultivation of the Angora goat, of which there are large flocks on the plain.

Mr. Thompson, of Constantinople, had given us a letter to his agent here, an Armenian, so we at once went to his house, and were most hospitably received. A large airy room, with eleven windows in it, was given us. Divans ran round three sides of it, and we were soon sitting curled up on deliciously soft cushions, drinking coffee, smoking, and feeling as if we had reached a perfect oasis in our desert.

We dined à la Turc with our host and a friend, all pegging away out of the same dish with our fingers. We had Angora goat's-flesh for dinner, as tough as india-rubber, and well it might be, as our host explained that he never killed a goat until it was so old it would not breed, or because it was sick. We asked no questions, but hoped the one before us was only aged! Besides this, we had good soup, cucumber chopped up in bad vinegar, water-melons, and grapes. The air of the place must have been very "hunger producing," for, though we ate like wolves, we seemed never satisfied.

Ten hours to the left of Sivri-Hissar is a forest of fir trees, which the villagers have to cut, so many to each village, for the Government free of charge, and to transport it to Ismidt. It 87 costs in labor about £10 a stick. Our host told us that "the Armenians get on well with the Turks. We are not like Bulgars and other Christians. When the Turk robs us we see nothing; when he thrashes us we say nothing, and so we have peace." Noble people! When a quarter of the town was burnt down some years ago, the Armenians in England collected £300, and sent it out to rebuild the school here.

The Armenians have greatly adopted the manners of the Turks. The women live apart from the men in rooms of their own during the day; they cover their faces in the streets, and wear a cloak (feredji) like that of the Turkish women. The rest of their dress consists of loose baggy trousers, tied in at the ankle; round the waist is a colored shawl in three or four close folds, a linen shirt, a short loose jacket, the head tied up in a rag, and the hair hanging down the back in five or six plaits. As for shoes, they scarcely wear them. Some of the girls are pretty, but a woman of twenty-five is already a shriveled hag.

The men wear loose baggy cloth trousers, drawn in at the ankle, a close-fitting cotton waistcoat, over which is a colored cotton sack-like robe reaching below the knee, and split up to the waist on either side. On the heads they wear a fez, with a dark cotton handkerchief tied round it, while on the feet would-be white woolen stockings and stout shoes.

They look a poor, oppressed, melancholy set, without a vestige of manly beauty; but when one comes to talk to them one is struck by the amount of knowledge they have of the outside 88 world, and it is quite refreshing to hear them discussing the characters of Lord Beaconsfield,

Lord Salisbury, and Gladstone, the latter of whom they appear to think a perfect god. They all believe that England is soon to govern Asia Minor, and look forward to that day as a happy time.

We were so comfortably lodged and so hospitably entertained at Sivri-Hissar, and, further, our Armenian host gave us so much useful information, that we stopped on with him over the 5th, and most reluctantly started once more on our journey at 8 a.m. on the morning of October 6th. Thanks to a bridge over the Sakaria being broken down, we were obliged to make a detour of six hours to the south before we could pass the river.

114 We were much surprised to learn that during the summer months all the Christians who can afford to do so quit Angora itself and live in small detached houses about five miles out of town. We were not surprised at their *liking* to quit the crowded, dirty, smelling place for the fresh open country, but at their being *able* to do so—all our previous knowledge of Turkey leading us to suppose that there was no safety except in towns.

116 Hardly any of these Greeks speak their own language, but use in their family intercourse that of the master the Turk, and this we were told is even more universally the case with the Armenians.

130 The other drawback is the Turk. Without foreign assistance he will do nothing; say, more, without foreign coercion he will do nothing. The country, as it is, did for his fathers, and it will do for him; and as for his posterity, they must look out for themselves. A barren and unfruitful land; a miserable, half-starved peasantry; an empty exchequer, and the steady periodical loss of provinces is better than the active assistance of Europeans in any shape, except that of loans. And further, like a wild, untamed, savage animal, his instinct is to destroy and not to create. See what he has done for the noble towns of the old Greeks and Romans, the roads and canals, the palaces and temples that he found in all directions when he first swarmed over the country! Not one stone stands upon another, the canals are filled up, and the remains of the marble temples lie scattered about as horse-blocks and tombstones. In the place of these what do we find? Towns of mud bricks, mule-tracks for roads, the rich irrigated lowlands scorched up deserts, and from end to end of Asia Minor not one building with the faintest pretensions to architectural beauty. To the last the Turk will resist all interference; but should a strong European power find its interests so compromised by the present state of affairs as to make it worth its while to coerce him, and insist on good government, the task will not be so difficult as may be supposed. The Turks, as soon as they realize the fact that they cannot resist longer, will succumb to fate, and even often lie on their backs and enjoy the blessings others produce—blessings | which they of themselves are incapable of reaching out
131 a hand to grasp.

There is one other thing I should like to mention here, and that is the false hopes that seem to exist both in the minds of native Christians in Turkey and also among Europeans as to the speedy benefits to be obtained by European interference. Doubtless the former would obtain justice, together with security for person and property, and so at once be bettered; but materially to reform the country must be a long and weary operation, the fruits of which will never ripen in the lives of those now in existence.

Before Western Asia Minor shows a return for labor spent, the population must be increased tenfold, whereas at the present day it is melting away rapidly; but the tide might be turned, and if once the land was exempt from wars, famine, and sickness, a happy state of affairs that might be brought about by a good government, the inhabitants would begin to multiply.

Then emigrants might be invited, and encouraged to settle; but owing to the ague, I fear many would not do so, unless some tempting bait, such as a new and profitable industry, could be established special to the country.

Perhaps in the next few years the Turks of Europe will leave the giaour-infected lands in the west of the empire, and settle in Asia; but so vast is the country, and so empty, they would be a mere drop in the ocean. People point to the great strides Wallachia and Moldavia have made in the last twenty years, and from this argue that Turkey may do the same, forgetting that the former country started rich in arms and legs, and further, that these arms and legs belonged to and were worked by an active energetic people, greedy for wealth, and not fearing to work, whereas the inhabitants of Turkey are just the opposite. The Turk is only active when he is destroying, as when he is at war, and the Christians (Armenians) are as a race more given to working with their heads than with their arms and legs; and, besides, taking the two countries, there are per acre in the former country from six to ten persons where there is one in Turkey. 132

After passing the river Kizil Irmak, we found the country less hilly, but as burnt up and desolate as ever, and during the twenty-five miles we rode on this day, we only saw two small villages. It was at this stage of our journey that we first came upon the cotton plant. We had never before seen it under cultivation, but during the rest of our ride eastward we constantly met with it growing in the valleys and on the hillsides; but whether the plant thrives in Asia as it does in other countries I must leave others to decide, contenting myself with noting what we saw. On the best-cultivated lands around Adana, where the soil is the richest, the plants were the finest, and produced most. They were planted in rows two feet apart, and grew from nine to eighteen inches high, and each plant produced about ten pods of the size of a big walnut. When we first came across the cotton plant, the pods were just bursting open, and the villagers were beginning to pick it.

Our halting-place on this night was the village of Madan, celebrated a few years ago for its mines of argentiferous lead-ore; but these are now unworked, owing to the want of fuel, all wood within fifty miles of them having been consumed in the smelting furnaces. We inspected the old workings, which were to be seen near the village on the slope of a rocky hill, the mines themselves being empty pits from twenty to thirty feet deep, with rough steps cut in the sides, up which the ore was brought to the surface on men's backs. We also saw in the village huge mounds of slag, the refuse from the furnaces, and as we were told that when the mines were worked only the silver was saved and carried away, these mounds must be excessively rich in lead. 133

<In Kur-Shehr> Our host or hosts, for there appeared to be two or three masters in the house, gave us the best they had—a clean room, soft divans, a good supper and breakfast, and clean beds spread on the floor. Except when we were in bed, the room was always full of guests, asking us questions and telling of their grievances, but it was the old story over and 137

over again, so I shall not repeat it. All asked when the English were coming, and all evidently thought we had something to do with that happy event; indeed, later on, our host told us it was so, saying, "It is being said of you in the bazaars by the majority of the population, Mussulman and Christian, 'Please God these Englishmen are the forerunners of others who are coming to govern the country properly.' Another strong party say, 'Let them come, let them go, we are too old and too wise to hope for better days. Nothing ever improves our condition, but everything works for our harm, be the intention good or bad.' While the remnant say, 'To hell with them and their government, we don't want to be interfered with!'"

138 Somehow the subject of emigration cropped up, and we I were discussing the advantages of it, and mentioned the fact that a considerable community of Armenians were settled in Liverpool, and were all doing well as traders and merchants, also that a number were in Calcutta, and were prospering there. All present agreed that it would be a fine thing to emigrate, but said that it was impossible to do so; first, because the Turkish Government would not allow them, and, secondly, because it was not the "custom." One sturdy black-bearded fellow, between thirty and forty years of age, said he had often wished to try his fortunes in America, and that having no wife and children he could do so, only his papa would not let him go! We asked him if he did not consider himself a man, old enough to judge for himself; but he assured us it was the "custom" to obey a father in all things, without venturing to offer an opinion—that is to say, a man of sixty, if his father is alive, must obey him.

Most said they had not the means to emigrate, but when one came to inquire, all had more or less property, some in cash, lent out at interest, and others in houses, but at any rate ample to carry them to one of our colonies and fairly start them in business. All agreed that life under the Turk was unendurable, and that if England did not soon stretch out a helping hand they must help themselves—this idea not running in the direction of revolutions, but in begging some one else to help them. One old fellow preached us quite an eloquent sermon upon the *duty* of England, as a Christian nation, to help their fellow Christians the
139 Armenians; but when we asked if his I people had in the slightest degree helped their fellow Christians the Servians and Bulgars in their late troubles, he assured us that Servs and Bulgars were quite different to Armenians, and that it was not a Christian duty to help them.

The real fact is, it is the "custom" to be misgoverned by Turks, and so they put up with it, and look upon it as their natural condition. Emigration or self-help of any sort is beyond them; and even if the men would quit the country the women would not, and would use their irresistible powers of tears and entreaty to bind their menkind under the Turkish yoke. Poor creatures! Hundreds of years of oppression have stamped out all manly feeling, and made them what they are, a fit people for slavery, whose noblest ambition is to cheat and outwit their masters, an operation they perform with great skill.

The greater part of the land in the neighborhood of Kur-Shehr is owned by a few Dere Beys, who let it to the peasants on the half-profit system. These Dere Beys, we were told, are all-powerful, and virtually the real governors of the district, for should a governor or other official refuse to obey them in the smallest particular, or give judgment against them in any case, they unite to pay a bribe in the proper quarter at Constantinople, and the man is at once recall.

In one respect Kur-Shehr is superior to any other town . . . Fever is unknown there . . .

Kaisarieh itself stands on the plain in a recess formed by the mountains, and is by them 142 sheltered and protected on three sides; but it seems strange that people should choose to live down on a damp flat plain, almost in a swamp, when within half a mile of them are beautiful hills, affording the best possible site for a town. For this, however, the Turks are not responsible perhaps, for they inherited the town in its present position, and in those days it possessed fine buildings and houses that made it worth retaining. Now it is simply a rookery of hovels, and nothing could be a greater blessing to the inhabitants than if one of the fires that often take place there were to destroy it all, and thus force them to migrate to the villages that are thickly dotted over the slopes of the hills.

Doubtless in the days of its greatness the present town was only a suburb or business quarter, for even now may be seen on the neighboring hills foundations and massive blocks of stone, marble, and other building materials. Besides, history tells us that in the day of Valerian, when it was plundered and pillaged by the Persians, the inhabitants amounted to four hundred thousand, and therefore, to contain them, the town must have been very much 143 larger than it is now with its population of only twenty thousand. Tradition says the town was founded by one of the sons of Japhat. This may or may not be true; but anyhow Kaisarieh plays an important part in the history of Western Asia Minor. Herodotus states that the first inhabitants were of Syrian extraction. The Medes and then the Persians conquered and possessed it, together with the entire country of Cappadocia. It was annexed to the Roman Empire in the time of Tiberius, and then in his honor its ancient name of "Muzaca" was changed to that of Cæsarea. Temples were built and consecrated to the emperor. It possessed an amphitheater, baths, and other public buildings, and maintained its greatness until the Eastern savages came in, destroyed all, and left it as it is to-day, a collection of decaying hovels containing a population of savage, bigoted, ignorant, corrupt Turks, with the poor, cringing, unmanly Armenians as their subjects, and with only a few scattered stones lying prostrate and broken, together with the traces of the foundations of the once-splendid buildings, to show what the old town had been in the days before them.

. . . The Armenians of Asia Minor divide themselves into three different peoples— 146 Armenians, Catholics, and Protestants. To them religion is a nationality, and one constantly hears a man say, "No, I am not an Armenian, I am a Catholic, or a Protestant"; in fact, they fall into the error we do when speaking of Jews. How often one hears it said, "So-and-So was a Jew, but he is not now, he is a Christian"!

The whole of Asia Minor, Syria, and I believe part of Persia, is divided into missionary 150 fields, and each field is divided into districts, the center of which is some big town, such as Kaisarieh. In America there is a Board of Directors of these "Congregational Christians," who collect money for carrying on the work, appoint secretaries and ministers, and allot the "fields." Again, there is a Board of Directors with a secretary at Constantinople, who do the lay part of the work, such as the financing, receiving and forwarding Bibles, school books, etc. Nearly all the missionaries are married, but beside their wives there are a number of single ladies who devote their lives to teaching in the schools. Periodically, delegates from the different fields meet in one of the towns and consult and arrange for work. Each resident missionary holds 151

as he can speak Turkish, he goes on tours, preaching in every village. Then there is a large staff of Armenian pastors, supposed to be "Gospel men," and under them are Bible readers, both men and women, and also school teachers. All these are paid salaries.

It is marvelous to see the intense earnestness of the missionaries. Their work is everything to them. Home, with its comforts, family ties, intellectual intercourse, and even self-respect, give place to "the work," and a man once launched in it, relinquishes all hope of returning to his country or friends except for a short visit once in about ten years.

The schools are fairly well attended, but the children are excessively slow at learning, and it often takes a year to teach an Armenian child to spell out words of two or three syllables. The Turks are the best friends the missionaries have, for they simply leave them alone. They find that the missionaries do not try to proselytize among them, and they have not the smallest fear of the Mussulman voluntarily becoming a Christian. To do so would be to recede, and it would be as likely for a Turk to become a Christian as for an Englishman to worship a fetish, with this addition, the Turk would become an outcast from his nation, and utterly lose all social standing, in fact, be something worse than a *giaour*. This being so, the Mussulman leaves the missionaries alone, caring as little whether one sect of Christians goes
 152 over to another as he does if a dog leaves one street for another. | No, the real enemies to the mission work are the Christians, and they carry their enmity so far that the missionaries and their wives cannot go out into the streets without being abused in the vilest language, mobbed or stoned, and it is a constant occurrence for these ladies as they pass through the streets to have dirt thrown upon them, or some woman or child spit in their faces. The missionaries literally turn the other cheek to the smiter, and so low and mean are these Armenian creatures that they derive rare sport from their doing so.

I have said above that the missionaries in their zeal for their work even lay aside self-respect, and I think I am justified in saying so, for a man such as our host, Mr. Staver, must have lost much of his before he could patiently submit to seeing his pretty refined young wife subjected to such indignities. In 1873 and 1874 Asia Minor was suffering from a famine. The missionaries then came to the fore as no one else did, and early and late worked like slaves, relieving distress and distributing to all who required it the help sent out by England and Scotland. I asked, "After that, did not the people treat you better?" And the answer was, "Not one jot; gratitude is unknown. When a man says 'thank you,' it is for favors to come. Another famine is not expected, so they think it useless to say 'thank you' for past help."

Now, I may be wrong, but I cannot help feeling that these men, with their great determination and powers of self-sacrifice, are being thrown away. It is like a man with a rich
 153 farm of a thousand acres neglecting to cultivate | nine hundred and ninety-nine because one acre is a barren rock, and devoting all his time, brains, and money to making that one acre bear a miserable stunted vegetation. The sower who went out to sow the seed did not *purposely* throw a portion amongst thorns and briars, or in stony places. Are not these people doing so? I sadly fear the missionaries lend the cloak of religion to these Armenians, who accept it to hide their swindling, lying, cheating, and other mean vices, and also because they think, and truly, that they may get a little protection from the missionaries and through them sometimes have justice done them.

During our stay at Talas we received many invitations to visit Kaisarieh "just to show ourselves"; but remembering the "brothers" we had already seen there, and also the way they

had stared at us, we refused to be exhibited. We had, however, the honor one evening in Talas of meeting the native Armenian pastor, "an honorable man," which means, in the language of Kaisarieh, a man of some social standing. We were evidently expected to be greatly impressed by him, and I do hope we succeeded in showing a sufficient amount of intelligent interest, though I cannot say either his appearance or manners were very prepossessing. He was a short, dark man, with bushy whiskers and beard that were pushed forward in a fringe in front of his face by high though somewhat flabby stand-up collars; his dress was a parody on that of an English clergyman, and would have looked better had his white choker been tied under his chin instead of his left ear, and moreover if collar and said | choker had not
154 been separate from the unstarched shirt, showing about an inch of throat between them each time he looked up. He told us he had visited Scotland for the purpose of collecting money for a church, and had been very successful there, obtaining sufficient, not only to build a church, but also a house for himself. He abused the Turks a little, but he abused the Catholic and other Armenians very much more, rolling his eyes in a terrible manner when expressing his opinion that they all required severe chastisement. Altogether his conversation did not make any lasting impression on us beyond a general conviction that if the Turks were removed out of the way for a short time, the three denominations of Christians would cut each others' throats. I am not quite sure that it is not to be desired that the Turks were removed!

We accepted one other invitation while at Talas, to the house of a rich Armenian merchant who lived near. It was for a *feed*, but as it was too late for breakfast, too early for dinner, and too heavy for lunch, I have a difficulty in giving it a name. Here we had repeated what we had already heard again and again, the long, and I fear sadly true story of Turkish misrule, injustice, and corruption, finishing with the usual question, when were the English coming, and were we the forerunners of those who would be in authority when that happy time arrived? One intelligent creature, with a considerable exhibition of temper, stated his opinion that we as a nation were disgracing ourselves. "You are," he said, "notoriously the richest
155 people in the world, therefore, | if you do not come to govern us as you ought, you are at least bound to assist us Christians by spending, say twenty or thirty millions in making roads, railways, bridges, and other useful public works." It is curious how liberal people in Asia Minor are with other people's money! Our Armenian boy, whom we had engaged ten days before at Angora for three liras a month, and who had already received five liras in advance, and a suit of clothes, came to us here at Kaisarieh, saying, "Tchellaby, give me three liras, I require them!" Probably he had never in his life before seen three liras altogether, but he spoke quite like a Rothschild, and his astonishment when he found we were not good for any amount he might choose to ask for was most comical.

But to return to our "feed." It was hospitality bordering on brutality. We sat squeezed tightly together at a round table, six of us, the table crowded with plates, dishes, glasses, etc. Dinner was served à la Russe and consisted of twelve courses. I noted them down as they were served, and here they are: 1, cream with honey; 2, soup; 3, mutton chops and sliced potatoes; 4, a thick flat flaky pastry, saturated with melted sugar; 5, a large freshwater fish covered with oil; 6, another thick slab of pastry with cheese in the middle of it; 7, a mixture of chopped meat and vegetables; 8, rice-flour pastry, very sweet; 9, some small cucumbers stuffed with meat; 10, roast chicken; 11, more chopped meat and vegetables; 12, pilau. We had besides, as dessert, apples, pears, sweet melons, water-melons, and grapes.

162 Two hours from Everin, we came upon the first Armenian village we had yet seen. Up to this time all the Armenians we had met with lived in towns, but here they were tillers of the soil. The village was placed out in the middle of the plain, which was here nearly a swamp, the water being obtainable only a few inches below the surface even after the long dry
 163 summer. In winter and wet weather it must be under water; but in spite of these drawbacks no one could have passed the village without noticing how much superior it was to any belonging to the Turks. The houses, built of mud bricks, were larger, higher, better thatched, and had more outhouses, stables, etc., round them, and for the first time we here saw quantities of hay stacked ready for winter.

The whole population turned out to have a look at us, and a more miserable fever-stricken set I never saw; but they were civil and obliging, and volunteered to send a lad on with us to show us the way across the remainder of the plain, an offer we fortunately accepted, as our onward road lay through boggy swamps and innumerable stagnant ditches that would have been impassable without some one who knew the best tracks. As it was, it was more by good luck than management that we got through without being bogged. At each muddy hole the pack-horses made a fight to have a roll, and had to be whacked to keep them up, and when this was done they rushed forward floundering and staggering about, their feet sinking deeper and deeper the faster they went, so that by the time we got to the hills, both the horses and their loads were splashed all over with mud that smelt enough to breed a pestilence.

180 There are several factories in Adana, owned by Armenians and Greeks, where the cotton is separated from the husks, but the same operation goes on in a less extensive way in almost every courtyard in the town.

With the help of the two rivers (Sethoon and Jaihan) almost every inch of the plain might be irrigated, and thus become independent of rain; but we were told that this was not done for fear of fever. This is a lame excuse of the idle, for the fever cannot be worse than it is, every
 181 | one having it as badly as they can for three parts of the year, a fact made patent to all by the cadaverous, yellow, hollow-eyed faces one sees everywhere.

211 <In Giaour Dagh> These villagers were Turks, but were so harassed by their more pugnacious neighbors that all their usual bounce was gone, and they were more like the poor cringing Armenians than the lords of the soil as found in more favored spots.

Continuing our journey the next morning over the uplands of these hills, which were all the way one great jumble of rocks and stones, destitute of trees and almost of earth, we reached, after three hours, the edge of a hill that descended abruptly to a tract of country that extended eastwards to the horizon, and which from our elevated position looked almost level,
 212 but on reaching | it we found it to consist of wave after wave of rounded hills, the summits stony and barren, but the vales and slopes composed of a rich red earth, producing good crops when cultivated, and covered with a fair amount of vegetation everywhere. Even the Turks have appreciated this fruitful land, for we saw considerable villages dotted about in all directions, and surrounded by vineyards and gardens, the valleys cultivated, and the sides of the hills affording pasturage to large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle.

In the distance to our left, the zaptieh pointed out a thick veil of mist that floated in the still morning air, and told us that it covered Aintab, our destination on this stage of our

journey, at the sight of which we all, men and horses too, brightened up, and after jogging along for four hours we reached the town, and established ourselves in the best khan the place afforded. Aintab stands well out on the plain on low ground, and is thirty-six miles from the Euphrates, and a long day's ride from Aleppo. It is the capital of a great corn-growing district. All round the town the hills are composed of a fine-grained, soft limestone, that is easily dressed, so easily that even the Turks make use of it—and the houses are built of square blocks, giving to the whole town a substantial clean appearance, far more civilized than any town we had yet seen. Immense vineyards extend for miles down the valley, the grapes from which, when pressed into a sort of cake or dried whole in the sun, form the chief food of the inhabitants.

Our khan was on the usual pattern, a square courtyard surrounded by stables with a lot of 213 rooms over them, with a rickety wooden balcony in front, facing into the square which is entered by a narrow gateway that can be closed at night. In the center was a large stone basin of water, and around the accumulated filth of years. Our room was about fifteen feet long by nine wide, an unglazed window with a grating over it at one end, and a shaky door at the other, while the ceiling was a solid stone arch,—the whole being rather like the dry arch of a railway bridge, and about as comfortable to live in.

Ali Agha, directly he had unloaded the horses, went to market, quickly returning with some pieces of meat an inch square spitted on a thin stick, on which they had been a little roasted and a good deal burnt over a charcoal fire; besides these, he brought us bread and grapes, so we fared well and congratulated ourselves on lighting on so rich, not to say luxurious, a place.

As we were riding into the town we passed on our right a really fine block of buildings standing on the summit of a low hill, which we at first thought must be barracks, but on inquiry we learned it was a college for young Armenians, that had been erected and started by the American missionaries, after the plan of the Robert College at Constantinople. Besides the building itself, there was a good European-looking house near for Dr. Trowbridge the principal, both houses standing in some twenty or thirty acres of ground surrounded by high stone walls, the entrance to which was through a gateway | with a lodge over it. All the 214 buildings were good and substantial, being built of the soft stone quarried close by, but at the same time were simple and businesslike. The money necessary for them had been collected in America and England, and expended, I should say, most judiciously by Dr. Trowbridge, who had conceived and carried out the whole thing.

When Aintab was chosen as the fittest place for this establishment, Dr. Trowbridge paid a visit to the town to select a site, and at once fixed upon the present one as the most desirable; but he had little hopes of obtaining it, as the land was cultivated and belonged to a Turk of the old school, who would not be likely to smooth the path for the improvement of such Giaours as Armenians. Doctor Trowbridge, however, called on him, explained his plans, stated his wants, and finally asked if he would sell the coveted site. The old Turk listened attentively without saying a word, but when Dr. Trowbridge had finished, he chuckled up his head, gave a click of his tongue and said, "No, I won't sell." But then, to the intense surprise of Dr. Trowbridge, he went on to say, "As you, a stranger, are doing all this for the improvement of the people, gaining and hoping to gain nothing for yourself by it, I should be doing a shameful thing if I took money from you, so, I will not sell; but I will give you the

site for nothing, and may your work prosper.” The old fellow was as good as his word, and quickly had the proper deeds of transfer made out. It was a noble, liberal-minded thing to do; 215 just one of those flashes of generosity that I every now and then the Turk exhibits, and which has made him a favorite with those Europeans who, being generous themselves, remember such acts as this, but refuse to hear, or if they do hear at once forget, anything that shows the dark side of his character. Such occurrences are I fear very rare, and far oftener one hears of such mean, small-minded acts as the following. Dr. Trowbridge, having secured the land, set to work through his ambassador, backed I believe by ours, to procure a firman allowing him to build. Months were wasted before this could be obtained, but at last it arrived, when at once the building was pushed forward and soon was sufficiently advanced to receive students, who were clamoring to be admitted. Then came another hitch. The governor, hearing the college was about to start work, rode up, attended by a lot of zaptiehs, closed the doors, and affixed his seal on them, saying, “It is true you have a firman to build, but it says nothing about opening, and opened the college shall not be if I can help it.” The affair had to be referred to Constantinople, and a month was wasted before Dr. Trowbridge was authorized to break the seal and start to work. We were shown the seal, with string attached to it, and I hope Dr. Trowbridge will adopt our suggestion and deposit it in the museum he has opened, as a specimen of Turkish obstruction to anything that is for the improvement of the people.

Dr. Trowbridge, in addition to being president and managing the finances, etc., lectures 216 in the college, reads prayers to those of the students who wish to attend, and I works as a missionary in the town. There is besides another American missionary who assists him, and under these is an Armenian head-master, who was trained in America, and several native assistants. A young Armenian doctor, who was educated in America and who practices in Aintab, takes medical classes in the college and instructs the students in chemistry, using a capital laboratory there is in the college for this purpose. In connection with the college a hospital has been built, or nearly built, nearer the town; but for want of funds this has not yet been completed.

At the time of our visit to Aintab there were about seventy students living in the college, ranging from the age of fourteen to twenty, and others attended the classes from their lodgings in the town. The internal fittings of the college were not finished; when they are, three times this number will be entered on the books, applications for admittance coming in fast from all directions. Each scholar pays £9 yearly, finds his own bedding, and caters for himself; black bread, cheese, grapes, and perhaps a water melon, being his ordinary fare. Some few youths, whose friends cannot afford to pay the £9, are admitted at a lower rate, but are obliged to make up the difference by working in the grounds during play hours at a fixed rate of wages, and we saw gangs of these quarrying stone, leveling in holes, and making themselves generally 217 useful, apparently quite as jolly and happy as their richer companions who were lounging about, or playing a sort of rounders, or the newly imported game of croquet, which I latter seemed to have found great favor in the minds of the somewhat effeminate youths. Dr. Trowbridge assured us that the students were mostly steady, industrious, and anxious to acquire information, but from what I gathered here and in other places I do not think the Armenians are a clever race, and they are so satisfied with themselves directly they know a little, that they cannot resist trying to turn it to profit, and therefore leave their colleges when too young and only half educated.

My readers must not picture to themselves a lot of lads such as form the students in European schools and colleges. The Armenians, in appearance, are totally different, and the difference unluckily all against them. Their usual dress is a sort of long, wadded, cotton dressing gown, slit up at the sides so as to make it form an apron behind and before, old baggy-kneed trousers, very short and very dirty, a fez, or oftener a bare shaggy uncombed head, and to finish all, feet thrust into slippers the heels of which are nowhere. I have said this is the *usual* dress, but even among these lads one now and then sees a dandy who has taken special pains with his costume and evidently believes it to be quite correct. I have one of these strongly impressed on my memory—a youth of nineteen or twenty, short in the leg, long in the back, and very long in the neck; head, covered with thick black hair some three inches long, which is so stiff it all stands straight up on end, minus a parting and sadly in want of hair wash; complexion lead colored, features thick and coarse, mouth invariably gaping open, with lips, upper and lower, well turned back, hands, face, and neck very dirty, finger-nails 218 long, black, and ghoulish; clothes, an old threadbare frock coat, a low open waistcoat, shabby black cloth trousers, elastic-sided boots, minus the elastic, but with a fringe of black threads where it should have been, heels well trodden over, a linen shirt almost black and quite unstarched, with glass studs, no shirt collar or neck handkerchief. Voila tout!

Judging from the appearances of these youths there is one lesson either not taught at the college, or, if taught, not attended to. I mean “self-respect”; and so long as this is neglected, so long will the Armenians remain the “poor creatures” they are.

I cannot believe in there being much good of any sort in men who are content to go about in petticoats, their heads unkempt and their faces dirty, and I am convinced there is a lot of bad in a creature that wears constantly slippers trodden down at the heel.

As a young man Dr. Riggs had devoted his life to the work, and if not actually the first 220 American missionary who had visited Turkey, he was nearly so. The best years of his life had been spent in out of the way towns in various parts, and during this time he had made himself perfectly acquainted with Turkish, Armenian, Greek, and other languages; a knowledge he had utilized by translating the Bible into the two first.

Like all the missionaries we saw in Asia Minor, our friends here had perfect faith in their labors producing an abundant harvest, and indeed said they had already done so; but at the same time they were not blind to the shortcomings of their flock, nor shrank from owning how often they had been disappointed. Both had great hope for the good that the college and the education it affords would do, and in this hope I share, as I believe without education the Armenian is incapable of learning or appreciating the doctrines of the religion taught them.

While we were staying at the college we had numerous visitors from the town—both Turks and Christians, and among the latter we were vastly surprised to find a man calling himself a bishop of the Established Church of England! Bishop “Migherditch Shahanyan,” for I believe he as a bishop, was a sturdy, active, middle-aged man, by birth an Armenian, and at one time a bishop of that church. Convinced of its errors, he had seceded and become a Protestant, and his title to be considered a bishop of the Established Church.

. . . In all ordinary Armenian families the wife never appears, but in some back region 222 prepares the dinner of her lord and master, and superintends the servants . . .

244 <In Beridjik> After supper the usual influx of visitors began to arrive, and the usual questions were put, always including the one, "When were the English coming?" no one believing us when we said we did not know. All present were Armenians, the chief men of the community, and one was a member of the town council; but, as he said, he might just as well have *not* been, as it would be his ruin to oppose the kaimakam or other Mussulman members in the smallest thing, and he therefore merely sat at their deliberations, not venturing to offer an opinion, but always putting his seal to whatever he was told. Thick and fast followed stories of murders, robberies, outrages, and wrongs; but, evidently in the minds of all, the night when the present Sultan was proclaimed in the place of his drunken, mad predecessor, was the climax of all horrors. For then one of those waves of fanatical rage and hatred, that occasionally arises amongst Asiatics, swept over the town, and a cry went up, started no one
 245 knew where, no one knew how or wherefore, to kill the | Christians. All night bands of fanatics rushed about the streets, hammering at the doors of the Christians, and threatening to murder all. No Christian dared open a door or light a candle, and in pitchy darkness families huddled together in remote corners and cellars, not daring to whisper, and paralyzed with fear. During that night children were born by mothers who died from fright, their fate envied and prayed for by many who momentarily expected worse than death. Children lost their senses, and to this day are babbling idiots; while to others and their children after them, the memory of that night will remain a horror only to be mentioned in suppressed voices.

Every picture has its bright side, and so has this. One Turk (and only one) was moved with pity, or saw the danger of his co-religionists' mad conduct, and ventured at his own personal risk to attempt to quiet the storm; and it is owing to him alone that the whole Christian population was not murdered. He was an old man, a descendant of the Dere Beys of the place, and fortunately retained some of the influence his father had possessed over the inhabitants. Mixing with the mob, he commanded them to be silent, and then pointed out that though in a few hours every Christian in the town might be exterminated, yet, in the West, there were powerful nations, far out numbering the Osmanlis, who would certainly at no distant date avenge any atrocities that might be committed, and who would perhaps at once ally themselves with the Russians, and reduce the whole land to a condition of vassalage. Little by
 246 little the storm quieted down, | but it was days before the Christians dare appear again in the streets and resume their usual occupations, and even then they did so in fear and trembling lest some accident—a dispute over a bargain, a trumped-up accusation or hasty word—should start the troubles all over again. A form, and only a form, of government existed in the town. There was a mutaserif, with judges, finance ministers, clerks, tax-collectors, and police; but owing to none of these having received any pay for months, all were power less. The police refused to obey orders; the people, except the Armenians, to pay taxes, and the entire revenue of the province only sufficed to support the Circassian emigrants that lounged about the town, robbing and stealing, and who were the most worthless of all the community.

272 Diarbekir contains in all about twenty-three thousand seven hundred inhabitants, rather more than one-half of which are Christians, a few Jews, and the remainder Mussulmans.

As we rode through the streets we half regretted that we had now arrived at the extreme point of our journey eastward, but at the same time it was pleasant to feel that every day's ride in future would be taking us nearer home, nearer old friends and the comforts and luxuries

of civilization. As usual, we put up at a khan and engaged room, but directly we had done so an old shrewd-looking Armenian made his appearance and offered us some empty rooms at his house, at the same time introducing himself as the English consul's interpreter. His post must have been a sinecure, as there was no English consul, nor had there been one for some years. Thinking he might be a useful man, and, as interpreter, well up in languages, we asked him what he spoke, and he at once frankly confessed he knew nothing but Turkish, a fact that must have somewhat hampered his usefulness as interpreter! 273

We were much astonished, the first evening of our visit here, when the door opened and a gentleman entered, who appeared to be an English clergyman, for he was dressed exactly like those we had last seen months ago at home. It turned out that he was, in fact, an Armenian by birth, and his relations lived in Diarbekir and the neighboring towns. How and where he was educated I cannot say, but we quickly discovered that he was a highly cultivated, clever, gentlemanlike man, and that amongst his numerous accomplishments he counted a perfect knowledge of English. Our astonishment increased when he told us that he was married to an English lady, who had lived with him in that dismal spot some dozen years, without once visiting her old home. During this time he has been working among his fellow-countrymen, teaching them the doctrines of the Church of England, and persuading them to follow its precepts. While on a visit to England, where he went with the hope of interesting people in his work and getting help, he had made the acquaintance of Mrs. Boyajian, and induced her to marry and accompany him to Diarbekir; and, although she must have made great sacrifices to do so, yet I feel sure she has had no reason to repent placing her happiness in such good hands. Mr. Boyajian has never been ordained, and does not call himself a clergyman, but only a pastor, having been elected as such by the people he had taught and worked amongst. Besides holding two full services each Sunday, and teaching daily in the schools he had established, he had also been elected a member of the town megliss, and Abdurahman Pasha, the governor, consulted him in all matters, and, what is more, often took his advice. 276

We were indebted to Mr. Boyajian for a great deal of information concerning the people and the country—indebted to him directly and indirectly, for not only did he tell us much himself, but he introduced us to the governor, the Armenian bishops, leading Turks of the place, and several members of the megliss, all of whom had some information to impart. In one particular all were agreed. One and all declared that Abdurahman Pasha was a noble exception to the usual Turkish official, being honest, able, and poor, and more anxious for the welfare of his country than for his own. Unfortunately, his powers of doing good were extremely limited, rogues great and small being able, through the Government at Constantinople, to laugh at his attempts to bring them to justice. For instance, there are some valuable salt mines in the vilayet, worked for the Government under a Turkish director. This man in the last few years, by falsifying accounts and selling the salt for his benefit, had been able to pocket several thousand pounds. Abdurahman Pasha collected the clearest evidence and proof, and then brought the man to account. He was tried and convicted by the local tribunal, and nothing remained to be done but to get his punishment awarded at Constantinople; but part of the ill-gotten gains were judiciously expended there in bribes, and orders came back that all proceedings should be stopped, and the man not only released, but 277

reinstated in his old berth, the ministers thinking a man who could make thousands, and so be able to bribe highly, was a source of wealth not to be lightly suppressed. Everybody in the vilayet knew the particulars of this case, and it may be easily supposed how little the governor was respected by rogues, when his efforts to bring them to book so completely collapsed.

As at Oorfa, so was it here, and, indeed, throughout the whole country there might be said to be no government, or rather, what there was, was worse than nothing, being only used in most instances to assist individual robbery by Government officials. To add to the general anarchy that prevailed, there were Kurdish revolutions going on in almost every direction.

Near Bitlis, and in the neighborhood of Lake Van, several tribes were in open revolt, and were having a good time of it, robbing and plundering Christians and Turks; but as they also fought tribe against tribe, and were split up into independent bands, they were not considered dangerous to the Government. In the Derzim Mountains, a short distance north of Diarbekir, the Kurds had been out for some time, murdering all who entered their district, and
 278 plundering the villages, Mussulman and | Christian, for miles round; but again the danger was considered only local, and the Government did not therefore care to interfere. A more serious outbreak was, however, going on at Djezire, a town on the Tigris, half-way between Diarbekir and Mossul, but in the vilayet of the former. Some years ago, a Kurdish chief named Beden-Khan had headed a revolution in this district. Troops were sent against him, his bands dispersed, and he himself bought over by a pension, a pashalic, and a residence at Constantinople, where apparently he lived for the remainder of his days in the peaceful bosom of his family, which, besides wives unlimited, consisted of thirty-eight children. During the late war, one of his sons returned to the old country to try and collect volunteers to fight against the Russians. Directly he appeared, the old followers of his father flocked round from all parts, and in a few days he found himself a rich man from the quantities of presents his admirers showered upon him. It does not appear that he ever induced the Kurds to follow him to the war, but he seems to have soon after returned to Constantinople, where he told his brothers of the reception he had met with. One of these brothers at once set off for the old home, hoping to fare equally well, but the Kurds seem to have had no more to give, and therefore, not to be disappointed, this young chieftain raised the standard of revolt against the Government. He collected a mob of Kurds, fell upon Djezire, kicked out the kaimakam, took possession of the treasure, and appointed himself master of the place. Troops
 279 were collected by | Abdurahman Pasha, and sent against him, and while we were at Diarbekir, news arrived that a battle had been fought, the Kurds defeated and dispersed, and the chief obliged to hide, minus followers, and with every prospect of falling into the hands of the Government troops.

Abdurahman at once telegraphed this good news to Constantinople. No reply was sent back, but on the day before we left Diarbekir, the kaimakam of Sert, not far from Djezire, telegraphed word to say that he had received a telegram from the Porte, ordering him to find up the rebel chief, and tell him that by the Sultan's orders he would be made a pasha, and receive a good pension, if he returned at once to Constantinople! Abdurahman Pasha was furious. "I repress the rebellion, and have the miscreant at my mercy, and am rewarded by having a slight put upon me through a small kaimakam being authorized independently of me to offer the rebel rewards instead of punishments; and now, if the remaining children of the old pasha do not come one after the other, and earn a pension like their brother, they are

fools!" adding, "I am sick of it all. I do not stop here to rob the people and enrich myself, and I shall send in my resignation, and never take office again." As we saw shortly after in the Constantinople papers that another pasha had been appointed at Diarbekir, I suppose he carried out his threat.

Scores of villages had been robbed and plundered by the insurrectionary Kurds, and scores of others by the unpaid, unfed soldiers who were sent out against them, | starvation during the coming winter staring in the face all the poor peasants thus left destitute, and those villages that had not already suffered felt pretty sure their time was coming, as the Kurds were certain to break out again at no distant date and pay them a visit. Diarbekir itself is not safe, and the inhabitants expect sooner or later to be plundered and murdered by one of the numerous tribes of the neighborhood, who know well that they have nothing to lose and all to gain if they do so. We were told that near the Tigris, below Diarbekir, there were vast plains as flat as a table that, under cultivation, would produce rich crops of all kinds, but that the villagers dare not grow even sufficient for their own wants, as the possession of any store was sure to tempt either Kurds or soldiers to plunder them. Therefore with plenty lying waste at their feet, all were verging on starvation, in the train of which came fevers and other diseases, which were fast carrying off the poor people, and leaving the land a depopulated desert. 280

Since we left Diarbekir last December (1878), an English consul has gone there, and his presence will be a blessing to all, as he will be the one power in the land, beyond corruption and beyond fear, a check on dishonest officials and a shield to the oppressed, and if intervention by England for the better government of the land is to be anything more than idle talk, a better beginning cannot be made than by sending such men to every great town. Then when reports reach our ambassador from missionaries, travelers, merchants, and native Christians, of outrages, | injustice, and oppression, the Porte will no longer be able to silence him, and prevent his moving further in the matter by declaring there is no foundation for them. Such reports will either be confirmed or refuted by the consuls before the Porte is spoken to on the subject, and the good old excuses will have to be abandoned. It will, I know, be thought by many that to interfere in Asia Minor is not our affair; that we should say to the inhabitants, Kurds, Turks, Christians, and others, what the costermonger said to his quarrelsome dogs, "Fight it out, you beggars; you find your own jackets!" But if this is so, let us give up all half-measures and, above all, the talk about British interests and British intervention, that the people may know what to expect and to hope; then, perhaps, driven to despair, they may either right their own wrongs, or, better still, the Christian will be forced to emigrate to happier lands. As it is, wherever we went, we found all living on the hopes of English intervention—all classes, Turks and Christians, honest men and rogues, alike wishing for that happy event; the only people in the country not caring to obtain it being the clique of governing pashas at Constantinople, who know that then their day will be over, that no longer will they be able to swagger over a province for a few years and then retire to pleasant houses bought by the money they have robbed from the poor in distant parts, and lounge away their lives at Constantinople, intriguing and scheming to secure for their sons and other relations a field wherein to exhibit their powers of amassing such another fortune. 281

Then there is another disease that we were told half the Armenian women and girls in Diarbekir suffer from, and that is mange, exactly the same disease that dogs have, the 284

offspring of idleness, dirt, and the everlasting "custom." Once a fortnight, or at most once a week, the women have their hair done. Then all go to the baths and spend the whole day there, carrying food and drinks with them, and besides the wash, they get their hair fresh plaited and indulge in a good gossip. I am unable to describe very exactly the method by which these ladies arrange their coiffures, except that the hair is twisted and plaited into scores of thin tails which are wound round and about a thick saddle-like pad that sits on the head, and on this, covering the ears and temples, is a great silver or brass oval-shaped plate, weighing several ounces, that gives the wearer the appearance of a lop-eared rabbit. Except on the weekly or fortnightly bath days, the hair is never touched by brush or comb, and naturally becomes a den of all that is unpleasant, generating this terrible disease, which often covers the head with sores, and frequently produces total baldness.

We were told that when a young man wishes to marry, his mother proposes to the parents of the desired one, and that whilst doing so she is supposed to find out if the lady has the
 285 mange; but on my saying, "I suppose if she has, | the negotiations come to an end?" our informant replied, "Not often, for in that case not half the men would get wives, as most girls have it."

299 By noon we had left the hills, and had reached a spot that might be called the gem of this country—the great plain of Kharpout. Nowhere in Asiatic Turkey had we seen any part half so fertile, or a quarter so well cultivated. It is a dead level plain of deep rich alluvial soil, and is, I should say, twenty miles long by twelve wide, surrounded on all sides by high rugged mountains, from which descend numberless little streams and rills. Villages are to be seen in all directions, chiefly inhabited by Armenians, who have here taken to agriculture, and prove, by the clean state of the land and by the use they make of the streams for irrigation, that they are much better husbandmen than the Turks. Every yard of the plain is cultivated, cotton forming the chief crops, but great quantities of wheat and barley are grown and sold to the villagers in the mountains in exchange for goat-skins, horses, sheep, and such things as the almost barren rocks can be made to produce. Here and there, on moist, swampy spots, and by the side of streams, groves of poplars are cultivated, which are cut and sold when as thick
 300 as a man's leg, to be used as rafters | to cover in the flat-roofed houses. These poplars, with a little stunted oak scrub, are the only representatives of the forest within miles.

On our ride across the plain we passed through several Armenian villages that were wretched in the extreme. From being built on the flat in deep rich soil, the surroundings are poached up into a lake of black mud, some eighteen inches deep, and often the only dry spot in the village is the large manure heap, whereon squat the elders of the community, surrounded by children, dogs, cows, sheep, and ponies, all looking more than half starved. Rinderpest or some other disease had been rife among the cattle, and in every village we saw numerous skeletons sticking out of the mud around the houses. Nowhere did we see any haystacks or any provision, except half rotten straw, for the cattle in the winter, and as the poor beasts at this early part of the season could hardly drag, one leg after the other from weakness, many must have died before the grass began to grow in spring.

All domestic animals in Turkey are undersized. Cows, sheep, horses, and even chickens are little more than half the size of those in Europe, and I think this may be accounted for by no one thinking it necessary to select the finest or healthiest of his stock to breed from. Nowhere

are bullocks fattened for the butcher, and the animals are often killed just “to save their lives.” The consequence is the beef is stringy, hard, and rank, and I do not think the very poorest in England would eat it. As for the mutton, it is always what is called woolly; that is, has a strong goaty taste about it that you can’t get out of your mouth for days. The chickens, which are not much bigger than partridges, are invariably tough, stringy, and thin, and when boiled are very like what I should imagine a wet woolen comforter would be to eat. Eggs, when they can be had fresh, are the one clean and wholesome food to be got, but even these are very small. 301

After crossing this fertile, level plain, an hour’s ride up a very steep ascent brought us to the town of Kharpout, which is placed on the summit of a high hill. At the entrance to the town are the ruined walls of an old fortress, perched on the edge of a cliff, but the space thus enclosed is all built over and forms part of the town. In summer the governor and his officials live and conduct their business in Kharpout, but in winter they descend to a miserable sort of place in the plains, called Mezireh. On entering the town we spent half an hour before we could get quarters anywhere, and when at last a room was given us at a khan, it was full to the ceiling with cotton, and we had to wait till it was emptied, and when that was done it proved to be without glass in the windows and with an open fireplace, the hearth being some three feet from the floor, thus leaving one’s lower extremities out in the frost, while the upper parts were roasting. We had, however, scarcely settled down when a young Constantinople Greek called upon us and invited us to come and stay with him at Mezireh, an offer we gladly accepted, as in our present room we stood a good chance of being frozen. But as it was already dark, and our things all unpacked, we put off our migration till the morning, when we rode down the hill and took up our abode with our new friend. 302

During the evening we spent at the khan we called in one of the zaptiehs who had escorted us from Diarbekir, and gave him a bakshish, telling him to divide it with his companion. He salaamed and retired, but shortly afterwards the other zaptieh appeared with Ali Agha, and inquired of us how much we had given, and on our telling him he turned to Ali Agha, and said, “There, you see, it is as we expected; he has given me one quarter, and kept three quarters for himself.” We then told Ali Agha what it had always been our custom to give the zaptiehs, and it turned out that almost invariably the man who received the money had robbed the other. Yet I fancy I have heard it stated that the lower orders in Turkey are honest, and those only are dishonest that have been corrupted by intercourse with the West. Among any other people than Turks, the way this zaptieh had cheated his friend would have caused a row between them, and we expected to hear high words in the yard below; but no, the two men apparently continued the best of friends, and both escorted us next morning to Mezireh, chatting amicably as they rode along. I did not, however, envy the culprit his ride back to Diarbekir, and should not be the least surprised if his horse made a false step and blundered over a precipice in some lonely spot.

Scarcely had our Greek visitor left us when a Mr. Allen, an American missionary living in Kharpout, arrived and invited us to stay at his house; and when we explained that we had already accepted another invitation, he begged us to spend the evening with him and his friends, and also to visit him whenever we could from the lower town. To this we agreed, and we spent several pleasant hours in the comfortable missionary house. Like all the other missionaries we had met with, these good people had devoted their lives to their work, and 303

spoke quite cheerfully of ending their days here. Most of them had been half a lifetime in Turkey, only visiting America about once in fifteen or twenty years.

Here, as at Aintab, missionary work had taken the practical form of educating the young Armenians, both boys and girls; large schoolrooms were attached to the mission house, and we were told that as soon as sufficient money could be obtained for the purpose a college such, as the one at Aintab would be built. Besides the three missionaries, with their wives and families, there was an American lady, a Miss Seymour, who worked in what the mission call "the field," her chief task being to teach in the girls' school, and read to those of the Armenian women who would attend to her. Now and then, she told us, she made tours to distant towns with the missionaries, and tried to sow "the seed" amongst the women, the gentle men, from the way all the Armenian women are excluded from man's society, being unable to get at them. When we thought of the fatigues and hardships, the filth, and wretchedness that we *men* had gone through in our journey, we realized indeed how devoted and earnest these ladies
 304 must be, and what marvelous pluck they must possess. At the same time, I cannot think any lady should submit to it, or be encouraged by any one to undergo such hardships. We do not dig our gardens with a silver spoon, and I am sure a fitter implement might be found wherewith to cultivate "the field" than refined, delicate American ladies.

In one of these missionaries we found what we had not before met with since we left Constantinople, a real genuine Philo-Turk, who assured us that the Osmanlis were little short of perfect; but as he failed to bring forward any evidence to prove this, and as his two brother missionaries in no wise agreed with him, I shall content myself with stating the fact that at Kharpout a believer in the Turks exists! I am sorry to say that this gentleman, though a believer in the Turks, did not, apparently, think much of Europeans, as he declared what little evil there was in the noble Osmanlis was derived from their intercourse with the West. In this I partially agree with him, for I do think the Turks have been apt pupils in learning all the *bad* we had to teach them, drunkenness being the last lesson they have learned, while they have neglected to adopt any of our virtues. But to show that the Turks were not altogether such sweet gentle-minded creatures before they were demoralized by contact with outsiders, I may give the following copy of a *permis* to bury. It was given me by H.B.M. Consul at Angora, who stated that it was a literal translation of an old document held by the Armenian Bishop of Sivas. We heard of many other such elegant effusions . . .

305 Translation of an "Izinnamey" or Turkish permis to bury a Gregorian priest, issued by the local government of Mossul, Asia Minor, A.D. 1848.

"On earth who wore the pitchy gown
 Now wears elsewhere the devil's crown;
 An outcast from Heaven, in Hell doth drown.

"Let it be known to all that this unholy big Priest called——, an infidel man, a sectary of the most odious religion, and the offspring of an adulterous woman, having died in wickedness and filth, let the detestable carcase be carried forth; and though the very ground may well reject it, lest the foetid odor should cause a pestilence and so torment true believers, let a ditch be dug, let the above mentioned carrion be put therein, the earth thrown upon it and firmly stamped down, and thereafter return to your affairs."

Signed and sealed by Mevlevu Sheykh (leading Mussulman ecclesiastic)
 and the kaimakam or civil governor's seal.

Anna (Annie) Brassey—1839–1887

Sunshine and Storm in the East or Cruises to Cyprus and Constantinople.

New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1880

A.D. 1880

. . . We went to the Turkish theater, where we saw what appeared to be a very amusing piece, 79
though of course we could not understand a word. The dresses were all Turkish, the actresses 80
all Armenians. Ten years ago the Armenian women were veiled as carefully as the Turkish
women, and it was difficult to tell them apart. Now it is equally difficult to tell the former
from Europeans, either in dress or manners.

Sunshine and Storm in the East, or Cruises to Cyprus and Constantinople.

London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1881

<In Brousa> It was interesting to see the Greek and Armenian girls all hard at work, winding 99
the silk of the cocoons, which are placed in boiling water, the very fine thread being led over
a machine and wound off, generally without a single break if the water is hot enough. There 100
are three different kinds and colors of silk—green, yellow, and white—according to the part
of the country from which the silkworm's eggs come.

. . . The Armenians are, as a rule, a money-getting race, and will do anything for the love 301
of gain, even to the sacrifice of their personal pride.

James Creagh—?

Armenians, Koords, and Turks.

In two volumes. London, Samuel Tinsley & Co., 1880

A.D. 1880

<Vol. I>

- 3 The Armenians pretend to be the oldest type of the human species; and their large eyes and mouths, long noses and dark olive complexions—peculiarities which, like the Jews, they have retained with stubborn constancy, and in spite of the terrible vicissitudes, dispersions, or persecutions they have undergone—stamp them a distinct and high-bred race.

Their country was once powerful and glorious. Solitary ruins, silent and deserted, speak of past greatness; and the wonderful remains of the dead city of Ani, in the plain of Kars, is
 4 an imperishable monument of the wealth, address, and enterprise of fallen grandeur, as well as of the instability of human institutions. They have two languages: the ancient and modern Armenian tongues, which differ so completely that a person well versed in the one would be entirely ignorant of the other; and perhaps it may be taken as some proof of the great antiquity of the race that the language of no other people in the world—not even that of the Greeks—is equally dissimilar from that of their ancestors.

The ancient Armenian is richer than the Greek of the same period; and it is so pliable and applicable to every kind of translation, that if, for instance, the “Anabasis” of Xenophon was lost, it might be almost exactly restored again to the Greek from the Armenian rendering.

Armenia is connected with the primeval history of man, and the legends of mythology, as well as the Bible, declare it to be the spot from which the great modern nations originally wandered . . .

- 140 With the exception of the inhabitants of some of the large towns, the Christians of the East were a mean and servile people, as poor in spirit as they were in understanding; and the gross ignorance and immorality of their priesthood, the idolatrous nature of their picture or idol-adoring ceremonies, together with the cowardice and hypocrisy resulting, as a matter of course, from the severe laws, by which they were kept in a continual and hopeless state of subjection and of moral or intellectual slavery—caused their martial and overbearing masters of the dominant faith to look upon them with the same disdain and dislike as that with which a Spartan regarded a boorish and stupid Helot.

- 141 Their only chance of immunity was by becoming useful in some way or other to a Turk. They consequently entered the service of a Pasha or of some great man, and, not very particular as to the nature of the employment which they undertook, or the insults or ill treatment which they received at the hands of their tyrants, often became exceedingly rich, and even powerful.

All their intercourse with Mussulmans showed, in a thousand ways, the withering mistrust with which their conduct was incessantly watched; and even when prompted by those personal interests, ever uppermost in their minds—to be good and faithful subjects of the Porte, their useful or patriotic labors were contemplated with jealous and distrustful eyes.

Such is the toleration given by the Turks to their Christian subjects; for, unable to force men's wills as easily as they can their bodies, everything is done in order to render them contemptible and their religion despicable.

When it is remembered with what care and trouble the men of civilized countries follow in | their dress and manners the fashion of the day, and delight to trick themselves out in coats 142 and hats and trousers of the prevailing cut and form, provided similarly made garments or head-dresses are adopted by the upper classes—it is no wonder if a poor Greek or Armenian, a Rayah, as these Helots are called—tried to imitate as nearly as he dared the Turkish costume. Their hearts nearly burst with pride when, on some privileged occasion, they were allowed to appear in clothes somewhat resembling those of a Moslem.

“For thus,” says Ricaut, “the Turk makes his very habit a bait to draw some to his superstition; riches to allure the covetous; rewards and hopes to rule the ambitious; fears and terrors of death the cowardly and timorous . . . Such as adhere to the Christian faith the Turks make no account of, and value no otherwise in the place of subject than a man does of his ox or ass, merely to carry the burdens and to be useful and servile in slavish offices; they are oppressed and are subject to all advantages and pretenses; and their goods and estates, gained with labor | and the sweat of their brows, liable to the rapine of every great man; they are 143 disarmed and never exercised in war, by which means they become effeminate and less dangerous in rebellion . . . So that the oppression of the poor Christians under the Turk is worthy our compassion; how poor they are become, how their former wealth is exhausted; how the fatness of their rich soil is drained and made barren by poisonous suckers! So that it is evident that the Turk's design is no other than by impoverishment and enfeebling the interest of Christianity to draw proselytes and strength to his own kingdom.”

“O infidels!” says Mahommed in the Koran, “I do not adore what you adore, and you adore not what I worship; observe you your law and I will observe mine.” These tolerant sentiments appear to have emanated from the Prophet before he was puffed up with the pride of success; for a little later he sang in a much harsher key, crying: “When you meet with infidels, cut off their heads; kill them; take them prisoners . . .”

An Armenian ecclesiastic does not consider it in any way derogatory to his rank to sweep 154 the floor, to dig his field, to wait upon his guests like a menial servant, or to thump and cuff his clerical inferiors when he thinks they deserve a cudgeling.

The Greeks, the Armenians, and all the other Christian subjects of the Porte were regarded 221 by the Turks as secret enemies, or as spies living deceitfully in their midst; and Europeans of the same religion, who sympathized with their grievances or endeavored to protect them, were naturally distrusted and disliked.

Among all the Eastern Christians, none are so tolerant as the poor Armenians; for, 271 although they hate the Catholics on account of their interference in the affairs of their Church, as well as on account of the gross libels with which they have frequently been assailed by unscrupulous Jesuits, they acknowledge as Christians and co-religionists the baptized of all persuasions.

272 For centuries no separate Armenian history can be said to exist, because that unhappy people, subjected to either the Turks or the Persians, have lived only as slaves.

274 How is it possible not to feel compassion and sympathy with a classical people who, like trembling willows overwhelmed by the forces of tremendous floods, have nevertheless not been entirely swept away; but who have, on the contrary, and notwithstanding the smallness of their numbers, ever preserved their patriotism, their language, and their religion.

275 The majority of the nation is scattered | over the face of the earth, where they exist, like the Jews, in separate colonies or communities; but the nationality has never been dissolved.

The old language of the fatherland has never been corrupted nor forgotten; separation from their kindred seems only to increase their pathetic attachment to ancient customs, habits, and the cradle of their race; and to-day, after centuries of fierce persecutions, they seem destined as the agents by which Asia Minor may become again civilized.

The dispersion of the Armenians has been compared to that of the Jews; but, unlike the latter, the former are a nation with a home, towards which their eyes are constantly turned, in which their center of political and religious life is nourished, and of which Echmiadzin is the capital, and the Patriarch or Catholicos the king.

At his call, the Armenians living beyond the frontier of Armenia, and especially those of India, subscribe freely enormous sums of money for the support of their national church—
276 and for the advancement of learning | and culture in their dearly loved and elegant native tongue.

277 Of all subject Asiatic races, the Armenians are the most national; and as they love their language as well as their country, nothing is more detestable to their minds than a process of Russification, which they believe will eventually absorb them into a people for whom they have no other affection than such as a weak and timid man has for the policeman.

Mr. Bryce's opinions upon the subject tally so exactly with what I have myself heard from Armenian priests, peasants, and merchants in several different parts of Armenia, that I am |
278 induced to quote a passage from his work, in which, with I think very even impartiality—he sums up in a manner equally lucid and natural. "Seeing," says he, "is like nothing else. Seeing with one's own eyes, and hearing people on the spot talk—people who are themselves so to speak, part of the problem—brings home to one certain facts and principles with a force and clearness which no amount of reading can give. Life and property," in the words of this accomplished and unprejudiced traveler, "are secure under the Government of the Czar. Antagonisms of race and religion are far less fierce than in Turkey, and Mahommedan races live contentedly under a Christian Government. When foreign armies enter Armenia, they are welcomed as deliverers by the subject population; and when they retreat, it is upon these unhappy subjects that the inhuman vengeance of the Turkish soldiery is wreaked. In Armenia at this moment (1877), a timid and inoffensive people, who have never meditated insurrection, who are not accused of anything more than sympathy with the invaders, are |
279 being slaughtered by thousands in their blazing villages. I dare say the generals in command have not ordered or approved these massacres and torturings. That they are the spontaneous acts of irregular soldiers perpetrated on their own unarmed fellow-subjects, makes them even a more dreadful evidence of the condition of the Turkish Empire. Russia although her

Government is mainly military, does not neglect her duties to the people; and by creating security, has made it possible for foreign capital and enterprise to flow into the country. The laws are equal and mild for all subjects; and as there is no disaffection, I do not think," continues Mr. Bryce, "that there can be much oppression. In Turkey, the police are inefficient, the irregulars cannot be kept in order, the Koords systematically defy all authority, and indeed, although living within the bounds of the empire, have never been properly its subjects. No amount of supervision and reporting will ever get over this fatal defect of weakness. Annexation to Russia would of course be a boon to the Armenians, as I compared with their present position; but in itself not a good thing for either the annexed provinces or for Russia itself." 280

Nothing is more common than the errors of a traveler who takes an individual's opinion for the views on the same subject of the general public, or who accepts an isolated fact as an established custom. An English gentleman in Italy, perceiving from the window of his carriage, when he drew up the blind, a red-haired woman fighting in the street, wrote in his book that the population were very quarrelsome and all freckled. 282

Nowhere in the world do such blunders occur more frequently than in Turkey, where every European journeying for his amusement or instruction is looked upon as a news-monger, or muckbeer, as they call it; whose notions it is considered both prudent and advisable to tamper with. 283

For this purpose, very ingeniously concocted impediments to his obtaining clear ideas concerning the mode of government, the administration of the provinces, the collection of the taxes, the condition of the Christian population, or whatever other subject may form the motive of his researches, are placed in his way; and it frequently happens that the most intelligent and fact-investigating philosophers are completely deceived by the very people whose interests would be, to all appearance, advanced if they told only the truth.

A certain Armenian was introduced by the Pasha to an English gentleman who was traveling through the country, with a view to obtaining such accurate information concerning the Christian subjects of the Porte inhabiting those little-known and little-thought-about provinces, as might enlighten people at home about affairs which they had just commenced, though in a very vague and confused manner, to perceive had some connection with their own welfare.

The Armenian in question answered the queries of his curious interlocutor, whether they were leading or not, or whether they were put to him either in public or in private, exactly as if the replies had been dictated by his so-called Excellency himself. 284

He was afraid to tell the truth. He was afraid that if he expressed the aspirations, the wishes, or the sympathies of the Armenian nation, it might be repeated to his masters; and, being a calculating person, he very naturally reflected that such a course would certainly not do the said Armenian nation the least good, while it would, on the contrary, be quite sure to do him a great deal of harm.

His evidence was therefore similar to the evidence of such people everywhere else, and, as he bore witness, he thought only of himself.

After a long acquaintance with this wily Armenian, who was a very intelligent man, and who, although never out of his native country, spoke the French language with great fluency

285 and emphasis—I discovered by degrees | that he disliked the Russians because he was an Armenian, and did not want to be Russified; but that he hated the Turks, because, although a man in every way superior to any Mussulman, from the Pasha downwards, in point of knowledge, accomplishments, and education, he felt the social contempt under which he existed, and it touched him to the quick and galled him.

If these disgusting disabilities were removed, and if the Armenians enjoyed the same social equality as they do in Russia, there can be little doubt that they would give neither encouragement, sympathy, nor support to Muscovite aggression.

A single fact will show the hopeless condition of the Armenians under the Turks, compared with the state of the same people under the Russians. “In 1828,” said an Armenian to me, “the father of General Loris Melikof, living in a small village near Erzerum, left that neighborhood; and, like thousands of the population of the same districts, fearing the revenge
286 of the Turks for the joy and gladness with which | they hailed the conquering Paskievitch on his triumphal entry into the capital, settled in Russian territory.

“About fifty years afterwards, General Loris Melikof came back to Erzerum as the Commander in Chief of His Imperial Majesty’s forces.

“If,” said the Armenian who told me this story, “Melikof had remained in Turkey, how different would have been his lot; and is it therefore in any way probable that we should prefer the government under which we are degraded to the condition of despised and contemptible slaves, to the one under which we live on terms of complete equality with our rulers?”

I confessed that I thought it extremely unlikely that any sensible man could give the preference to the first; and he assured me that I was quite right.

On the direct road between Erzerum and Bayazid, I frequently stopped with a rich Armenian family, because—like Mr. Hamilton, secretary to the Geographical Society, who |
287 traveled in these countries more than forty years ago, always preferred a Greek or Armenian house, in which we were less exposed to the inconvenient and sometimes impertinent curiosity of the host.

In one of my visits to this town, at a time when it appeared to superficial observers that the Russian invasion of Armenia had entirely failed, and that there was a much greater probability of the Ottomans besieging Alexandropol than of the Muscovites marching on Erzerum—a Turk, who had previously received me with demonstrations of politeness, absolutely refusing to let me in, recommended me to the house of a Ghiour as a more suitable resting-place for a good Christian man.

I accordingly claimed the hospitality of the Armenian, who, waiting on me himself, expressed with apparent sincerity the pleasure he felt at my visit.

In the course of conversation, he assured me that he, as well as all his fellow-countrymen in the town, hailed the repulse of the Russians with great glee.

288 The reasons that he gave for sentiments so hostile to people professing only to act for the emancipation of the Armenian nation, appeared certainly plausible enough; and are, in fact, all that can be urged, and there is much in the in favor of a continuance of Ottoman rule.

“We know the Turks,” said he, “and under their administration we enjoy a self-government which leaves our language, the education of our children, and our national customs, so perfectly untrammelled and free from any official interference, that we have no wish to change it for the rule of a people who steadily endeavor, by means of carefully devised

regulations affecting even our indoor family life, to absorb us altogether, to force their tongue on us, and in fact to alter us from Armenians into Russians.

"In fifty years the Muscovites have done more towards the moral annihilation of the Armenians, as a separate nation, than has been effected by the Turks in several centuries.

"For these reasons we have no sympathy with the Russians and wish only to be left alone. Besides, we can trade with greater | freedom in Turkey than in Russia: so that many Turkish 289 Armenians become exceeding rich, and enjoy a monopoly of the commerce of the whole country.

"These are great advantages; and, notwithstanding some grievances against our masters, we do not want to swap them against certain extensions of liberty, which, although very plausible at first sight,—appear, on a closer examination, to be in no way compensated for by the several very troublesome and annoying Muscovite bureaucratic and centralizing regulations to be weighed against them."

It is almost certain that a traveler in either Turkish or Persian Armenia, even if he spoke the Armenian language as well as Moses of Khorene,²¹ or Thomas of Medzop²² himself,—would hear expressions of opinion so exactly similar, that when he returned to Europe he would carry with him convictions about the feelings of the people, founded on evidence so indisputable, that nobody would be impertinent enough to question for a moment their perfect accuracy.

"If you honorable English folk," said the | Bishop of Baibourt, "really want to understand 290 the kind of liberty and the amount of happiness we enjoy under the Turkish Government, why do you not send some of your countrymen, not to ride post through the country, not to stop with your Consuls in the large towns where our people are protected by the neighborhood of Europeans; but to reside in some of our villages in different parts of Armenia for a few months?

"If you do so, we shall no longer laugh or cry at the truly absurd nonsense about us translated from your honorable newspapers into ours.

"Have you remarked the Armenians," continued he, "as you rode along the road? Had you never even heard of their existence before, would not their cringing manners and frightened looks cause you to notice a great difference between them and the haughty Osmanli or Koord, who, armed with knives and pistols, must ever feel a contempt for the poor defenseless Christian, no more capable of defending himself than an old woman?

"Must not unarmed people, living among warriors, be ever at their mercy? 291

"Would not these facts alone and in themselves cause an observant mind to make deductions more consonant with probability and reason than the mendacious accounts gathered either from Pashas, or from Armenians in their service and dependent upon them for bread?

"A cunning and sagacious traveler using his eyes alone, and without placing any dependence whatever on his ears,—might learn to suspect that after all the lot of a Christian in Asia Minor is such that people in England have but little idea of its social degradation.

"The warlike aspect and fine and independent manners of the martial Osmanli contrast so remarkably with the gentle and inoffensive air of the most unsoldierlike Armenian,—that those circumstances taken by themselves display two extremes of military pride and civilian sub-serviency."

Several visits to the Armenian whom I have mentioned in the preceding page, caused our acquaintance to ripen into confidence.

292 Considering me at length a person who might be trusted, and who would not go and repeat what he said to a Pasha, with a view to having his grievances redressed,—he told me exactly what I have always heard from every Armenian with whom I have been the least intimate.

“When I go to Tiflis or Erivan,” said he, “I feel as I walk about the streets that I am a man; in this town, my native place, I am constantly addressed as a disbelieving dog.

“Such insults I am accustomed to. I dare not redress them, because here, were a Christian slave—for we are slaves and nothing else—were a Christian slave, then, I say, to assault what men hereabout call a true believer, he would either be beaten to a jelly, or perhaps slain outright.

“God grant that the Russians may come here; we should hail them as deliverers.”

293 Naturally astonished at what appeared to me such a sudden change of sentiments in a man who only a very short time previously had expressed wishes so entirely opposed to the hopes to which he now gave vent with every appearance of sincerity and truth,—I asked him the reasons for this wonderful modification of ideas.

“I have not changed; but what I told you first,” said he, “is what I thought would be most pleasing to your ears, because you English I know hate the Russians, but you love the Turks.”

And indeed the affection of the English for the Turk is so incomprehensible to the ordinary Armenian, that a young peasant in the mountains above Ghumish Hana, once asked me if we too were not Mussulmans like the Osmanlis.

<Vol. II>

4 I have heard the autonomy of the Armenians agitated in a company of men composed of that nation; and some years ago, a kind of debating society, similarly constituted, was formed at Constantinople to discuss that impossible question. The notion was hardly started before it was abandoned as a Eutopia only worthy of the attention of dreamers; and indeed, a similar government for the Germans living in London would not be one whit more reasonable.

The Turks and the Armenians live mixed up together in the same towns, in the same villages, and in the same streets; and although there are places, and even districts, inhabited exclusively by both one and the other,—they are as a rule, only to be found in secluded parts of the country.

5 Wherever the Armenians live alone, they are protected by a few Turkish officials or mounted policemen, who, according to all accounts, treat the people almost as if they belonged to them.

If one of them falls in love with a handsome girl, he is allowed to convert her to the Mahomedan faith; and thus, by means of religion, oppression of the worst and most hateful kind is encouraged, and lubricity supported.

In places where the Armenians reside by themselves, nothing in the world would be simpler or more easy than to grant them that parochial self-government, which their own institutions would enable them to carry out in a manner entirely satisfactory, and which is even now allowed them by the Turks in all matters of a purely Armenian nature . . .

This extension of liberty, or rather of natural right, would certainly in the first instance only affect unimportant places and small villages—quite unessential from a commercial point of view—but it would never attract such an influx of Armenians from other parts of the country, | as to form germs or nurseries of little free communities which, according to the 6 expectations of some people, might afterwards grow large.

The Turks will surely grant any extension of Armenian liberties on paper.

“When I go to a country,” says Montesquieu, “I do not try to find out if there are good laws there; but if those which exist are carried out, for there are good laws everywhere.”

Elaborately written constitutions are not what the Armenians want because they know perfectly well that institutions copied from European models are altogether inapplicable to the moral and material conditions of their existence.

They desire the freedom given to them by the Turks, with the protection which they enjoy under the Russians.

It is unlikely that the liberties, granted to the Armenians in the recently concocted Turkish constitution, will ever be put into force; because those unhappy people are so cowed and | overcome with terror when in the presence of the dominant race,—which has looked down 7 upon them for centuries, and for which at the bottom of their hearts, and notwithstanding their profound dislike, they regard as gentlemen altogether superior to themselves,—that in any public or deliberative assembly their voices would hush before the scowls of a Koord or of an Osmanli.

They are quite aware how easy a matter is the interpretation of rules; how simply the majority can put down a timorous minority; and they are, being an educated, learned, and often a well-read people,—not altogether ignorant of the significance of the fable of the wolf and the lamb.

They know full well that, unless protected by a really powerful executive, altogether independent of those fanatical and religious factions objecting to any kind of reform,—every scheme for their amelioration is altogether hopeless.

This is why they look to Russia for support; and, unless the English protectorate of Asia Minor can offer them a defense analogous to | the protection under which they are sheltered 8 by the Muscovites,—the constitution of Midhat, the convention with Great Britain, or the occupation of Cyprus, are matters of the most perfect and supreme indifference to the Armenians; who feel that, after unparalleled vicissitudes, the dispersed nation has at length arrived at a crisis in its fate.

They think that the hour of their deliverance is at hand; and, while they watch attentively the course of events, their judgment is suspended between a belief in Russia or England as the political Messiah.

Longing for that tolerance, which they are well aware gives both social equality and religious freedom wherever the British power is supreme,—they are fully sensible of the vital interest of England in supporting the Turkish power on the Bosphorus and in Asia Minor.

Although believing with a lively faith in our good intentions, they disbelieve in our ability to carry them out.

The calculations of diplomacy may endeavor | to suppress the aspirations of the Armenian 9 nation; but constant intercourse with Europe, where several colleges educate each year great numbers of Armenian youths who form friendships among the rising generations of those

countries in which they are brought up,—increases gradually the knowledge that men now have of that interesting nation and its inhabitants.

That knowledge will certainly cause every generous mind to feel a sympathy for the position in which men so highly gifted, and women so beautiful, are placed; and as years go on, and as Europeans become more and more intimately acquainted with these despised and little-known people, liberal opinion will feel for their trouble, and perhaps, with that violence and folly usually distinguishing its action, endeavor to solve the question by blindly playing into the hands of Russia.

- 32 Of all countries in the East, Armenia is the one which has attracted the least attention; but with the exception of Haxthausen, who devotes several pages of his valuable work to the Russian part of that country,—and recently, of Mr. Bryce,—I am not aware of any authors who have attempted to depict the national life or the customs and aspirations of its people.

- Notwithstanding its richness in native histories, the ancient state of Armenia is almost unknown to the learned and curious of Europe. Nevertheless, the attention of the West will by degrees be turned towards it; and when its literature is studied, and the comparative geography of the country understood,—a profound feeling of sympathy will be awakened in
33 the mind of the Christian; of interest in that of the antiquarian; and at last, even | the coldness of diplomacy will be unable to smother sentiments of real pity for the fallen condition of that gifted and unhappy race.

- 39 From the town of Trebizonde to the top of the Zigana mountain is a distance of thirty-five miles; and the road, generally shaded by a dense forest of pines, follows a succession of steep inclines overlooking a roaring stream.

Picturesquely built and situated houses, standing quite alone among these vast solitudes, often appear in the distance as though they were suspended among the trees.

Here and there the milky foam of a splashing cataract glides from a great altitude upon the somber rocks below.

The scenery, without being so grand, is perhaps, in consequence of the frequent embellishment of waterfalls pouring among and half hidden by dark green foliage,—more beautiful than many popular parts of Switzerland.

- 40 There is no doubt that it is the distance, added to the expense and loss of time necessary for excursions to these pleasantly situated places, which causes them to be so little known to the traveling Englishman.

The country is one of the healthiest in the world; and as the food of the people consists entirely of bread, like dough, milk and vegetables,—the most dyspeptic-stricken and ill humored drunkard or glutton would find more benefit from six weeks' residence among them, than from the waters of Baden, Homburg, or Carlsbad, or than from all the medicines of every apothecary's shop in London.

- Here the traveler . . . sleeps with his munching horses or in the open air; but whether he chooses the warmth of the animals near his straw, or the pure and chilly atmosphere outside, the inhalations, although at first very irritating to a long-standing cough or other pulmonary affection,—are so wholesome, strengthening, and invigorating, that the most obstinate chest
41 complaints are completely | cured in a few days, unless the patient dies.

The effects of the cold air make men very drowsy.

The crawling of insects from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet, is so lethargic, and like the action of shampooing, so soothing to the limbs of the weary traveler, that the instant the fleas have covered his body in as great a multitude as the ants on an ant-heap—he, with a smile of peace and satisfaction on his face, drops gently into profound and refreshing slumbers.

An English consul, after a long residence in Armenia, having retired to his native country on a pension, had become so accustomed to the fleas that he was unable to sleep without them; and his housemaid always carried a snuff-box full upstairs and put them into his bed with the warming-pan. People who live long in these countries contract, without doubt, the most extraordinary tastes and habits.

It can, however, only be a very superficial knowledge of the inhabitants which supposes 42 that the Armenians are so eccentric—whatever prejudices they may have about fleas—as to prefer the Turkish blood-sucker to the Russian bear.

From the summit of the pass, on the top of the Zigana, the view is equally grand and beautiful.

By means of deep cuttings, the road winds along the side of the savage and rugged mountain; wanders doubtfully into the valley far down below; and is lost underneath an old castle perched on the end of a wild pinnacle of rugged and beetling rocks.

A passage, seeming in the distance like a crack or rent in the great cliff-side, is the entrance to the Valley of Ghumish Hana, where the most luscious fruit and sweet-smelling flowers flourish under the shade of variegated trees, and within hearing of the murmurs of refreshing streams.

The balconies of its picturesque and comfortable houses overlook delightful gardens, whose copious produce is famous for delicacy and flavor throughout the whole of Turkey. 43

Secluded, sheltered, and protected by precipices of appalling altitudes and fantastic shapes, the Valley of Ghumish Hana, resounding with the sound of pipes and lutes, appears the natural home of health and joy; and the ruddy faces of smiling children dabbling in neighboring brooks, prove that doctors, with their poisonous and expensive physic, do not plunder here.

The enthusiastic admirer of nature in all its savage grandeur may face the most sublime emotions; but it is the painter alone who can convey those impressions to the minds of others.

The extraordinary town of Ghumish Hana—chiefly inhabited by Greeks, whose forefathers, deserting from the army of Xenophon, are believed to have chosen this position as inaccessible to the attacks of the barbarians—is constructed along both sides of a deep and awful chasm, at a distance of about three miles from the road.

When the astonished beholder comes in sight of its comfortable houses, stately mosques, 44 and solid cathedral, terraced one above the other on ledges hollowed from the living rock, and standing boldly out of the very face of the precipice,—a very easy stretch of imagination might cause him to believe that he was gazing upon a shelf full of china ornaments, hanging from the sky, glittering in the sun, and very likely to be blown down by a little gust of wind.

Classical and medieval ruins, often of great extent as well as of massive structure, and generally perched in such very elevated positions that all approach to them seems impossible,—beautify nearly every turn among these pleasant scenes.

The remnants of an impregnable castle frown down from a perpendicular precipice a thousand feet high.

Further on, but so confounded among the jagged outline of the black rocks, that a traveler might very possibly pass by without observing them,—walls, towers, turrets, and battlements
45 threaten to fall straight down from | a terrific altitude upon the heads of men walking on the road below.

It is a proof of the ignorance concerning these countries on the part of even very well-informed Europeans, that nearly all ruins in Armenia are invariably attributed by them, as well as by the natives, to the Genoese, who do not appear to have ever established themselves in the interior.

53 The conquests of Paskievitch in 1829 terminated at Ghumish Hana, which is about one hundred and ten miles from Erzerum.

Its inhabitants, according to the official chronicler of that celebrated general's exploits, were so rejoiced at the appearance of the Russians, that all the Greek girls, going out to welcome their co-religionists, strewed the road they trod with flowers or posies; and, singing hymns of praise or carrying grotesque implements of superstition, accompanied the staff of the army to the cathedral, which echoed with the noise of a general thanksgiving.

Peace was then made; and at this picturesque spot the victories of the renowned Paskievitch were stopped by the arrival of a diplomatic officer from Constantinople.

In summer, when the snow has melted from the tops of the superior ranges, and refreshed with many a foaming torrent the sunny slopes and shady fruiteries among the sheltered glades
54 | below,—every mountain-side and valley rejoice in the bounty of nature, which here returns its choicest gifts for the easiest and most gentle labor.

Even in the depth of winter, when the white and jagged outline of the Zigana Dag stands out in bold relief against the blue firmament, and when the dense pine-forests are exquisitely embellished with glittering ornaments of frost and ice,—the frozen traveler coming down from the high Armenian uplands is comforted by the balmy atmosphere of the place.

One day in the month of January, 1878, after leaving this Lasistani Arcadia, in order to cross the mountain,—the clouds became black and lowering.

A fine and serene afternoon gave place to an evening so stormy and so wild, that we hurried on in order to obtain shelter from a hurricane already roaring with incredible violence among the surrounding heights.

Frequently sulking, trembling all over, and turning their tails to the blinding and irritating
55 stream of snow and powdered ice in which we | were ever and anon submerged, the horses were afraid of being blown over the steep and undefended precipices dropping suddenly and abruptly from the roadsides into the clefts far down below; and as whirlwinds of frozen particles threatened at each moment to overwhelm our cavalcade, we were all fain to let go the reins and hide our faces in our hoods.

Occasional glimpses through the hurricane disclosed the boldest sources of the sublime; for the wild drift, dashing against and spouting over the most time honored, exposed, and rugged headlands, unfolded, though often only for a few seconds, dream-like prospects as fantastic as the flames of a mighty conflagration.

Huge columns of snow,—growing up from among clefts and chasms in the vast panorama

of rock and precipice and forest, above, below, and all round us,—fell away again and again like spent rockets.

Flying masses of cloud, equal, apparently, in solidity and volume, to the waves of a heavy sea, poured and rushed like spray among the crags and up the sides of cliffs. 56

Great heaps of snow, made heavy with accumulated bulk, slid down the mountain-sides; and, increasing in size and weight as they sped onwards, the trees of the forest, unable to withstand the shock, were torn from their roots and carried off.

Trembling at the embryo of an avalanche almost hanging over our heads,—we had scarcely time to pass before the weighty mass gave way. Barricading the track with a rampart about six feet in height, which it left behind, it moved sluggishly into a neighboring chasm, where it was confounded and lost below the drift.

Such is the discomfort of traveling in Armenia that, amid this riot of the elements, we were forced to pass the night in a half-open shed, where, rolled up in furs and sheepskins, we enjoyed a heavy sleep, that might have been envied by men in better lodgings.

Next morning, on our determining to proceed,—a deputation of villagers declaring that the Zigana Dagh was now impassable, solemnly warned us not to risk our lives in an attempt 57 to cross.

With a view to proving, in case of accidents, that it was our folly in refusing to listen to the voice of experience which had caused our destruction,—they asked me to furnish them with written statement certifying that they, at least, had done their duty in telling me to stop.

Once upon a time twenty-five horsemen had, they said, been swept into eternity by falling snow; and the dangers of the mountain were so well known, that not a single peasant of the neighborhood would dare to go across on such a fearful day.

When it is recollected that at the passage of the Splugen (the greatest military feat of modern times), the French army corps under Marshal Macdonald lost whole companies swept by the tumbling avalanches into that well-known cockney tourists' stream at the bottom,—the Lazes' story of the destruction of the twenty-five horsemen is certainly an extremely probable event.

The entrance to the pass leading up into Armenia, is by means of a rent or opening 67 through a porphyritic rock, overlooked on the left-hand side by perpendicular cliffs—rising fifteen hundred feet above the river,—jagged at their extreme summit into peaks and pinnacles of fantastic shapes and unequal heights; and crowned high up indeed, and almost out of sight, by the moldering castle of the before-mentioned Casabica, who, according to Gonzalez, “was a great thief.”

No one could go through this opening in the rocks without his permission, as even a few stones, detached from his impregnable perch near the sky, would have easily arrested the advance of an army, much more of a half hundred timid travelers. 68

It is impossible to conceive anything more beautiful than this prospect.

It is from green fields, and shady trees standing on the banks of a clear and murmuring stream, that the beholder looks up among wild rocks which present a contrast altogether sudden and opposite.

The two extremes of soft landscape and savage grandeur are shown quite close together.

After riding through a succession of narrow gorges, bounded on both sides by barren

heights of greenstones, traps, and other igneous rocks, the summit of a melancholy ridge is reached.

The great plains, brown in summer, but always deeply covered up with snow during the winter months,—are in the ancient kingdom of Armenia called by the Turks the Pashalic of Koordistan.

At the opposite side of these extensive pastures is situated the town and castle of Baibourt.

69 As far as the eye can reach, not a single tree is to be seen; and, except Armenian villages hardly appearing above the level of the ground,—nothing breaks the hideous and depressing monotony of a landscape, than which it would be difficult to imagine anything in the world more repulsive to the eye.

This town of Baibourt, celebrated by Turkish writers for the beauty and fatness of both its women and its sheep,—was so completely destroyed by Paskievitch in 1828, that seven years afterwards, when visited by Mr. Hamilton, it had not recovered from the effects of the wanton cruelty of its Russian conquerors.

They so completely sacked and gutted the place, that the old Turkish quarter on the hill was never built up again; and to this day presents the appearance of a picturesque ruin.

The ancient castle, although attributed to the Genoese, was evidently, from the nature of parts of its beautiful and symmetrical architecture, a Saracenic construction.

70 The gate, with its several Turkish and Arabic inscriptions, together with a great lion rudely sculptured under the arch, shows that it belonged to the Ottomans and to the Persians in later times; while, on the contrary, there is nothing whatever to justify a belief that it was ever possessed by Italians.

Either winding through narrow and rocky passes, or else crossing well-watered little valleys deeply imbedded among bleak and rugged mountains entirely destitute of shrubs or trees,—the road, continually ascending, always runs side by side with the Tchorouk Sou, said to be anciently the Pison, one of the four rivers flowing, according to the Holy Scriptures, out of the Garden of Eden.

In a gorge about three hundred feet wide, at the foot of Mount Kope, the stratification of the rocks, consisting of indurated shales, sand-stones, and calcareous marls, is quite perpendicular . . .

71 The road crosses and recrosses the stream several times, until at length, after a steep and winding ascent, the summit of mountains ten thousand feet above Trebizonde,—and forming the watershed between the basin of the Yefrad or Euphrates and the streams which at the Baibourt side flow into the Black Sea,—is reached.

The view from this elevated position is, in the depth of winter, very remarkable.

It comprises a grand and melancholy prospect, containing not only Erzerum itself, but the heights behind it, overlooking Hassan Kala as well as the superior ranges of the cold Soghanli Dagħ so far away. No trees or variety of color break the awful monotony of the scene; and the whole country being very deeply covered up in snow, there is nothing whatever to variegate an eternal dazzling and truly bewildering whiteness, coloring hill, rock, mountain, and valley as far as the eye can reach.

At a great distance, but so very far down below as to be almost indistinct, villages in the great white and silent Erzerum Plain—appear here and there like drops of ink or short black lines on very clean creamlaid note-paper.

Even the capital itself,—called Erzerum by the 1 Turks, Garin by the Armenians, and 72 Theodosiopolis by the Greeks,—can only be distinguished from the neighboring towns by a large dark spot of greater magnitude than the others.

As the plains in the neighborhood of Erzerum are situated about six thousand feet above the level of Trebizonde, the cold there in winter is altogether glacial.

When the wind blows freshly across the circumjacent expanses of snow and ice, the current of air becomes so excessively sharp and biting, that any part of the body exposed to it, even for a few moments, quickly becomes numbed with excessive pain.

In order to guard the feet against danger of frost-bite, large felt slippers are put on outside the boots; and double mitts, without fingers, are alone a safe protection to the natural circulation of blood in the hands.

The construction of the houses, quite different from that of the dwellings in the temperate valleys lower down,—indicate at first sight the extreme severity of the climate.

They are sunk into the ground; covered 1 with heavy flat roofs piled up with earth; and 73 generally present the appearance of large mole-hills with very little doors, through which their occupants, stooping low, go in and out.

Men and animals usually live in the same chamber.

The bodies of the latter exhale a genial heat; and at the side, a small place near the lurid cow-dung fire is railed off for the convenience or entertainment of passing visitors or friends. This space is called the Salamlik or parlor.

A few mattresses, containing fleas, cotton, or straw in equal proportions, are spread out near the hearth for the repose of the sleepy traveler, who, after the longest journeys, and at a time when he most needs solitude and rest, is generally teased by the curiosity of the villagers, which prompts them to assemble in crowds, and sitting down in rows, like people at an entertainment, to watch and study with great attention, though usually in perfect silence, every movement and attitude of the European stranger.

In Christian villages the inhabitants are 1 always much less obtrusive, and far more 74 respectful than the haughty Osmanli, who, although invariably expecting to be well paid for both food and lodging,—considers that the traveler is his guest, and that it is his duty to entertain him on equal terms.

The dignity and gravity of the poorest Turkish peasant fit him admirably for this pretension; and were it not that our European prejudices teach us to expect great deference from a coarsely-clad mountain boor, it may be that there would be nothing unpleasant in the arrogance.

On one occasion nearly a whole village of Koords insisted on watching me shaving my face; and it was only with great difficulty, and aided by three Zaptehs, but more especially by a bludgeon,—that I could induce the rascals to let me perform my ablutions in peace.

The simple life of the inhabitants of the mountains of Armenia is entirely conducive to robust health; and those odious hereditary complaints resulting from profligacy, gluttony, and drunkenness, are entirely unknown.

The people retire to rest and rise up again with the sun; and their slumbers being assisted 75 with the healthy occupations of the day, and undisturbed by a superabundance of unwholesome food,—compose the nerves and refresh the bodies. Notwithstanding the extreme severity of the climate, pulmonary affections are very unusual; and although the

cutting snowdrifts often cause frost-bite and affections of the eyes, the people take every precaution to guard against such serious accidents.

The houses of the Armenians were, according to Xenophon, “under ground; the mouth resembling that of a well, but spacious below. There was an entrance dug for the cattle, but the inhabitants descended by steps. In these houses were goats, sheep, cows, and fowls, with their young. All the cattle were maintained within doors with fodder.”

Among the pastoral nations of Asia it is probable that neither the mode of life nor the manner of thinking have changed since the days of Abraham; but the account of Xenophon
76 is in every way so exactly descriptive of the architecture of Armenian villages, that it is certain their inhabitants are still as primitive as were their ancestors before the birth of Christ.

At a short distance, a collection of fifty or sixty underground houses cannot, except for the little square holes used as doors or windows,—be distinguished from the rugged sides of the hill into which they are built.

Men and animals, coming home for the night, disappear, one after the other, through these apertures.

All through the winter, both the cattle and the fowl are kept in the houses; and when the summer comes, the manure which they have trodden down being taken out, made into large cakes, and baked in the sun,—serves as a kind of fuel, under the name of tizek.

The extreme filth of such habitations,—the only resting-places for travelers in Armenia,—can easily be imagined. The swarms of vermin which they contain are altogether wonderful.

77 The remains of the ancient civilization of Asia Minor are still palpable in the shapes and forms of the household utensils of the people; for the pitchers, trays, and dishes, although only made of brass or copper, resemble in many respects the purest Etruscan style.

79 In gentle ascents and descents it [the Euphrates] traverses the lower sinuosities of those richly-snowed mountains, shutting in on one side the great and white plain of Erzerum; and reaching the village of Ilaja,—celebrated among the Turks and Armenians, who resort to it in great numbers during the summer months, on account of its hot mineral baths,—at length emerges on to the flat plateau in which the celebrated capital of Armenia stands.

The view of Erzerum, as seen from Ilaja, (so perfectly flat and unvaried is the bosom of the surrounding pasture-lands,) exactly resembles that of a town looked at from the same distance by a person standing on the deck of a ship.

Although so highly elevated above the level of the sea, there is nothing grand or pleasing
80 in the view, which discloses to the eye of the traveler only a hideous flat hemmed in on all sides by bare and ugly mountains, differing in altitude as well as in shape.

This vast plain is populated by many villages, looking, when the deep snow covers the ground, so like rocks or islands, and even in the distance so like boats or sticks floating on the surface of a placid sea,—that the mind becomes confused in all attempt to count them.

81 The town, as before remarked, is to this day called Garin by the Armenians; but the Greeks, of whom there have always been a considerable colony in the place, still give it the name of Theodosiopolis; and it is only to the Turks that it is known by the generally accepted Saracenic denomination of Erzerum.

82 A broad and impassable marsh, in the middle of which the stream of the Euphrates runs sluggishly along, covers the center of the great plain.

There is no doubt that the surrounding mountains, before that river forced its way through their lower ranges, were reflected in the waters of an extensive lake.

The hills at the back are composed of trachytic or other igneous rocks, the fall of which has formed a large talus running down towards Erzerum; and a cavity in these heights, at no great distance from the town, has, during the period of trachytic eruptions evidently been the crater of a volcano.

There is probably no town in the world which has been so often sacked; and as the natural 83
terror, inspired in the minds of peaceful merchants by such fine exploits, has become, owing to its action on several generations, hereditary; every rumor of war, or even the noise of party strife in its streets, causes all the Armenian shopkeepers to shut their booths, save what is most portable, and devour the paths of ignominious flight.

In a few moments panics of this nature become universal; and as great inconvenience | is 84
sometimes caused by such epidemics of cowardice, traders are occasionally punished, even when there is some reason for being sore afraid.

The Turks, who do everything by force, endeavor to frighten people into being brave.

The greater part of the houses in Erzerum resemble those of the Armenian villages throughout the country; but as they are built together in large square blocks, and covered with a thick coating of earth, which in the summer months produces a little grass, it is not uncommon to see goats and even asses browsing on the roofs overlooking the narrow and tortuous streets.

The population, during the coolness of the summer evenings, comes out here to enjoy the balmy breezes wafted downwards from the surrounding heights.

As some of the houses are two stories high, their upstairs windows look across the tops of neighboring dwellings, which present the appearance of an irregular plain, intersected here and there with deep cuttings; for the | streets below, when seen from these points of view, bear 85
an exact likeness to small canals or watercourses winding through heaps of bricks and clay.

After the citadel, constructed on a rock, the Cheftah Minarets are the most remarkable buildings in Erzerum, which indeed resembles more an enormous village than a capital town. These constructions were . . . originally a church, first converted into a mosque, and . . . ornamented with two high towers deeply fluted and built of variegated bricks and glazed tiles.

The modern town is surrounded by an enceinte, in which are comprised the heights over looking the place.

It is protected by some detached forts on the summit of neighboring elevations commanding these works.

The grass grows on the tops of the houses, and as men and animals may be observed walking about up there, the roofs, when looked at from a distance, present a very remarkable appearance.

They are indistinguishable from the plains below, and might easily be mistaken for a kind 86
of hill or eminence on which a crowd had collected for a better view.

The two-storied houses, scattered sparsely among the rest, resemble cottages constructed on these grassy and flat-topped mounds; while little white tents, dotted here and there at the foot of domes or steeples, are no more than greased paper skylights, so placed as to admit a gleam of light into the gloomy and underground apartments underneath.

There are many paths, or short cuts, leading across the house-tops, and it is from such elevated highways that some of the most extensive prospects of the capital can be obtained.

At one time Erzerum must have been a city of considerable extent.

Inside the encircling enceinte, many ruins are observed standing by themselves in more or less open spaces. As the town is refreshed with a copious and never-failing supply of water
87 always running down from the adjacent heights, there are many fountains scattered in great profusion among the rugged and crooked streets; and here gaudily-dressed women and young girls watch for their turn at the trickling spouts.

A large colony of Persians are settled in the town, and in addition to their elegant costumes, crowned with the well-known very tall black hat, the streets are constantly enlivened with crowds of swaggering and long-haired Koords, all armed to the teeth; as well as by wild Turcomans, Tartars, Circassians, and Gypsies, together with picturesque representatives of the many peoples and tribes inhabiting the great mountains lying on the Russian, Persian, and Turkish frontiers.

There are no conservancy regulations, and the thrifty housewives throw all useless scraps of vegetables, dirt, or victuals into the muddy streets, where they are soon gobbled up by flocks of birds and pack of unowned dogs who act as scavengers.

A worn-out horse, bullock, or very emaciated jackass, when no longer fit for work, and
88 discarded by his owner, is turned abroad to die.

No sooner is the vital spark extinct, than its poor remains are disputed by churlish and wrangling curs, grinning or snarling at one another in noisy disputes about the choicest morsels of their revolting meal. Vultures and other obscene birds come down, and perching on the carrion, so pick the flesh and gorge themselves on the intestines, that before long naught but the whited skeleton is left.

For the greater part of the year the surrounding mountains are capped with snow; but during the sultry months towards the end of summer, the great plain becomes so parched and dried up from the intense power of the burning and fiery sun, that it assumes a brown and scorched appearance most fatiguing to the eye.

Sudden gusts of wind, rushing downwards through the sinuosities of the neighboring hills, slam both doors and windows with startling shocks; and cause such masses of dust and
89 blinding sand to pour upon the town, that their thick impenetrable volume, often deadening the rays of the sun, causes an obscurity quite equal to that of a complete solar eclipse.

An open window, or even smaller cavity, acts like a sluice-gate, through which the powdered clay and mud, mixed with the offal of animals, stream in like sand down an hour-glass, and cause a condition of disorder difficult to conceive.

In winter the cold is so intense, that both man and beast prefer, if possible, to stay indoors; for then, the wind blows hard across the glacial plains, and by its continued action raises up small particles of snow, at first looking just like little puffs of smoke, but soon becoming so thick and high and wild that, even animals perceiving them from afar, testify in many ways—as they do in the Great Desert on the approach of a Simoon—their excessive terror.

In a few minutes the whole neighborhood becomes submerged in a furious stream of
90 frozen snow and pulverized ice, which, with fearful and hissing noises, splashes and roars so violently through the streets and against the houses, that for hours together it is actually dangerous to face it in the open air.

Any part of the body exposed to its deadly action becomes withered and decayed; but woe to the unhappy wretch who is surprised in one of these sudden storms on the wide and dreary plain, or on the mountain-side. Several cases have occurred, even in Erzerum, where solitary individuals, having lost their way, bellowed in vain for assistance; as, owing to the wild uproar of the tempest, their cries or lamentations were unheard; and, often even only a few yards from their own little doors, they were left to perish miserably.

When the storm dies away, the pulverized matter by which the light has been obscured, disappears; notwithstanding the excessive cold, a bright sun shines from a firmament as clear and blue as that of Italy; and towards evening, when the red orb begins to hide itself behind the mountains, bright hues of exquisite delicacy and tenderness sparkle on their fantastic and milk-white outlines.

In very severe weather, the surrounding plains are infested with packs of famished wolves, 91 who are occasionally made so daring by the pangs of extreme hunger, that, sneaking across the enceinte, they actually, during the midnight hours, wander about the streets of Erzerum in search of what they can pick up.

All night long the town dogs wail and howl and cry; but when the big wolves come in, that customary uproar is at once hushed up, and these noisy curs, apparently so bellicose and ferocious, huddling together in solitary and deserted places, remain very still till the more formidable animals have gone away.

It is customary in Erzerum, among the poorer families, for the descendants of a single pair to occupy the same house; in which, as in the villages, the fowls and animals are also kept. The flooring of these disgusting habitations is composed of mud; and when there is an upstairs chamber, approached by a ladder, it is usually reserved for visitors or for state occasions.

There is no difference between the Armenian furniture and that of the Turks. Every room 1 is surrounded, or partly surrounded, by a raised platform, covered with rugs, mats, or 92 cushions, where the people sleep, without undressing, on quilts and mattresses, always kept shut up in cupboards or chests during the day-time. The women are continually occupied with spinning, weaving, sewing, or cooking; and nowhere have I ever seen a Turkish or Armenian female employed at laborious tasks, or any description of outdoor work.

The Armenian cookery is equally wholesome, nutritious, and savory.

Its principal dishes are the Yakné or Irish stew; the dolmah, minced meat rolled up in vine leaves; the kabob, so well known even in England; the chorbah, a thin soup mixed with rice and onions; the baklavah, a sweet and very light paste made with honey; the lokma, a delicious kind of very digestible puff or *vol au vent* slightly smeared with honey, and of which several dozens can be eaten without any inconvenience or heaviness. Last of all, there is the pillau, spiced, peppered, plumed, and almond, and generally accompanied by the 1 never- 93 failing Yow-ourt, a kind of blanc-mange or rennet.

Very early in the morning, and when the snow having melted on the ground, enables all the cattle confined in the houses of Erzerum during the winter months, to go out to graze and browse about the plains and marshes down near the Euphrates, several men walk round, and knocking at the doors, take charge of the beasts which are driven out to them. Each dwelling sends forth one or several cows and bullocks; so that when they are assembled together, a large hard streams through the town-gates, and goes away to revel all day long about the vast pasture-lands in the neighborhood of that great river.

Hundreds of such flocks, darkening the plain in the far distance, are each under the control and direction of their own particular herds or shepherds.

When the day begins to wane, they all return, marshalled by fierce dogs, or often led by an old buck-goat, proud of his position, and marching superbly and with very measured |
 94 paces, like those of a fine drum-major, stick in hand, at the head of his battalion. It is amusing to note how occasionally he will mark time, and butt with his head at any of the flock which dares to try and get in front of him (while another drove of cattle are passing by); for each herd keeps together, so that on their arrival in the town, he who has looked after them all day is able to count his charge and see that none are missing.

The dogs, quite as intelligent as their masters, always preserve order, and bite and snap at any cow or sheep desirous of causing confusion by placing itself in a drove to which it does not belong.

The dust raised by such enormous crowds of animals, marching together through the extremely fine powder ever covering the paths and roads, causes the formation of a cloud which spreads throughout the neighborhood like a real London fog.

Every cow, goat, or sheep knows its own house; and as the cavalcade to which it belongs
 95 passes by, it makes a headlong charge and | rushes in, quite regardless of what mischief is done, or what accidents are caused to men, women, or children lolling listlessly in the way.

After a succession of these sudden and violent departures from the ranks, the herds wandering about the town become smaller and smaller, and at length finally disappear as if by magic.

The Armenians are a handsome race, and, in the words of Tournefort, "the best and most honest people in the world." Their features are generally large, but the expressive and swimming black eyes of the women, always shaded behind lashes of unusual length and thickness, lend their clear olive complexions a peculiar charm, heightened perhaps by a certain diffidence or timidity which leaves them when they talk.

Although inclined, even when still young, to obesity and fatness, their waists are small, their arms rounded, their throats firm, and the thorax largely developed by the healthy life as well as by the mountain air.

96 Waddling about the streets, the greatest Armenian beauties look just like animated bundles of rags; and men who have seen them only thus caparisoned, might easily carry away the false impression that they are square built, squat, without figures, and very awkward.

In their own homes, and in the negligence of a loose undress, allowing full play to the easy movements of their supple limbs, the girls present a very different appearance; and such indeed as might, to an impressionable temper, prove dangerous.

Their ordinary costume, when they are not disfigured by what they call ornamenting themselves for company, and when they loll about on cushions to receive visits, consists of a pair of very loose, bright-colored trousers, secured tightly over the ankle so as to expose the naked foot; a chemise, laying bare the throat, fastened tightly round the waist with a gold, silver, or velvet belt, and reaching down outside the pantaloons no further than the knee;
 97 together with a kind of embroidered waistcoat, cut square, | very open in front, and secured with a string just below the bosom; but beyond these three garments they wear nothing else.

Their hair, usually silky and of exuberant growth, falls down the back in a great thick plait, tied up at the end with bunches of ribbons. Such is Akabia or Accateena when really at home;

but if obliged to show themselves to strangers they will encase their feet in square-toed French boots, which never fit, and which give them an awkward and stumbling gait as soon as they move about. By way of adding further to their charms, they love to cover the trousers, chemise, and embroidered waistcoat with a bright green, red, or yellow silk gown, formed and put on in a manner so disgusting, that when looked at from behind, they present the awkward, ill-shapen, and squat appearance of an old charwoman in her Sunday clothes.

With a view to beautifying themselves still more, whenever they have occasion to walk abroad, they invariably cover even the gown with a thickly-wadded garment, something similar in cut to a man's frock-coat, while their heads and shoulders are enveloped in a thin 98 white shawl tightly drawn round their bodies.

Thus, swathed like Esquimaux, they naturally appear extremely clumsy and ill-shapen. Although never using a Yashmac, like Turkish women, they bend their necks and faces towards the ground, and pull their shawls across their mouths and noses at the approach of men; so it may be said that, in the streets at least, they conceal themselves quite as sedulously as their Mahommedan neighbors.

No women in the world pretend to set a higher value on chastity, decorum and virtue than the females of Erzerum; and yet, according to all accounts, there is no town in the Turkish Empire more celebrated or disgraced by the gallantry and incontinence of its feminine inhabitants.

If levity of conduct is clearly proved against a girl or a married woman, all her friends of the same sex, crowding to her house in a regular mob, assail her with the coarsest and most indelicate reproaches; and spitting on the ground, and placing themselves in very 1 remarkable 99 attitudes expressive of contempt, make public accusations in which the richness of their native language is inexhaustible.

The co-respondent is not spared in these popular impeachments; and, if the tender feelings of the culprit are lashed into still greater shame, rage, and fury by the hatred and contempt poured out upon her lover, the crowd disperses quite pleased with its success.

Hardly a woman in the throng who has not been the object of similar ovations, and two or three days afterwards, when some other female, setting up for a vestal long after she has lost the qualification, is in a similar manner publicly arraigned, the young lady who only so short a time previously seemed overwhelmed with shame and confusion at the discovery of her own misdeeds, will be the first to scream, and rail, and execrate as though she herself had never done a wrong.

As the Armenians are essentially a tolerant nation, the girls are not so prejudiced as always to refuse attention to the sighs of an amorous Turk.

There have been many cases where young ladies, entirely abandoning their families and 100 abjuring their religion, have, of their free will, become Mussulmans; in order to live for ever with the man after their own hearts.

Although similar tendencies towards the Christian religion on the part of a Mahommedan female are, owing to the laws of the country, quite impossible, Fatima or Ayesha are not always deaf to the persuasion or presents of a Ghiour.

If, however, an intrigue between a Christian man and a Turkish woman is discovered, the consequences are very trying, as the house in which they meet together is at once besieged by a large crowd of Turks of both sexes; and while the males composing it are in all likelihood

beating the gentleman nearly to death, the females set upon the unfortunate Mussulmanee with their slippers and inflict on her a chastisement which, were the co-respondent a co-religionist instead of an unclean Ghiour, would perhaps have been limited to the exercise of their tongues as soon as she came home.

101 The law also mediates in such a case; and, perhaps to avoid the riot quite certain to be created by the knowledge that a Mussulmanee was in the house of a disbeliever, the public force will at once interfere, effect an entrance, and arrest the male delinquent, who, unless rich enough to bribe the Cadi, is certainly severely punished for a crime which, not so very long ago, was a capital offense.

It is very curious to remark how often the most stringent measures for the accomplishment of certain objects entirely alter their own destinations, and bring about results the very opposite to those for which they were intended.

The meaning of secluding women and covering up their faces was to cause the members of that sex to be staid and decorous; to prevent that levity and freedom towards men so offensive to Oriental family despotism and jealousy; as well as not to give provocation to runners of adventures by tempting them with the attractions of laughing and sympathetic faces.

102 The consequences, no doubt anticipated by the framer of such cautious rules, have I nevertheless been exactly the reverse of those which he expected.

The Turkish or Armenian woman, quite covered up, and the contours, perhaps, of an exquisite form totally concealed and disfigured among bundles of clothes, no sooner leaves her own door on the pretense of paying a visit to a friend, or for some equally frivolous and lying excuse, than, far from being, like her European sister, known to every tattling busybody; she can, unless watched from the commencement of her illicit peregrinations, go, and without the least fear of recognition or detection, wherever she pleases; for, although seeing all the men herself, not one of them can possibly tell who she is, what business she is on, or whether she is old or young.

Women in Turkey are allowed, in certain respects, perfectly unhampered liberty; and, provided they conform to the custom of keeping their faces quite concealed, may walk about the streets and bazaars, and stop away from home as long as they like.

103 Should they even want to stay abroad all I night, there are several excuses by which such absence can be accounted for.

The bedside of a sick friend, the unremarked passing away of the daylight hours as it was too late and dark to venture in the streets alone, and thus necessitated the safer and more convenient shelter of a neighbor's house till the sun lit up the town again, or some other equally plausible reason, is usually accepted as a complete justification by their often very complaisant lords.

The trade of the country is entirely in the hands of the Armenians, and were those useful shop-keeping and laborious people suddenly removed, the Turks would certainly starve to death; because the former having absolute possession of every kind of commercial and banking transaction, whatever is required must as a rule be sought for in a Christian's store-house.

104 This circumstance often necessitates the prosecution of journeys not only into different parts of Asia Minor, but also to Constantinople, and even as far as Europe; and thus, I while

the good-man of the house absents himself for longer or shorter periods, his wife is left alone and by herself.

With the natural inconstancy of a woman deprived of any mental resources with which to fill up her time, she often employs her leisure in listening to soft compliments on her beauty, accompanied by warm declarations of love; and it frequently happens that on his return a fond and expectant husband discovers his young wife living publicly as the acknowledged concubine of a more favored rival.

Exactly similar to the sacrament of marriage as understood by the Roman Catholic Church, an Armenian once joined to a woman by the ties of holy wedlock, cannot, under any circumstances whatever, be divorced from her. God has joined them together, and the conjunction is eternal and irrevocable.

The only means of redress in such a case is a public application to the bishop, who, if he is asked, uses as a rule his best endeavors to bring the pair together again; but even then it frequently happens that the girl is sufficiently | obstinate or amorous to refuse respect to the 105 advice of such a high authority; and sometimes she is not ashamed to declare her intention of remaining for ever with the man whom she has chosen on second thoughts.

Such inconstant damsels have third, fourth, and several thoughts before they really know their own minds; and it is not unique to find them going back to the right man at last, after a great deal of wrongdoing.

As far as I could understand it does not appear that any very withering social stigma is attached to such brazen-faced and immodest inconstancy; and if a woman is not so excessively fickle as to exceed the bounds of moderation in amorous vacillation, she is, to borrow our English expression, "visited."

Religion reproves infidelity, and the priests, an immoral and ignorant set of rascals, as the exponents of its rational and indispensable behests, rebuke the unfaithful, and warn them of the sin.

Nevertheless, they shut their eyes to a custom become so interwoven with the habits of the | immoral population of Erzerum, that any attempt on their part to put a stop to it would be 106 altogether frivolous and vain.

On one occasion an Armenian—passionately attached to a very handsome girl only married to him quite recently, but who had left his protection for that of a younger and more wealthy rival—continually importuned the High Priest to force the damsel to come back to him. Every persuasion was in vain, and the young lady declared that rather than return to her lawful husband she would drown herself in the Euphrates.

As a last resource, both husband and wife were summoned to the church. The latter so confounded the former with a violent abuse of his diminutive person, as well as of his poverty and incapacity to support in a befitting manner the girl whose hand (she said) was obtained by false pretenses of a competency altogether imaginary, that the High Priest himself was carried away by her eloquence.

After tacitly approving her fresh choice, and cautioning the co-respondent to endeavor to | merit so much touching and natural affection, he turned on the discomfited and ugly little 107 plaintiff, drove him with ignominy from the cathedral, and even threatened to apply his sacred toe if he was not for the future quiet.

111 A remarkably strong bond exists among the Armenians as a people, and it may be that such almost unparalleled, and certainly very remarkable consistency is no more than an extension or development of the microcosm of their family life.

There are no people in the world among whom the family tie is stronger or more respected; and there are certainly no people in the East among whom the position of women is so exalted.

112 It is the latter circumstance which seems to fit them especially for the reception of the best influences of modern civilization; because in | any race so educated and brought up as to regard women as mere animals or machines, with no other destination than that of ministering to the pleasures of the male, and with no higher object in life than a servile obedience to his commands, the noblest and most humanizing ascendancy is wanting for the control, censure, or subjugation of those detestable excesses of which unreproved and unabashed men have at all times been only too capable.

The physical is always governed by the moral. Women, although much weaker, have very often infinitely greater tact and address than men.

Leading, as they do, a much more sedentary life, and usually occupied with the care of little children, which of all employments is most calculated to soften and fill with gentleness and sympathy the disposition, they are so humane and harmless (except with their tongues, in; reality their only weapon), that not more than five per cent among executed criminals belong to the fair sex.

113 Nothing is more remarkable than the | extraordinary influence, never entirely eradicated, even by the most corrupting associations, exercised upon the character and bearing of a man who has had the advantage during his impressionable days of the society and friendship of refined women. No matter how great his talents, no matter how extended his experience of society, or of the world may be, he who has not at the commencement of his career been animated with the exalted feelings and amiable and romantic sentiments only capable of being thus instilled into the mind of youth, carries with him through life a void never afterwards filled up.

The difference of sex is never forgotten; and a celebrated philosopher, a close observer of mankind, has truly observed, that except with a woman there is no friendship.

Man being the stronger, it is conceivable that in his natural and brutal state he should tyrannize over the female; but as all society from which women are banished, lacks every element of what is most charming and delightful to anyone of taste and refinement, and soon,
114 | unless enlivened with riot or excess, becomes insipid and dull; it is evident that they were destined by an all seeing Providence to form the spirit of social relations, to soften the austerity, cruelty, and ferocity of men, to polish their manners, and thus develop the humanizing influences of modern civilization.

The whole of Europe during the middle ages existed in a continual state of war, rapine, and anarchy, till the spirit of chivalry, inspired by a romantic attachment and respect for the ladies, afforded a considerable protection against the oppression and violence to which weak and unarmed people were continually exposed.

Filled with sentiments quite ridiculous to modern notions, many gentlemen, at the instigation of their mistresses, and to prove them selves worthy of their love, declared themselves the protectors and avengers of injured innocence wherever they could find it. To

defend a helpless woman or forlorn orphan were acts of the highest merit and renown; and when courtesy was applauded as the most amiable of knightly virtues, and when kindness and humanity were no less necessary to support the character of a true gentleman, war was carried on with less ferocity, and more gentle and polished manners introduced. 115

The advance made by Europe in the path of civilization, and the superiority which it enjoys over all the still barbarous countries of Asia, have been effected by such noble sentiments taking possession of the minds of men, who otherwise would have never emerged from the barbarity and brutality apparently inherent in their sex.

The love of a good woman is a sure foundation for the formation of a good man; but—as polygamy, although giving the male possession of the persons of several females, hinders his ever gaining the heart of any one of them—the owner of so many charms is entirely unacquainted with either the pleasures of domestic life, or the refinement and amiability produced by men and women mixing together in society and on equal terms.

To admit women to an association on such a footing, they must be respected; and wherever they are looked up to, their natural gentleness and softness will be reflected in the manners and character of the people. 116

The patriarchal character of Armenian institutions allows great freedom to the woman, who, as soon as she has passed through a certain quaint penance with which her first entrance into the married state is shackled and impeded, becomes, in the event of her out-living her man, the head of a community consisting of all her children, with their husbands and wives, as well as perhaps fifty or sixty grandchildren.

All the family obey her religiously but with great alacrity; and until her death, the little society—putting one in mind of similar institutions mentioned in the Holy Scriptures,—looks upon her as a kind of queen. It is not till her decease that the family separates; but even then, so strong is the domestic tie, the eldest son occasionally inherits her commanding privileges.

In the event of the family becoming too large, or should serious disputes and quarrels break out, it is customary for the priests or chiefs of the village to divide whatever property they may possess in common among them all. 117

Each daughter receives a portion equal to half that of a son; but should she enter another community, or leave her own family during the lifetime of her parents, she forfeits all claim to inheritance in consideration, perhaps, of a dowry made over to her on quitting the house.

First and even second cousins feel for and speak of each other as brothers and sisters; and so necessary for the preservation of pure morals among men and maidens constantly associating on terms of unrestrained familiarity and affection, is the initiation during youth of lofty sentiments towards the female, that the education and prejudices of the young Armenian teaches him to respect the modesty of his third cousin in a manner altogether brotherly, and as though she were indeed his own sister.

The religion of the Armenians forbids marriages between individuals so distantly related to each other as the great-grandchildren, and even the descendants to the seventh generation of the same pair; and so profound is the reverence of the people for the severe injunctions of its Church with regard to matrimony, that the indulgence of unlawful passion within the prescribed degrees of consanguinity is completely and absolutely unknown. 118

Respect for the head of a family must ever be a strong bond of union; and were it not for

the implicit obedience with which parents are at all times almost blindly submitted to, it would certainly be quite impossible for several young married women to live peaceably together under the same roof.

No sooner is a young girl married, than she is instructed in the (to a woman) most useful and difficult art of holding her tongue.

Long experience has taught the Armenians that, were such a fearful and venomous organ, or rather weapon, allowed full play, all harmony, peace, and concord would be entirely banished from a society in which so many females live together in common.

119 In order to guard against noise, disturbance, or quarreling, the bride is prohibited, till she has had a child, from entering into conversation except with her own husband.

She is also made the drudge and servant of all the other women; but the marriage of a brother-in-law emancipates her from that position.

Nobody rejoices at his wedding more than herself.

She is first permitted to talk to her child; afterwards to the females, but in a low tone so that the men may not hear what she says.

It is not for several years that she enjoys the full prerogative, so highly prized by every woman, of speaking in whatever tone she chooses, and of giving her opinion on any subject she likes, whether knowing anything about it or not.

120 There is nothing the least humiliating in this whimsical custom, for it is no more than a preparation or education by which a woman, being taught the respect and deference due to her seniors when she is young, learns in after-life, and when her turn comes round, how to keep other people in order and in their proper place. It is like the training of a public school, than which nothing can be more beneficial; and the originator of that useful custom displayed a great knowledge of human nature when he instituted such an excellent and wholesome rule.

The Turk, whose appreciation of the female arises from sentiments altogether different from those of the more cultivated and half-civilized Armenian, usually procures his wife by means of the interposition of an old woman, from whose sensuous descriptions or panegyrics he falls in love with some unseen and unknown beauty, ever hidden from his sight till actually his better half, or quarter, or whatever fraction of himself she may share with her rivals in the harem.

With the Armenians the custom is entirely different; and they, to use the words of Mr. Pameley <Parmelee>, a missionary who has written a work called "The Mountains of Ararat," make up to the girls very much as they do in America.

121 In towns where the Armenians live by themselves, and where there are no Mussulmans to insult females going abroad uncovered, the girls run about unveiled and bare-headed.

Enjoying as they do free intercourse with their young countrymen, love-suits are carried on without any of the restrictions usually hampering, among Orientals, the natural sympathies and affections of the heart.

For this reason very sentimental and happy marriages are by no means uncommon; for although the girls, even after wedlock, are nearly always influenced by the good or evil counsels of their mothers, it often happens that nothing can prevent their cleaving to the man who has won them by the unswerving devotion of honorable love, and, refusing, in opposition to the clamor of the whole family, re-echoed by the clergy, the hand of a less favored though more wealthy rival . . .

In the Armenian churches, generally roughly built but very solid constructions, decorated with a considerable quantity of tinsel and grotesque paintings indicative of art in its lowest and most clumsy state, the men, who, according to the custom of the East, uncover their feet instead of their heads, are separated from the ladies. 122

The latter, so as not to distract the attention of the male part of the congregation from their prayers, are hidden behind a closely woven partition of trellis-work, through which they may stare at pleasure without being themselves observed.

This appears to be an excellent and certainly very sensible custom, and was no doubt instituted so as to prevent the house of God being used as a place where young men and maidens, if mingled together for any length of time, might take advantage of that circumstance in order to prosecute any kind of unlawful intrigue or courtship.

No sooner is the service over than the youths are often in an unseemly hurry to leave their places, so as to be in sufficient time to watch the door by which the girls, invariably with very modest faces and downcast eyes, come out.

And here, at least in Erzerum, will usually be seen a knot of those notorious gallants, or runners of adventures, known to the Turks by the name of Zomparas, or lady-killers, ever on the alert for the pursuit of any flower in the form of an Armenian beauty which such inconstant and dangerous butterflies may take a fancy to. 123

Instead of writing letters or sending presents to the object of his affections, the wily lover endeavors, in the first instance at least, to ingratiate himself into the good opinion of the mothers, who, always vain and generally covetous, are in many instances (to their shame be it said) the principal instruments by which a great deal of mischief and havoc is wrought among innocent and artless young women.

There are also a set of old hags, generally Armenians, who, making a livelihood out of ministrations to these social evils, are from long practice so extremely astute, plausible, and of such insinuating address, that hardly any woman, whether Turk or Christian, is safe against the subtleties of their poisonous influence. 124

As pedlars or fortune-tellers, they manage to force their way into every household; to become intimate with the females who compose it, and by degrees to entertain them with romantic descriptions of the devotion of a lover who longs only to throw himself at their feet.

No rebukes, no dangers, will daunt their indefatigable perseverance; and as every difficulty or peril is smoothed down and disappears before the devilish charms of their oily tongues, they often succeed in corrupting the virtue and innocence of the most artless and unsuspecting girls. Their nets are, in the first instance, spread out with exquisite dissimulation, and cunning so profound as to be altogether imperceptible; but once the prey gets entangled in their meshes, it is no longer by gentleness and caresses, but by the most fearful abuse, tyranny, and threats of exposure, that a continuance of evil courses is produced.

These women, distinguished by a name which, in the Turkish language, has grown into a term of abuse, are as powerful and important in Oriental life as lawyers in more civilized countries. Nothing can be done without their intervention. They know everybody's secrets; and, as a matter of course, enjoy an influence and consideration altogether wonderful when the extreme baseness and demoralization of their hateful calling is considered. 125

Marriages are frequently brought about by their means, and such ties very often are no sooner effected than a dissolution is accomplished by their odious arts.

It is only in large towns that such abominable trades can thrive and flourish; but in the mountains and among the hardy and laborious population described by Tournefort as “the best and most honest people in the world,” all the manly and feminine virtues of the pastoral state appear in their simple lives.

Far from resembling in any way the dissolute populations of the cities, they present, on the contrary, some of the noblest and most generous traits of which our nature seems capable.

126 Similar good qualities are found in the war-like, brave, and honest Turks living under the same conditions; but it is only among the rural inhabitants that such fine characteristics are observable.

The reason is simple. These excellent people are uncorrupted by that unequal division of wealth, which causes the possession of trinkets, or the accumulation of money, to be the first and only care of every individual wishing to obtain respect and consideration among his fellows.

Admiring our laws, our liberties, as well as our civilization to such an extent that, in Turkey, a “very civilized man” is exactly synonymous to what we call in common conversation a “good fellow,” nothing is nevertheless so offensive and disgusting to the Oriental mind as the extraordinary, even appalling abundance of female profligacy and shame-facedness by which, not only our streets, but nearly all public places of cheap entertainment are disfigured.

127 Except in the large maritime towns, said to have been civilized and corrupted by long-continued and constant intercourse with Europeans, any *appearance* or *parade* of immorality is entirely unknown throughout the whole of European or Asiatic Turkey.

Whatever laxity of behavior, perhaps no greater than what takes place in the highly cultivated countries of the West, may sully the purity of Oriental life, it is never forced on the observation in a shocking and offensive manner, nor, as on the Continent, tolerated by the laws.

Every woman is under the care and protection of a man; and children born out of wedlock, so far from being stigmatized by barbarous laws similar to those of England, declaring that “a bastard hath no kindred,” are cared for and protected according to the natural promptings of both humanity and reason.

128 Although I have seen several Armenians with hair and skin so light as not in any way to be distinguished from Europeans, they are generally of a dark olive complexion. Their eyes are full of intelligence, and nearly always jet-black. Their bearing is modest, and I possess that extreme courtesy ever accompanying the dread of summary and severe punishment. There is a great distinction between the honest and laborious Armenian who cultivates his field, and the trader of the same nation notoriously the greatest cheat and liar on the face of the earth.

Even in the smallest and most contemptible business transactions, the latter always endeavors, by some means or trick, to overreach whomsoever he has any dealings with; and one of them in a whining voice assured me that it was not the least use his telling the truth, because nobody (he said) would believe him if he did.

Such men become perfect masters of every kind of deceit, dissimulation, and roguery; and although many of them have risen to high official positions under the Turkish Government, and performed really good service to the State, they are never trusted, but always regarded with equal suspicion and dislike.

In recent times it has been proposed, by way of bettering their social standing and

position, I to allow Armenians to enter the army, where, from associating on an equality with 129
Turks, they might learn a little of that manly bearing and straightforwardness, the lack of
which encourages a great deal of the insolence and contempt to which they are constantly
subjected.

In the adventures of an Armenian named Joseph Emin, published by himself in 1792, he
quotes an excellent answer, made by a Mussulman to whom he pointed out the hatred ever
existing between members of the Christian and Mahomedan sects. "That does not signify
a straw," said the Turk, "a soldier's religion is his sword; once eating bread and salt makes them
all brothers to eternity, as if they had been born of one father and one mother; let the Moolas
and priests differ on that head."

The experience of the Russian Caucasian army proves that the Turk was perfectly right. As
remarked in another chapter of this work, the Muscovites have no native army, and their
system of service makes every man joining the ranks, no matter what his nationality or
religion, I a loyal Russian soldier, whose fidelity has never been doubted. 130

Although the Turkish Government might not put forward any serious objections to
allowing Armenian peasants to enjoy the great honor and distinction of serving in the ranks
of the Ottoman army, or even, which is doubtful, to permitting them to attain the exalted
position of sergeant or corporal, they would never, under any circumstances, grant them the
privilege of becoming commissioned officers.

The Turks are cautious; and being very jealous of their sovereign rights, there is nothing
in the world, which even an enlightened and far-seeing Mussulman dreads so much as
anything calculated to curtail them. Such an elevation of the despised Rayah would, if he were
treated fairly, place him in a competition with Osmanlis, from which the latter would never
return, to borrow their own expression, with "shining faces."

Excellent linguists, with a peculiar aptitude for science in all its branches, were selections
for promotion in the Turkish army made by merit, I there can be little doubt that the 131
intellectual Armenian would very soon become a scientific officer of the highest class; and that
the most important commands in the Ottoman army, as in that of the Russian, would be
filled up by such men as Melikof or Tergugasof.*

To the mind of an ordinary Turk, such Armenian emancipation would be looked upon as
sheer madness or wickedness, of the most heinous, criminal, and subversive nature; and
would certainly be considered as monstrous as making a black man commander-in-chief of
Her Majesty's Indian forces.

The weakness and impotence of the Turkish executive cause it to tremble at the mere
notion of any useful or rational innovations. Uninstructed by the example of the Russians,
who place Mussulmans on an equality with Christians for service in their army, and very often
promote the former to positions of trust and I importance, the Ottomans carefully exclude 132
their Armenian subjects from any chance or hope of such advancement.

Nothing tends so much to produce feelings of brotherhood and friendship as service in
the field; and so easy is it to discipline the Oriental, who learns to obey with alacrity whatever

* Melikof and Tergugasof are both Armenians. The name of the first signifies the son of Melik, and that
of the second, the son of Father Luke. Ter in Armenian may be translated, in fact, as reverend.
Tergugasof means Reverend Luke's son.

constituted authority he may be placed under, that on several occasions during the last fifty years, Mussulmans in both English and Russian armies have fought against their co-religionists with as much valor and fidelity as though they belonged to the same race and faith as the masters whom they served.

Even in the last campaign, a considerable number of soldiers, Mussulmans by religion, and speaking the Turkish language, combated with equal zest against their Ottoman co-religionists.

Indeed, the van of the army marching on that occasion towards Erzerum, was for the most part composed of Mahomedan light horse, who certainly showed no disposition to fraternize with the stragglers or parties of the rear-guard, which they happened to surprise.

133 If the Russians can so conciliate Mahomedans as to cause them to serve faithfully in their ranks, there can be no reason why an equally rational organization in the Ottoman army should not produce similar results.

It would soften by degrees that animosity of races, so detrimental to the strength of the Turkish Empire; and it would add greatly to the stability and cohesion of a nation always inviting foreign interference, in consequence of its internal divisions.

249 The Russians in the Castle of Bayazid prepared to defend themselves; but, after a short siege, surrendered on the promises of the Turks that they should be treated according to the generous customs of civilized warfare.

In compliance with this convention, they opened the gates and prepared to evacuate the citadel. A truculent and overbearing rabble of Turks and Koords, flushed with success, and deeming themselves invincible, crowded the space outside that stronghold

Then, perceiving that the first prisoners of war who had come out and laid down their arms were Mussulmans, among whom were some Koordish horsemen disciplined in the Imperial service, they—according to the account given to me by a Russian officer who was there—fell upon them like wild beasts and massacred them without mercy.

250 The Russian infantry at once shut the gates, and opening a heavy fire on the traitors, soon cleared the space where they had crowded together.

All these things being reported to Jelaleen, Shake or head of the tribe of that name, he called upon his ragamuffins to fall on in the name of God.

The Russians in the citadel looked down upon the wealthy, prosperous, and populous town of Bayazid, and in it took place deeds of unparalleled ferocity, obscenity, and wantonness. The terrified Armenians, shutting themselves up in their houses, endeavored to hide. The wild Koords, crowding by thousands the streets, and breaking open the doors, dragged both men and women into the public places.

In order that the Muscovites above might have a better view, they carried the poor Armenians on to the housetops, where, even in those elevated positions, they encouraged each other in crimes and horrors equally unmentionable and inconceivable.

251 In Bayazid were many wealthy families of Armenians whose daughters had been tenderly brought up, but they were murdered, violated, or carried off; and in most cases their fate to this day remains a mystery to those among their forlorn relatives who escaped.

Every wretched Armenian, whether old or young, whether poor or rich . . . who fell into the hands of these wretches, was massacred without mercy.

They dragged them as butchers drag animals to the shambles, and hacked them to pieces in presence of their terrified wives and children, reserved even for a worse fate.

The house-tops, the streets, as well as the rooms inside the houses, were strewn with corpses; and the lanes and gutters ran down with blood. Infants of the most tender age were not spared; and in many cases poor little children, who had lost their parents, wandered about quite alone, and, convulsed with continual weeping, lay down and died.

This hateful and deadly work went on as long as there were men to slay or women to abuse.

Even after the extermination of their victims, the rage of the Koords and of the Turks (for many Turkish inhabitants of Bayazid outdevilled even the Koords) against their inoffensive and defenseless victims was not appeased.

With revolting jests, gibes, and horse laughter, these abominable miscreants, after cutting off noses and other mutilations, placed the naked corpses of men and women in such indelicate positions, as to cause the merriment and applause of sanguinary bystanders or plunderers wandering about the place.

Many Mussulman inhabitants of Bayazid—fearing that, on the first occupation of the town by the Russians, their houses would be plundered—entrusted the keeping of jewelry, treasures, and other valuable effects, to the care of Armenian neighbors.

This confidence was not betrayed; and when the fear of danger had passed away, the property was returned.

In hopes of a reward for such kindness, terror-stricken Armenians sought refuge, when the massacre began, in the houses of Mussulman acquaintances living close by.

With the exception, however, of one or two brave and honest Turks, who in the name of humanity protected a few of these forlorn wretches—they were refused admittance, and brutally driven from the doors.

Save in the houses of Turks reported to be harboring Armenians, the privacy of Mussulman habitations was not invaded; but one fine old Mahommedan—in a noble endeavor to defend the wretches who had sought his protection—was shot dead.

A very rich and well-known Turk admitted several Armenian families inside his gate; but after taking charge of and locking up whatever jewels or treasures they brought with them, he, with the exception of a few young and very good-looking girls, whom he engaged as servant maids, drove them with violence among the Koords outside.

“With yells of delight,” said a man, the only person who escaped out of the party, “with yells of delight the Koords fell upon this fresh batch, and in a short time they were driven off like captured animals, or else slain.”

Parents were unaware of the fate of their children, and children of that of their parents; wives remained in ignorance whether they were widows or not; and abandoned orphans were sometimes taken charge of by mothers who had lost their own offspring.

Let anyone imagine the fate of an Armenian girl, living till these fearful times in the bosom of untroubled family existence, cheered by the sympathies of affection and the aspirations of love—let him imagine her degraded and hopeless life when feeling that she is lost for ever in a camp of Koords. Her family mourn for her as though she were dead; and truly indeed would it be better for such a one that she had never been born.

While these still unpunished, though never-to-be-forgotten, crimes were being enacted all

over the doomed town of Bayazid, the little Russian garrison in the citadel *had an excellent and uninterrupted view of everything that was going on.*

Each officer has a fearful tale to tell of what he himself saw quite plainly in the streets and
 255 | on the housetops; but the determination of the garrison to die like men rather than fall alive
 into the hands of such ruthless and barbarous foes was strengthened by the scenes they
 witnessed.

It showed what was in store for them if they laid down their arms; and they were naturally
 animated with the courage of despair. The Russian flag floated proudly from the citadel;
 flashes of musketry from the loopholed walls kept its fiendish assailants at bay; and so great
 was the resolution of the garrison, that sick and wounded men fired from their beds placed
 near barricaded windows and embrasures.

Suffering from hunger and thirst, greatly reduced in numbers, and after waiting for days
 and days in the vain hope of perceiving the dust of a relieving force coming to the rescue,
 while they were galled eternally by the raking fire of a Turkish battery placed in position on a
 commanding height at the back, the little band of heroes thought of surrender.

256 The widow of the Russian staff officer, for | her husband had been killed, reproached
 whoever thought of such an alternative as a coward; and, threatening to fling herself from the
 battlements rather than trust to the mercy or forbearance of the Turks—inspired all those who
 listened to her words with so much valor and enthusiasm, that every man, with chivalrous
 generosity, swore that while a Russian lived the citadel should be defended.

Nothing animates so much the courage of true soldiers as the sympathy and presence of a
 woman; and the brave lady, becoming the life and soul of the garrison, filled them with a
 determination to hold out to the last extremity.

The summons of Ismael Pasha, accompanied by a promise of generous treatment, was
 repelled with scorn; and, notwithstanding a shower of missiles to which they were constantly
 exposed, the Muscovites displayed a constancy and unswerving devotion equally noble and
 affecting.

257 The ruined condition of the citadel showed | how desperate had been the defense; and
 When I visited the building it was everywhere marked or disfigured from the storm of bullets
 which had been constantly dashing in.

261 Not satisfied with the sack of the doomed town, the Koords, joined by every plunderer,
 bad character, and marauder among the neighbors, roved for a distance of about fifty miles
 through the splendid pastures of Alishkird.

Their brutality and violence in the rich and prosperous villages, covering in every direction
 that extensive district, quite equaled the display which they had made of those qualities in
 Bayazid.

262 Everywhere the Christians of Armenia were slaughtered or hunted down; families were
 dispersed; and wretched girls violated, carried | off, or massacred, according to the caprices of
 the moment.

The churches were ransacked, plundered, or defiled; and fierce bigotry, brutal lust, and
 avarice ran riot in Alishkird.

The inhabitants of a few villages—hearing about what was taking place—abandoned their
 homes, and loaded with little children and such portable property as they could carry on their

backs, took refuge in Russian territory. Many of them flocked into Erivan or to its neighborhood; while others sought and obtained the sympathy and assistance of their countrymen in Persia. Several families, warned by a prophetic instinct of what was about to happen, followed in considerable numbers the retreating Muscovites.

Starving with hunger, and tortured from continual exposure, little batches of Armenian men, women, and children, completely dazed and terror-stricken, hid themselves here and there among the lonely rocks; but, even then they did not always succeed in escaping; for, whenever discovered, they were set upon and slain.

To exaggerate these events would be altogether impossible; but let any man of spirit place himself in the position of those Armenians who still live, and live happily, under the protection of the Imperial Government, but who have witnessed or even heard of these scenes, and let him ask himself if he would not burn for revenge on the scourges and tyrants of his country people. 263

One morning the forlorn band of heroes in the citadel perceived an unusual commotion among the Mahomedan inhabitants of Bayazid; and the few people who remained in that town took their departure in such extreme haste that the hopes of the beleaguered garrison revived.

The cause of this exodus soon became apparent; for the dust in the plains at the foot of Mount Ararat rose in great clouds from the march of Russian cavalry, artillery, and infantry, at length coming to the relief of their desponding comrades.

The Koords, knowing what they deserved, and made cowards by guilty consciences, did not offer even a semblance of resistance; while the covering force of Turks retired hastily towards Karakalissa. 264

With loud shouts, followed by heartfelt and warm embraces, the delighted little garrison rushed out to meet the relieving corps, which, under Tergugasof, had come to the rescue.

Soldiers and officers sought for friends from whom they had so long been separated; and although the death of many an old and favorite comrade was lamented, all men were filled with such delight and joy, that a Russian officer who was present compared it (for my clearer comprehension) to the relief of Lucknow in former-days.

From Armenians, from Turks, from Persians, but above all from the lips of a general of the relieving force, I learned the horrors of that frightful episode in the Minor Asiatic war.

Festering corpses formed—in every street and deserted house—pictorial histories of Armenian last agonies and shame.

Fetid odors rising from so many dead bodies made the town a pest-house. Every sense and every sentiment was outraged in the place, and when the Russians moved back on Erivan, Ararat looked down on Bayazid, as solitary, lonely, and deserted as itself. 265

The Armenian villages were silent and empty; the blue smoke no longer curled upwards from the little chimneys; the half-cut crops lay uncared-for on the ground; but no signs of either life or movement enlivened the deserted plains of Alishkird.

At length, however, the Turks re-occupied the citadel; the dead bodies were buried or burnt; but afterwards Koords and other marauders wandering about the town, so completely gutted it of every movable article worth taking away, that when I explored the abandoned houses, Bayazid might be described as a “heap of blood stained ruins.”

Elizabeth Stone [Sutherland Menzies]—?

Turkey Old and New, Historical, Geographical and Statistical.

In two volumes. Vol II, London, Wm. H. Allen & Co., published to the India Office, 1880

A.D. 1880

369 Turkey in Asia may be divided into the plateau of Armenia, the peninsula of Asia Minor, the basins of the Tigris and the Euphrates, Syria, and part of Arabia.

377 The basin of the Kour comprehends the now Russian provinces of Georgia, of Schirvan and a portion of Armenia. At the present time Turkey possesses only a few leagues of territory on the Kour and the very farthest part of the upper basin of the Araxes. Whatever the smallness of these possessions may be, they can arrest the conquering march of the Russians, who will have no solid frontier until they possess the plateau of Erzeroum and the Ararat chain: these are the natural slopes by which the invaders may march, whether into Asia Minor, into Syria, or into Mesopotamia. Kars was, till the war of 1877–78, the center of the Turkish possessions in the basin of the Kour.

The tradition which makes those countries the point of departure of the first families of the human race, their geographical position in the most elevated portions of Western Asia, between two seas, at 250 leagues from Constantinople, from Jerusalem and from the Persian Gulf; history, which testifies that no one has been the assured master of Asia without
378 occupying the Armenian | plateau—all that demonstrates that the possession of these provinces by the Russians is the most striking manifestation of the gigantic projects of conquest; by that, Turkey in Asia is taken in reverse, Persia annulled, India watched and menaced. It is this which explains why they show so much persistence and active enmity in the subjugation of the remaining independent tribes of both slopes of the Caucasus, and whose resistance alone arrests their march towards the South of Asia . . .

The basin of the Euphrates is separated into two distinct portions: the upper portion or Armenia, which forms a vast plateau comprised between the two Taurus ranges, and
379 terminating at the defile of Malatia; the | lower portion, or Mesopotamia, which is only a vast plain.

380 The Euphrates is formed by two parallel rivers. The most northerly descends from Mount Abos in the plateau of Erzeroum; it passes near Erzeroum,* the capital of Turkish Armenia, peopled by 50,000 inhabitants, a third of whom are Christians. It is well fortified, and stands in an open plain at an elevation of 1,600 meters, and experiences a very rigorous climate. It has long been the bulwark of the Ottoman Empire against Russia, the center of the routes from the Caucasus into Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, the military and dominant position of all Western Asia. Below this city the Euphrates traverses several defiles, passes by Erz-Inghian, the first encampment of the Ottomans in the fourteenth century, and meets its other stream at Kabban.

* Erzeroum signifies, in Armenian, “citadel of the Romans.”

The Southern Euphrates or the Mourad-Chai has its source in Mount Ararat, near Bayazid, traverses a very lofty plateau which skirts Lake Van, passes by Melezghird, intersects or encircles several counter-slopes of the Niphates Mountains and unites with the other Euphrates.

The provinces of the Ottoman Empire comprised in the basin of the Euphrates are: in the 382
Upper region, Armenia and Kurdistan; in the Middle region, the Al-Djezireh or Mesopotamia; in the lower region, the Irak-Arabi or Babylonia. There are no lands richer in records: there wandered the flocks of Abraham and Jacob; there arose the first towns and the earliest empires known; it was in these plains that Alexander overthrew the power of the Persians; it is there that the Romans of Trajan and of Julian contended with the Parthians; it is there that the Mussulmans, Shiites, and Sonnites disputed for the Empire. There are found every contrast, all temperatures, all climates, from the mountains of Armenia, clothed with perpetual snow, covering with their lofty peaks the space between the two seas, and where the most rigorous cold is experienced, as far as the plains without undulation of Mesopotamia, green with far-stretching pastures, to the forests of palms and lemon-trees of Irak-Arabi.

Armenia occupies, besides the Upper basin of the Araxes, the Upper basin of the Euphrates or Upper Armenia, both separated by the Niphates mountains. The first is fertile, especially 383
in pastures; the second in | grains and fruits. Armenia, which for two thousand years and down to the fourteenth century, had formed an independent State, one of the most important in all antiquity, is still inhabited by peoples whose origin is lost in the night of time; but the invasions of the later centuries have forced the greater part to expatriate themselves. The Armenian emigrants are scattered throughout all Western Asia, Russia, Persia, and Hungary; they are essentially traders, render themselves remarkable by their intelligence and their aptitude in all kinds of industrial pursuits, but also by their deceitful spirit and their cupidity. It is computed that they are disseminated in the Ottoman Empire to the number of 1,900,000, of which 400,000 are in Europe, and principally at Constantinople. The Armenians form an important sect of Christianity: they are Eutychians,* and recognize as their head the patriarch resident at Echmiadzin. Turks, Kurds, &c., are also found in Armenia. Armenia has a superficial extent of about 8,000 square leagues, with a population of 2,000,000 inhabitants.

* The doctrine of Eutychus acknowledges only one sole nature in Jesus Christ. The Armenians reject, moreover, the supremacy of the Papal chair, purgatory, indulgence, &c.

Marchioness Dowager of Dufferin and Ava—1843?–1936

My Russian and Turkish Journals.

New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916

A.D. 1881

- 169 Saturday, <Nov.> 5.—Such a horrid, cold, wet day. In spite of the weather, we kept an engagement we had made to go and visit the Student Interpreters' College, and very cold and wet, when we got there, were we. Their house is at Ortakui. There are six of them, and they have an Armenian teacher living with them . . . The students are kept and lodged, and have £200 a year for five years while studying, and then, if they behave well, they are sure of
- 170 appointments as consuls or dragomans. The college is always | under one member of the <British> Embassy . . .
- 190 Saturday, <April> 22 <1882>.—We went in the launch up to the Seven Towers <in Constantinople> . . . We first found a warm spot in a tea garden, where a fine but rickety table was put up and where we ate, and enjoyed ourselves for some time. Then an Armenian school for orphan boys turned out and sang songs, astonishing us by performing an English one, in which the "Chimpanzee and the Kangaroo" figured, and ending up by a beautifully pronounced, loyal one about our Queen.

Hezekiah Butterworth—1839–1905

Zigzag Journeys in the Orient, the Adriatic to the Baltic—A Journey of the Zigzag Club from Vienna to the Golden Horn, the Euxine, Moscow, and St. Petersburg.

Boston, East and Lauriat, 1882

A.D. 1882

Armenia is one of the most dreary countries in the world. A large part of its population consists of the wandering Kurds, who, like the Arabs, go from place to place, and pitch their tents wherever they find it convenient. Villages are few and far between; and when you reach one, you find it composed of wretched huts, which we should hardly think fit habitations for our domestic animals. 211

While the upper part of Armenia, extending from the Black Sea to Bayazid, is thus dreary, mountainous, and lonely, the lower portion of it consists of plains, some of which are smiling and fertile, and are graced with luxuriant vegetation, while other plains are but vast sandy wastes, reminding the traveler of the Arabian Desert. Horses, cattle, and sheep are raised on these plains; and iron and copper are also found in some of them.

The principal towns of Armenia, for military purposes, are Kars, † Trebizond, and Erzeroum. Kars is situated on a height in the midst of valleys, beyond which rise high mountains. Trebizond is the principal Asiatic Turkish seaport on the Black Sea. 212

Erzeroum stands on a height, as does Kars. Some one who saw this important fortress recently, says of it that, in the distance, “It looks like a large ship thrown ashore under the mountain-side, and its mainmast, distinguishable a great way off, is the tower of the Tepsi minaret.” Above the town rise the citadel and fortress. Erzeroum is not a cheerful place. It has poor, unpaved, straggling streets, little tumble-down mud-houses, and is very dirty and slipshod. But it has almost all the curious features of an Oriental town. There are markets and bazaars, baths and fountains, mosques with their bulb-like domes, and more modest churches for the few Christians who dwell there.

In a military point of view, Erzeroum is the most important of all the fortresses in Armenia; and its control by the Russians would give them military command of a country full of places of sacred and historical fame. It is the last defense of the Turks in that part of Asia. If Erzeroum should fall into the full power of Russia, the invaders would find little difficulty of obtaining command of the Euphrates Valley, and may hope to approach Constantinople from that side with little danger of very formidable opposition.

William Folwell Bainbridge—b.1843

Around the World Tour of Christian Missions—a universal survey.

Second edition, Boston, D. Lothrop and Company, 1882

A.D. 1882

- 395 The Armenian Bishop at Orfah assured me that his people, numbering but 2,000,000 now, included a century ago fully 5,000,000; and that the loss through our Protestant missions was trifling compared with the results of Turkish misrule and social influence.
- 408 The Armenians number the same as the Orthodox Greeks in Turkey, 2,000,000. They are governed by four patriarchs, whose chief resides at the monastery of Echmiazin, near the Mount Ararat of Armenia. This community has more intelligence, wealth and social influence than any of the other Oriental Churches of the Ottoman empire. On account of their quiet, steady methods of life, they have been called “the Quakers of the East.” Protestant Missions among them have met with considerable success, and their ecclesiastical leaders are beginning to treat our missionaries with marked respect.

Henry Martyn Field—1822–1907

The Greek Islands and Turkey after the War.

New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885

A.D. 1885

The prophet taught his followers that they were born to be the masters of the world. This the 128
Turks accept literally. When they oppress Christians, they do it without a particle of
compunction: for it is the work to which they are appointed by God, and they have come to
feel that they are doing Him service when they commit acts of oppression, and even of cruelty,
upon their fellow-creatures.

Thus the whole history of Turkish rule has been an education, not in justice and humanity,
but in a constant, unchecked trampling on the rights of subject races. The idea of equality 129
amongst men, of equality before the law, was incomprehensible to the Turk. By his very
nature, and his attitude towards those whom he had conquered, he must be a master and a
tyrant, and could be nothing else. This despotic temper came from ages of unchecked rule of
absolute mastery and domination; it was bred in and in by long habits of rule that brooked
no check or control—a habit of playing the tyrant that began with the Turk in his childhood.
Not only had he the power, but he delighted to show it; and the more the people suffered
from it and writhed under it, the more he enjoyed it. It was this which made the condition
of Christians in European Turkey so intolerable. They were exposed not only to injustice, but
to every sort of contumely. A Turk would go out of his way to kick a Christian, not for any
offense, but “on general principles”: to show contempt for him; to teach him his place, and
let him know who was his master. For this there was no redress. If the poor Christian so far
forgot himself as to make complaint, the chances were that, instead of getting satisfaction, he
would be punished for daring to bring a charge against a true believer. This utter helplessness
of the Christian made his condition one of the most abject in the world, while the Turk
looked upon it as one of the privileges of his caste and his religion to kick a “Christian dog,”
or to spit upon him. This “unlicensed liberty” has been a little restrained since the Russian
war, which leads devout Moslems to shake their heads and mourn that they have fallen on evil
times.

Travelers may write about the grand old Turk—his prowess in war and his virtues in 131
peace—all that cannot change the fact of his inhuman treatment of subject races. A despotic
and tyrannical temper, fostered by centuries of unrestrained domination, more than
neutralizes any virtues which may be found in him. No matter how venerable he may be in
his long robe and flowing beard—how fond of his children or hospitable to strangers—he is
not fit to be trusted with the children of other people, or with any who do not present
themselves to him with a claim upon his hospitality. The perpetrator of massacres is not to 132
be entrusted with the mastery of helpless human beings.

. . . No one can have lived among the Turks without perceiving, underneath their Oriental
salaams, a secret, envenomed feeling against those of another race and another religion. It is

not merely the result of centuries of war, but their religion bids them hate us. If the faith is offered to an unbeliever, and he refuses to accept it, the Koran says "Kill him!" Thus, instead of restraining hatred, it stimulates it to outrage and murder. This was held in check somewhat during the Russian war, but it was only smothered, ready to break forth at any moment. The missionaries tell me that they could always see how the war was going by the looks of the people in the streets. If the Turks gained a victory, they grew insolent . . .

- 134 If there be any resistance to his tyranny, he <the Turk> crushes it by a merciless butchery. Such deeds are crimes against the human race, which place those who commit them outside the pale of civilization. A power like this cannot remain in peace with the rest of mankind. It is not fit to have dominion over any portion of the habitable globe. To this conclusion the wisest statesmen have come, and would speedily enforce it if they could but agree as to which power shall take the place of the Turk on the Bosphorus when he is driven into Asia. But for the present the Turk has possession, and "who shall stir him up?" There he is, immovable and implacable. What shall the nineteenth century do with him? That is likely to be the problem for at least the lifetime of this generation—what to do with "the unspeakable Turk."

Austen Henry Layard—1817–1894

*Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia including a residence among the Bakhtiari
and other wild tribes before the discovery of Nineveh.*

In two volumes. Vol. II, New York, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887

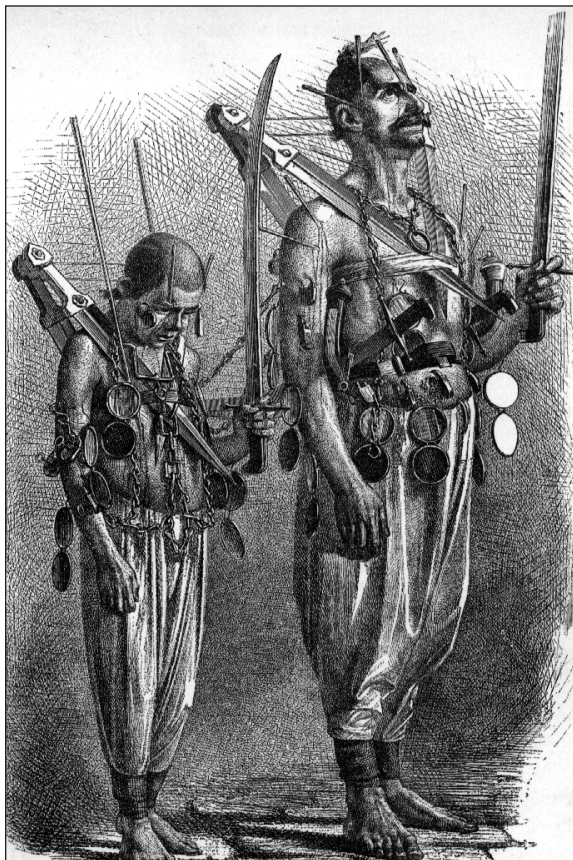
A.D. 1887, with recollections of the 1840s.

Pera was at this time, as it has always been and as it will always be, the center of every manner 429
of intrigue. Europeans, Turks, Armenians, Greeks, and the outcasts of various nationalities,
who form the population of this polyglot and cosmopolitan suburb of Constantinople, were
engaged in little else, whether political or personal. The representatives of the Great Powers—
contending for influence, or seeking by every means at their command to promote the
interests or policy of their respective Governments—had their secret agents and spies in every
quarter. What little society there existed was not exempt from them. The most numerous and
most active were those in the pay of the Russian Embassy. They literally swarmed in the
Turkish capital, and amongst them were known to be men in high position in the Sultan's
palace and at the Porte. They were equally to be found amongst the best native Christian
families; and even, it was suspected, amongst the Europeans, who formed what might be
called an upper class in the social strata of the Frank quarters. The Greeks—and principally
those who were employed by the Turkish Government—were the agents chiefly engaged in
these intrigues. The Armenians did not then take the same active part in political affairs, nor 430
occupy the same important offices, that they have since done. They were less active and
meddled far less in political matters than the Greeks, and had not the same relations with the
foreign representatives as their ambitious and more restless fellow-Christians. The Turks
consequently trusted them more. The great functionaries of the Porte employed them chiefly
as their bankers and agents, and but few of them held high offices. They were, however,
cunning and skillful in money matters, and managed to make large fortunes out of those
whom they served, principally by lending them money at usurious rates of interest. Every
pasha and high Turkish functionary had in those days his Armenian banker, who supplied
him with funds when he received an appointment, and sometimes accompanied him when
he was raised to the governorship of a town or province. As it may be easily imagined, these
crafty financiers knew how to take advantage of the ignorance and reckless extravagance of
their Turkish patrons, and soon availed themselves of opportunities to enrich themselves at
their expense.

When I was first at Constantinople, the mode of living of the Armenians—and indeed of
the leading Greeks who had not adopted European customs—was nearly similar to that of the
Turks, except in the case of those families which had been converted to Roman Catholicism, 431
in which European habits to a certain extent prevailed. Their women went abroad veiled, and
were almost as carefully watched and guarded as the inmates of a Mohammedan harem. Their
houses were built and furnished after the Turkish fashion; they slept on the floor, their
bedding being kept in a cupboard during the day; they ate with their fingers, and sat cross-
legged upon low divans. This similarity of manners was an additional recommendation to

their Musulman fellow-subjects, with whose language, moreover, they were far better acquainted than the Greeks, speaking and pronouncing it like the Turks themselves.

454 I had, however, an opportunity of again seeing the Sultan on a memorable occasion. The Turkish Government in the autumn of 1843 had been guilty of a cruel and outrageous act of fanaticism, which had excited the indignation and horror of Christendom. An Armenian who had embraced Islamism had returned to his former faith. For his apostasy he was condemned
455 to death according to the Mohammedan law. His execution took place, accompanied by details of studied insult and indignity directed against Christians and Europeans in general. The corpse was exposed in one of the most public and frequented places in Stamboul, and the head, which had been severed from the body, was placed upon it, covered by a European hat.



Armenian martyrs.

[From Hezekiel Butterworth's *Zigzag Journeys in the Orient*
(Boston, 1882).]

Samuel Sullivan Cox—1824–1889

Diversions of a Diplomat in Turkey.
New York, Charles L. Webster & Co., 1893

A.D. late 1880s and early 1890s

The Armenians are the sharpest people in the world. They are the Yankees of the Orient, with much additional acuteness. They are divided, also; some, as will appear, lean to the Catholic faith, and some to their own Church; and both away from the Greek orthodoxy. 181

The Levantines—the descendants of the French, Italian, German and other settlers of European origin—are also among the shrewdest of people. They are a class by themselves, and mingle very little with the Greeks or the Armenians.

It is a mooted question as to which race is paramount for sharpness, or, as we call it, smartness. I will not attempt to debate that question. Certainly, the Turkish is not the one, although it is the ruling power. The Frank or Levantine is not the one; nor the Greek, nor the Jew. It is a common saying, and likely has some basis of fact: that it takes the wit of four Turks to over-reach one Frank; two Franks to cheat one Greek; two Greeks to cheat one Jew; and six Jews to cheat one Armenian; but when the Persiari, the Kurd and the Croat, the Dervish, the Gypsy, the Eunuch and *hamal*, which we have endeavored to photograph, come into view, the Armenian will take the prize. Whether it is from lack of conscience, or because he has more enterprise, or because he has been thrown, like the Hebrew, on his own resources in his wanderings from his native land—it is certain that wherever he is, whether as the Prime Minister of Egypt, or Secretary of the Treasury in America—I mean Governor Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, of Armenian-Hungarian descent—the shrewdness of this race gives them grace, humor, eloquence, genius, and above all, intrepidity in self-seeking, or, in one word, smartness. The Armenians have never been intimidated by threats, and therefore they are successful. 182

The *hamal* is generally an Armenian. To see him moving with dignified Samsonian strength and stride, amidst the various pen-venders, sugar-mongers and obscure menders of things, who howl all the day about their wares or trades, is one of the interesting sights—if not sounds—of the Metropolis. He wears a loose gray jacket with white sleeves, gray gaiters and red belt.

He carries fabulous loads upon his shoulders. I have seen him carry pianos, and even carriages, up-hill on his back. One needs to observe a *hamal* going up the hill of Pera, to understand what the Bible means in its Oriental metaphor, when it says, “Bear ye one another’s burdens.” When his fête day comes along, a high and festive time results. He makes strange music with an old pipe, and dances along the streets of Pera as an elephant amidst crockery. 183

The Persian merchants are by no means undistinguished for politeness, cunning and trickery. In these accomplishments there is no class in Persia or in Turkey that excels them, except the Armenian . . . 186

280 It would seem, from the history of Catholicism in the East, that the dogma of infallibility had created division there, as it had in Bavaria. The Armenians led in this dissent. This schism left some heart-burning and scars. An attempt was made, with measurable success for a time, to enlist the Sultan on the side of the schismatics. The prudent course of the present Pope has not only healed up the old wounds, but has enfolded, through the aid of the Sultan, those who had been recusant.

It was a great gratification to the Catholics of Turkey when, on the 11th of December, 1880, the Pope rewarded Monsignor Hassun, who had received much ecclesiastical buffeting, by bestowing upon him the Roman purple. After four centuries the Orient secured another cardinal. The Sultan was honored by the choice. He acknowledges this tribute to his Armenian subject. The Sultans have never lacked in the hospitalities of the Orient.

In furtherance of his plan, the Pope has instituted an Armenian college in Rome. Education is progressing amidst the Armenians and Chaldeans. The Dominicans have a college at Mossoul, on the Tigris. Where Abraham was born, where Babylon rose and fell, where empire came and went in luxury and conquest, and in these domains where the past predominates—the living word, according to the Catholic faith, is being taught to the descendants of these historic people.

It is not this Latin Church to which this chapter is assigned. There is a branch of the Latin Church peculiarly Oriental, which is in close association with the Papal authority at Rome. It is of the Armenian branch that I propose to speak. But this Armenian Catholic Church is itself an offshoot of the Armenian Church proper; and therefore it is that I begin with a full statement of the system and history of the latter. This statement may have its interest enhanced by the bold attempt of the Russian White Father—the Czar—to capture the land of Armenia, as well by force of arms and steam locomotion as by educational influences and religious propagandism. It is the belief of the writer that Russia would be willing to forego her
281 entrance into Constantinople, and would be content with seeing the Crescent float for many years yet over St. Sophia, provided she could absorb the land about Erzeroum and Trebizond. Nay, Russia would not question the title of the fresh prince of Bulgaria, or the control of that country by its own *Sobranje*, or its own autonomy, provided she controls the lofty plateau whence the “four great rivers” pour down their waters in various directions. Then she would have and hold the nucleus of the mountain system of Western Asia, and thus be fortified for the great struggle for which she is preparing, against all comers who challenge her magnificent Asiatic career of conquest.

The fact that the brightest of the Armenian race is being instructed in Robert College and in the United States, and return to the Armenian people as teachers in theology and morality, is significant . . .

286 Politically, the Armenians ceased to exist as a self-governed nation, as far back as A.D. 223. Armenia was invaded by Alexander the Great. Afterward it was invaded by the Roman legions, under Vespasian. It was subsequently annexed to Persia. It remained thus until A.D. 852. Then it was conquered by the Arabs. In A.D. 1079 it passed into the possession of the Byzantine emperors. It was taken from them in A.D. 1357 by the Mamelukes. Finally, in A.D. 1402, it became a part of the Ottoman empire. It is now dismembered and apportioned between Turkey, Persia and Russia.

The Gregorian-Armenians number 3,725,000 persons. Of these 2,325,000 live in Turkey, 1,000,000 in Russia and 400,000 in Persia. The Catholic Armenians number 80,000 persons. They are mostly in Constantinople and in the larger towns of Turkey. This small community comprises the wealthiest and most respectable families among the Armenians. It is the remnant of that portion of the Church which broke off and remained faithful to Rome when the great body of Armenians denounced the convention signed at Erzeroum and re-asserted the independence of their Church.

Although the Armenian Catholics acknowledge the supremacy of the Church of Rome, they preserve much of the Gregorian form of worship. Their Church is administered quite independently of Rome. Originally, they had but one spiritual chief, bearing the title of Patriarch. He had his seat in the town of Bagarsabat. Then he removed to Sis, in Cilicia. He now resides in the monastery of Vzomar, on Mount Lebanon. But until A.D. 1832 neither this chief nor the community itself were officially recognized as a separate religious institution by the Turkish authorities. It was through the intercession of the French Ambassador in Constantinople that they then obtained permission from the | Sublime Porte to perform 287 openly and freely their religious duties. After this time they had churches of their own. This was a privilege which had before then been denied them. Until this privilege was allowed them, it was necessary for them to have recourse to the Gregorian-Armenian priests for the performance of the rites of baptism, marriage and interment. Their divine service had also to be conducted in the Roman Catholic churches. Upon their official recognition by the state, as a distinct religious community, they obtained the right of electing a second spiritual chief, entirely independent of the one at Mount Lebanon. This is the chief who has his residence at Constantinople, bearing the title of Patriarch. He is described in Turkish, in the Imperial Firman, as Millet Bashi Ermeni Catolic. This title is conferred upon him on his election as chief of the Armeno-Catholic community. The present holder of this office is Monsignor Azarian. He is a highly distinguished prelate. He belongs to one of the most noted Armenian families. Recently he was the bearer of a superb ring from the Sultan to the Pope. The other spiritual chief of the Armenian Catholic community, who resides on Mount Lebanon, holds, in addition to his other title, that of "Peter." This was conferred by Pope Benedict XIV. On Sundays and great fête days the French flag floats over the Armenian Catholic churches. This is done as a sign of the protection afforded to them by the government of France.

The well-known convent of St. Lazare, in Venice, belongs to the Armenian Catholic community. It is inhabited by the order of Mectarist monks. It is thus called after its founder, Mectar, who died in A.D. 1740.²³ From this convent missionaries used formerly to be sent into Armenia to make proselytes. Their efforts met with such determined resistance, on the part of the Gregorians, that the movement had to be given up. Since that time the Mectarist monks have turned their whole attention to the development of Armenian literature. They have published many useful and very ably written works relating to their national history.

It is not the object of the writer to dilate in this volume upon the religious aspects and divisions of the various Churches of the East, or to express any opinion upon their dissensions. It may be permissible, however, to express the hope that a closer affiliation and unity may soon take into its embrace the whole Church of Christ.

John Punnett Peters—1852–1921

Nippur or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates. The narrative of the University of Pennsylvania expedition to Babylonia in the years 1888–1890.

In two volumes. Second edition. Vol. II, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1898

A.D. 1888–1890

- 8 Outside of the anxiety caused by the uncertainty of our future, life at Constantinople was, as usual, intensely interesting, although we all suffered from the dengue, which was raging at that time. Musa Bey, a Kurdish chief from the neighborhood of Bitlis, in the Armenian mountains, who had terrorized that region for several years, levying blackmail on all the roads, treating the Christian Armenian population with great brutality, and deflowering and carrying off their women at his pleasure, had just come to Constantinople to be tried. Some
- 9 six years before he had almost murdered two American missionaries, Knapp and Reynolds, for which our government has never exacted redress. Finally the English Government brought pressure to bear, and so much was published about Musa's enormities that he was brought, or rather came, to Stamboul for trial. About fifty witnesses against him, chiefly Armenians, also arrived and were lodged at the Armenian Patriarchate. All mention of the matter in the press was forbidden, and my Turkish friends told me that it was dangerous even to speak of it in private. The English Government did not dare to push the matter vigorously, because of the use which the Russians made of any such action on its part to persuade the Sultan that the English were his enemies and they his friends. The Sultan himself declared that Musa could not have committed the crimes attributed to him, because he was a pious Moslem; and Musa, after being allowed to escape once and almost a second time (in preventing which latter escape we all had a hand), was at length acquitted.

- The conditions in Armenia were at that time entering upon the final stage of massacre which has since been reached. The Kurds were killing and outraging at pleasure. The Russian Government had massed troops on the boundary and seemed to meditate an invasion of Armenia. It was encouraging the Armenians to be restless, and indirectly it was encouraging the Turk to perpetrate atrocities which would give it ultimately the opportunity to absorb Armenia. The English Government was pursuing a weak and futile policy, occasionally protesting against Turkish outrages, but taking no active steps to enforce its protestations. The Turkish Government had instructed at least one of its governors, the Wali of Erzeroum, to do nothing against the Kurds for their outrages upon the Armenians. The commander of the troops in that province confided to one of his officers his hope that the Armenians would rise,
- 10 for he had everything prepared to serve them as the Bulgarians were served. He had been prominent in the Bulgarian massacres. Crete was in a state of anarchy, and England was supposed to be plotting to obtain possession of it. Arabia was in a condition of ferment. There was also much discontent among the Turks themselves, and severe criticism by them of the government. Something of this discontent I saw myself; but while the Turks with whom I conversed in the provinces almost without exception had spoken with great freedom of the corruption of the government and predicted its speedy downfall, in Constantinople their

tongues were stilled, and they dared not speak of such matters for fear of the ubiquitous police spies.

. . . Now English protection is almost worthless, and the authorities lamented that they 362
were not under Russian protection, which is worth having. The reason why Russian
protection is valuable was shown by an incident which occurred in Constantinople shortly
afterwards. The Armenian messengers of the various consulates went down to the post-office
in Galata one morning to get the mail. They did not return, but in course of time police
officers brought their respective mail-bags to the different consulates, with the information
that their Armenian messengers had been arrested for seditious gathering on the street. The
Russian Consul seized the officer who brought him the news, put him in ward, and sent word
to the authorities that he should hold him as a hostage and retaliate on him anything done to
his messenger. The Armenian was promptly sent back, and, after questioning him and
satisfying himself that he had been arrested without cause, the Consul ordered him to kick
and cuff the policeman, and to treat him precisely as he had himself been treated; after which
he let the policeman go.

In Constantinople there was everywhere talk of approaching war, and I had heard and seen 364
much of the unrest in the country and among the diplomats. Internal affairs were going from 365
bad to worse through Asia Minor and the regions further eastward, where the Kurds were
constantly becoming more unruly, while the Turkish authorities were encouraging them in
their outrages upon the Armenians. Among the inmates of the Hotel de Byzance, where I
stayed, was a storm petrel of a war correspondent. He had been reporting to a London Tory
paper the movements of the Russians on their side of the Caucasian line, and their intrigues
and plots in Turkey; and to a Liberal paper he had been reporting the outrages of the Kurds
and Turks upon the Armenians, the corruption of the Turkish Government in the provinces,
and the general disintegration of the Empire. The reports for the Tory paper about Russia
were telegraphed or mailed from Erzeroum in Turkey, and the reports for the Liberal paper
regarding the horrible conditions prevailing in Turkey were telegraphed or mailed from Tiflis
on the Russian side of the border. I lived so much in these war rumors at the time that it had
a strange effect upon me on my way across the ocean a little later.

We sailed from Antwerp on the 1st of November, and in a storm at sea I was thrown across
the cabin, striking on my head, tearing off a considerable portion of the scalp, and all but
fracturing the skull. When I was picked up I appeared to be conscious. I did what I was
directed to do, and answered all questions sensibly, but in reality I did not know who I was.
There came rushing through my mind scenes of disturbances in Armenia, of the marching of
troops back and forth among the mountains, in which I seemed to have some part, while at
the same time I had a subconsciousness that that was not my sphere in life. I fancied that I
had gone insane, and that I should never recover my reason or be able to think intelligently
or connectedly again. In vain I sought for a clue to my identity.

The Armenian persecution was becoming more pronounced. Armenians were cast into 367
prison on any pretext, and almost every week we heard of new outrages by the Kurds. In 368
Erzeroum the Turkish soldiers took a hand, and beat a number of inoffending Armenians to

death in the streets, for which a number, not of Turks, but of Armenians were arrested and cast into prison. The American missionaries also were interfered with. Their books, after being passed by the censor at Constantinople, were seized in the provinces. New and more vexatious rules of censorship were promulgated; schools were closed on all sorts of pretexts; and everything possible was done to hamper their work.



An Armenian family.

[From Cox's Diversions of a Diplomat in Turkey (New York, 1893).]

Frances Minto Dickinson Elliot—1820–1898

Diary of an Idle Woman in Constantinople.
New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1893

A.D. 1893, with recollections of earlier decades

The bridge of Galata is no better than a common drawbridge after all, but it is a marvelous 18
gathering of the nations. English, with white umbrellas and low hats, pass by; Armenians,
with colored sash glaring out of rags, bearing the usual heavy load; veiled women, with long
draping mantles and head-pieces daintily stepping on high-heeled slippers . . .

. . . An attack on the Seraglio was secretly arranged for the 15th of June, 1826, and the 118
deposition of Mahmoud was to follow.

Silently, in isolated groups, under cover of the darkness, the conspirators pass into the
Hippodrome, after sending forth invitations to all the regular troops to join them. But the
universal detestation they inspire is too great. Not a soldier came, only the very scum of the
city—of which there is at Constantinople such a choice among Armenians, Albanians,
Bulgarians, and last, though not least, Greeks—and turbulent bands spread through the city.

Like the young Nero, the youth of Aziz was blameless. He was affable, handsome, and, for 315
a prince, industrious. It was he who inaugurated the midnight Councils of State held at the
Seraskierate, at which he presided, and the lamps which illuminated that white and ugly
building announced to his subjects that the Commander of the Faithful himself was occupied
with affairs of State. When in his retirement, basking in the sun at that most picturesque kiosk
of Beicos, opposite Therapia, with its dark umbrageous woods, mounting from the water's
edge in a succession of shadowy terraces—all men spoke well of him. Unlike his voluptuous
uncle Hamid, who cultivated a harem stocked with beauties from all the towns of Asia, Aziz
at that time acknowledged but one legal wife.

At Bairam, when it is the custom for the Valideh to present her son with a new slave of
surpassing beauty, Aziz passed on the dangerous temptress to his wife, to serve her in the
harem.

Schools were erected by him near each mosque, and gratuitous instruction was provided
also for his Greek, Armenian, and even Jewish subjects.

Elizabeth Wormeley Latimer—1822–1904

Russia and Turkey in the Nineteenth Century.
Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Company, 1894

A.D. 1894

- 354 Probably the worst governed part of his <Ottoman Sultan's> dominions is Armenia. Thirty-three years ago, when Arminius Vambery first traveled through that country, he found its provincial government was horrible. In an Armenian village, recently plundered by banditti, he asked: "Why do you not get help from the governor of Erzeroum?" "Because," answered the villagers, "he is at the head of the robbers. God alone, and his representative on earth, the Russian czar, can help us." And we may be sure this feeling is kept alive by Russian agents. But the first care of Abdul Hamid, after something had been done to set straight the finances of the empire, which were in utter confusion, was to put down brigandage,—“one of the greatest curses of the Turkish Empire, affording a lucrative, if irregular, method of gaining a livelihood to thousands, and exercising a rule of terrorism and pressure.”

The army had also to be organized and better disciplined; and to this the sultan devoted himself with the same energy he had shown in other departments.

It is universally conceded that the men of the Turkish army are admirable soldiers, and almost equally acknowledged that their officers are little competent to command them. But in no army in the world (unless it may be in the British army in India) is there a greater variety of race and hue than in the army of the sultan of Turkey. Up to less than ten years ago uniformity was required in but one thing,—all were expected to be Mohammedans. Christians and Jews were not eligible for military service; they had to pay a military tax instead of serving in the army. Of late years, however, though neither enlisted nor conscripted, they have been received as substitutes.

Harriet Elizabeth Clark—b.1850

Our Journey Around the World. An illustrated record of a year's travel of forty thousand miles through India, China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Egypt, Palestine, Greece, Turkey, Italy, France, Spain, etc.

By Clark, Rev. Francis E.

with

Glimpses of Life in Far Off Lands as seen through a woman's eyes.

by Clark, Mrs. Harriet E.

Hartford, A.D. Worthington & Co., Publishers, 1895

A.D. 1894

It was an interesting sight to see a tiny Armenian baby | put to bed in one of these homes. A ^{633/4} little blanket was first laid in the cradle, then a small sheet, then some warm, dry sand, and last the baby. The sheet, blanket, and two or three little quilts were then drawn around him, and the baby was securely tied down, blankets and quilts and all, and there he must lie till morning, with no power to move anything except his head. The little one usually accepted the situation cheerfully and submitted with good grace.

The women in these Christian families were treated kindly by their husbands, but their position was inferior one. They waited upon their husbands and their guests at the table, and then took their own meals by themselves afterwards. They appeared happy and contented, but to an American woman their lives seemed hard and narrow.

William James Joseph Spry—d.1906

*Life on the Bosphorus—Doings in the City of the Sultan. Turkey Past And Present,
Including Chronicles of the Caliphs from Mahomet to Abdul Hamid II.*

London, H. S. Nichols, 1895

A.D. 1895

<Part I>

103 Accompanied by a young Armenian friend, who is an excellent Turkish scholar, one day last week we started off on a visit to those mighty “Fields of the dead” which have been immortalized by Byron and portrayed with such graphic solemnity by Mr. Hope, the author of “Anastasius.” Their vast extent, their somber wildness, their neglected splendor, and their picturesque confusion have furnished abundant matter for writers of all nations . . .

108 Here is . . . <a> very curious inscription on a monument which was erected to the memory of an Armenian, who, for some reason or other, met with a violent death, as indicated by a rudely-carved figure representing a headless trunk; although there is nothing in the wording of the inscription to indicate his fate.

Here repose the mortal remains of

ERGANYAN ARETIN,

Banker to the Sublime Porte.

His virtues were resplendent as the gold he amassed by industry and fair dealing. His charity was boundless, his word inviolable, and his piety transcendent. He gave to all and owed to none. He bade adieu to his weeping family upon the 7th July, 1795.

Trusting to Almighty grace, and blessing the Hand that opened for him the gates of Paradise.

Another, who seems to have suffered a similar fate, is as follows:—

This is the resting-place of

AGOOP AZNAVORIAN,

Inspector of the Mint.

Fathers deplore him as a pious son; children weep for him as a tender parent; brothers lament him as a faithful friend; friends grieve for him as an honest man.

The angels of the Lord stretched forth their hands to receive him when, upon the 3rd May, 1801, Imperial will ordained that his honorable functions should cease.

May he that succeeds him on earth follow him to heaven.

172 . . . We stop at Ortakeui—a pretty little village, the favorite home of numerous Armenian and Greek merchants and their families.

184 To-day of all days in the year is the one for an excursion from Pera to Baloukli by the road skirting the land-walls of Stamboul . . .

This Easter Friday, old style, is the day especially devoted by the Christians of the Eastern Church to visiting the Sacred Fount and the Miraculous Fishes of Baloukli.

I land early in the forenoon and make my way through the little burying-ground, and so reach the scala of Kassim Pasha, where a small flotilla of clean-looking caiques wait at the wooden jetty. Before embarking, however, a brief contest with the “caikdjie” is a duty owed to society; but the bargain is soon struck as there seems to be great competition amongst these “jolly young water-men.”

At length we are off and are shooting along gaily over the smooth water. The arsenal is passed, its long range of workshops lining the shore, backed by the trees of an enclosure called the Sultan’s Garden. The scene as we go along the Golden Horn is full of interest, villages nestling along the shore giving a picturesque tinge to it all, relieved here and there by graceful tapering minarets and lovely foliage. The caique at length reaches one of the scalas, and on landing I secure a seat in an “araba,” in which are a lot of laughing and joking holiday-makers. We drive along at a brisk pace, pass gardens and fields, ruins of old palaces, and by the double line of blackened walls and towers that mark the site of the Blackernae. After passing the Adrianople Gate I elect to walk the remainder of my journey. The road here dips into a valley, rising again to “Top-Kapousi” (or Cannon Gate). This spot is of historical interest, for it was here the Turks made their great entrance on the occasion of the taking of Constantinople. Along here I am informed a few years since existed a perfectly unbroken sweep of walls and towers, the triple line of defense. The moat and the water-bridges viewed from either eminence must then have formed a most picturesque scene; but now decay and destruction have fallen on this matchless girdle of the ancient city, and left many of the venerable towers mere heaps of crumbling masonry. 185

Passing the gate, what a stream of busy life is pouring onward towards the Grove of the Sacred Fountain at Baloukli; bright groups of Turkish women, gathered wherever a low parapet or a few stones on the edge of the road offer means of rest, are enjoying the day after their own fashion, staring at the passing crowds, and gossiping with one another. I continue my walk, but others jolt along in rickety carts or scarlet-tilted arabas, while horse and donkey-boys importune one to troll along in the same fashion.

The scene now, look where I will, is most enjoyable, and as I near the great cemeteries bands of Bulgars and Wallachs are filling the air with the plaintive and melancholy strains of their national music; then some wild, discordant notes proclaim a party of musicians heralding a cluster of Armenians in their holiday garb, baggy white trousers, the material of which has been so lavishly gathered into superfluous folds in the bulk of the garment that a painfully tight fit only has remained for the thigh, and nothing whatever to cover the knees; lower down covering begins again in the form of a gaily-covered stocking, bound round and crossed and swathed like an ancient Roman sandal. A crimson scarf, rolled and twisted, encircles the waist and wanders about the person, falling in a deep loop over one hip. A bright satin open waistcoat, a jacket of striped Damascus silk, gold-color and purple, or crimson and pale green, with a fez almost hidden under a painted handkerchief bound about it turbanwise, completes the fantastic holiday adornment of the hard-working Armenian *hamal*, whose usual attire is brown felt and dirt; to-day he is radiant, and performs heavy prancing capers to the sound of excruciating bagpipes with all the joyousness of a child. I spend some time here enjoying the scene of this happy throng, and at length, moving on, I come across an apparently exciting event from the numbers gathered together. They are witnessing the wrestling matches, which are always a great feature at these gatherings. Here were some half 186

dozen strong, sturdy Armenians, stripped to the waist, trying their skill in giving a “fair back” to one another. It was, apparently, purely a game of strength; tripping up, after our manner of wrestling, not being recognized. There is no rioting, no quarrelling, and the crowd gets thicker and denser as I proceed along the road with the stream, occasionally stopping by the way to enjoy the pretty little glimpses of scenery. Here, as I pass the little pink and gray “teke” of the dervishes, the sylvan beauty of the country is really most charming, a long row of military tents giving a picturesque beauty to the scene; while in the distance are seen more tents and little shanties, which, on nearing, I find to be full of cooks and “cafedjis,” busy with their frizzling and frying, and roasting and boiling, under the trees; and I look ahead and the thickly-strewn grave-stones of the Armenian cemetery, where the dancing and piping and the feasting seems to be vigorously going on.

<Part II>

- 281 We are now in contact with events which have occurred within the past twelve months in connection with Armenia,* and the persecution of the Christian races inhabiting it.

The terrible massacres perpetrated at Sassoun, near Moosh, during August, 1894, by the Turkish troops, with their accompanying horrors, were not isolated events.

It is not often that 6,000 people are slaughtered at once, but the process of gradual extermination has been going on for years, with exactly similar scenes repeated on a smaller scale from week to week.

The organization of the Kurds into Hamidieh regiments, under the special patronage of the Ottoman Government, has legalized these raids, and accelerated the work of extermination.

The brief information which reached Europe in October, reported: “Twenty-seven villages destroyed in Sassoun, and 6,000 men, women and children massacred by troops and Kurds.”

These enormities are supposed to have originated by some Kurds having raided the villages and stolen the sheep and cattle of the inhabitants. The Armenians pursued the robbers, endeavoring to recover their property; a fight ensued, during which, perhaps, a dozen Kurds were killed. The governor on learning this, telegraphed to Constantinople that the Armenians had killed some of His Majesty’s troops. Orders were then at once dispatched to infantry and cavalry to proceed in all haste to quell the rebellion. On reaching the district all was found to be quiet, but the troops, nevertheless, proceeded to clear the country of its Christian population. When this awful story reached England meetings were held in the principal cities to protest against this wholesale slaughter of the innocents, and to demand from the government the adoption of effective measures to prevent a recurrence of these crimes.

The result was the nomination of a commission representing Great Britain, France and Russia, to obtain confirmatory evidence, and to impress on the Sultan that the long-promised reforms in the Christian provinces of the Empire could be no longer delayed.

* Turkish Armenia is a large plateau, quadrangular in shape and 60,000 square miles in area. It is bounded on the North by the Russian frontier—a line from the Black Sea to Mount Ararat; by Persia on the East; the Mesopotamian plain on the South; and Asia Minor on the West. It contains about 600,000 Armenians.

The commissioners proceeded to the scenes of the massacres,* passing through charred 282 ruins of villages standing in the midst of devastated plains. Wherever they went, ample confirmation was on all sides seen of the narratives of the Armenian refugees whom they examined.

Many months were thus occupied by the commission in collecting evidence, a work in which there were many difficulties to surmount, as the Turkish authorities did their utmost to conceal all traces of the fearful crimes which had shocked and agitated the Christian world.

The time is past when deeds of blood and torture, committed upon unarmed men, women and children, can be regarded with indifference by a civilized world. But still it was not until the 15th of May, 1895, nearly nine months after the perpetration of the massacres, that the British, French and Russian Ambassadors at Constantinople were able to present identical Notes to the Porte, in which the three Powers set forth a scheme—previously submitted to and approved by the representatives of Germany, Austria and Italy—of the reforms they deemed indispensable for the government of Armenia.

The Sultan, on the receipt of the scheme, at once submitted it to the council of ministers for their consideration.†

* The massacres took place in the mountainous district of Sassoun, south of Moosh, two days ride west of Bitlis, a large city where the provincial governor and a permanent military force reside. It is near the western end of Lake Van, about 800 miles east of Constantinople, 250 miles south of Trebizond on the Black Sea, and 150 miles from the Russian and Persian frontiers of Asiatic Turkey.

These distances do not seem great until the difficulties of travel are considered. The roads are in most cases bridle-paths, impassable for vehicles, without bridges, and infested with highwaymen.

† The text of the Memorandum and projects of Armenian reforms presented to the Porte by the three Powers are:—1, Eventual reduction of the number of vilayets; 2, the guarantees for the selection of the valis; 3, amnesty for Armenians sentenced or imprisoned on political charges; 4, the return of the Armenian emigrants or exiles; 5, the final settlement of pending legal proceedings for common law crimes and offenses; 6, the inspection of prisons and inquiry into the condition of prisoners; 7, the appointment of a High Commission of Surveillance for the application of reforms in the provinces; 8, the creation of a permanent Committee of Control at Constantinople; 9, reparation for loss suffered by the Armenian victims of the events at Sassoun, Talory, &c.; 10, the regularization of matters connected with religious conversion; 11, the maintenance and strict application of the rights and privileges conceded to the Armenians; 12, the position of Armenians to the other vilayets of Asiatic Turkey.

The Powers attach the greatest importance to the choice of valis, upon whom will essentially depend the efficiency of the reforms, and will make representation to the Porte whenever there is injudicious or improper selection. Valis shall be men of undoubted capacity and probity, chosen from among high dignitaries of State without distinction of religion. Immediately they are appointed they will repair to the chief town of the vilayet to organize the administration of the province on the newly-adopted basis, and will see that tax-collectors are appointed without delay. The inspection of prisons shall be carried out by high functionaries, each of whom shall have an assistant, who shall be a Christian if the functionary is a Mussulman, and inversely. A judicial commission, partly Mussulman, partly Christian, shall be despatched to each vilayet to dispose of, without delay, prosecutions for common law crimes or offenses actually under judicial examination; a High Commissioner specially delegated by the Sultan, and approved by the Powers, shall superintend the prompt and exact execution of the reforms. A Permanent Committee of Control, consisting of three Mussulmans and three Christians, shall be

283 It was hoped that when the suggestions were presented that the Sultan, who possesses sagacity as well as humanity, would make the most of the opportunity and strengthen the foundations of his throne by conceding the guarantees the European Powers deemed necessary for the well-being of his Christian subjects. But considerable delay occurred before any substantial concessions were proposed by the Sublime Porte as a settlement of the question.

It can hardly be wondered at that the Sultan hesitated before he entertained the humiliating sacrifices demanded, which would practically lead to the independence of Armenia.

The Powers, however, who were party to the Berlin Treaty, had bound themselves within certain limits to insist that the Christian subjects of the Porte should be granted at least a tolerable form of government; but an experience of nearly twenty years since the obligation was assumed demonstrated that no such blessing seemed possible for Armenia except under direct and local European supervision.

While this question remained under the consideration of the Porte, Europe was startled, early in October, by announcements of serious riots in Stamboul. The Armenian difficulties seemed to have been transplanted from a remote valley in the mountains of Kurdistan to the capital itself, and to have there blossomed into massacres and bloodshed almost within sight of Yildiz Kiosk.

284 On the last day of September, a large number of Armenians assembled near the residence of their Patriarch, with the intention of presenting a petition to the government, claiming the promised redress and reform which had been so long delayed. Much against the advice of His Beatitude, the procession started to the official residence of the Grand Vizier, Said Pasha, with this object in view. They had not proceeded far on their way when they were met by a number of gendarmes, commanded by Servet Bey. He at once called upon the procession to disperse, and at the same time informed its leaders that if they had any petitions to make he would present them to the proper authorities for consideration.

On hearing this, cries of indignation arose from the turbulent crowd; and, without further warning, shots were fired. The major, Servet Bey, was amongst the first to fall, and several of his men were severely wounded. The police were not the aggressors, as far as the circumstances are known; but when attacked by the Armenians they used their swords in self-defense with terrible effect. The numbers killed and wounded on both sides, in a very short time, amounted to several hundreds.

On the following day the outrages and disturbances were resumed. Crowds of Softas assembled in the At-Meidan, armed with bludgeons, and were speedily joined by gangs of enraged Mussulman fanatics, who threatened to massacre all the Armenians in the capital. Troops were sent from Tophana to prevent these ruffians doing the mischief they intended, but not until great numbers of Armenians had been cruelly ill-treated and hundreds had met their death were they dispersed.

instituted. To this body, communications of Embassies will be addressed; provision is made to safeguard the independence and character of the various local governing bodies. Rules and regulations as to the police and gendarmerie are clearly laid down, and the declaration regarding the organization and distribution of justice is full and explicit.

On the third day of the riots, the six ambassadors of the European Powers, who had on the first day presented a collective Note to the Porte, demanding the restoration of order and suppression of the cruelties described, were successful in compelling the Ministry to interfere with some effect. At this time about one hundred of the Mussulman rioters were in the custody of the police, while some three thousand defenseless Armenians, mostly women and children, had, in their fear and consternation, sought refuge in the churches of their religion and in the precincts of the Patriarch's residence, where they remained until the crisis was over and quiet restored; not until then did they venture to return to their respective homes.

The Sultan was greatly alarmed by these disturbances. A council of ministers was hastily assembled under his presidency at Yildiz. Orders were at once issued to adopt special precautions for the safety of the public buildings of the capital, | for the restoration of order, 285 and for the apprehension of the rioters.

As soon as the street-fighting ceased, arrests were made, and the prisons were speedily filled to overflowing.

The riots in the capital had hardly been suppressed when similar serious disturbances were reported from various other parts of the Empire. The situation was clearly the direct outcome of the delay on the part of the Sublime Porte in granting the reforms long since promised. The true explanation of the Stamboul riots is to be found in the Sassoun massacres. The political agitators amongst the Armenians, despairing of obtaining redress for their wrongs by legitimate means, could, it seems, no longer restrain themselves from taking the law into their own hands—a deplorable act. Europe has learned with regret the terrible mistake the Armenian leaders made.

When quiet was again restored to the capital, it soon became known that the Sultan had dismissed Said Pasha from the office of Grand Vizier, appointing as his successor Kiamil Pasha, whose antecedents justified the hope that more enlightened and conciliatory counsels would prevail both at the Sublime Porte and in the palace. The influence of the Grand Vizier's advice upon the Sultan soon became apparent, and resulted, at length, in one of those wise compromises which often accomplish more than many victories for the consolidation of dominion.

Europe, on the 17th of October, learned with much satisfaction that an Imperial Irade had been issued approving the Armenian reform scheme* drawn up by the British, French and Russian Ambassadors in conjunction with the Porte.

The arrangements concluded would be wrongly construed if considered as any fresh concession made to the Armenians. It is rather a reiteration of the existing laws, applicable alike to Christians and Moslems, according to which all subjects of the Empire, without distinction of race or creed, enjoy equality before the law, and are eligible to take part in the administration of the country.

The official communication of the reforms to be introduced comprises reforms in the administration of the nahies (communal districts), the inspection of prisons by six judicial inspectors, the formation of a mixed body of police and gendarmerie in each vilayet in proportion to the number of the population, and the appointment | of a sufficient number of 286 rural policemen. The inhabitants and the local landed proprietors are to be protected by

* In less than a month he was dismissed.

gendarmes and troops when they visit their pasture-lands in the mountains. The nomadic tribes will be settled on lands granted by the government. Special regulations are to be drawn up from time to time by the Minister of War for the regiments of Hamidieh cavalry. A committee of four members, under the director of the survey office, is to be formed in each vilayet and sandjak, in order to examine and verify all titles to property. Four officials will be sent each year from Constantinople to inquire into any abuses on the part of the new administration. The collection of taxes is to be entrusted to the Mukhtars and to tax-gatherers elected by the inhabitants. The sale of tithes will take place separately in each vilayet. The *corvée* system to continue abolished. The sale of land or cattle necessary for the subsistence of persons imprisoned for public or private debts is forbidden. These are the principal features of the new scheme, with the additional sanction for the appointment of a High Commissioner, who is to have as assistant an official of Christian nationality. There is also to be a Commission of Control, the members of which are to consist of equal numbers of Christians and Moslems.

The vilayets to which the scheme of reform is at first to be applied are Erzroum, Bitlis, Van, Sivas, Mamuret-ul-Aziz and Diarbekir.

Abdul Hamid II has surrendered his personal feelings, and has acted well. It is to be hoped, consequently, that the most vulnerable portion of his realm—Armenia—will speedily feel the beneficial effects of the new measures, and that, later on, similar benefits will be extended to other parts of the Turkish Empire.

The Sultan must be credited with making the best of opportunities occurring during troubled times, and with using them to initiate a series of long-promised reforms upon which he himself had determined when he ascended the throne.

Many of the excellent qualities of his grandfather, Mahmoud, exist in him. He has the like diligence, the like determination and endurance; but the “gods” fight against him, as they fought against Mahmoud. As Abdul Hamid II never had the training which Mahmoud received from his cousin Selim, he has a very difficult task before him; but it is one which he will fight to the bitter end.

He has, to a large extent, re-established the financial position of the Empire by agreeing to the foreign control of a portion of the Crown revenues and the whole administration of the public debt. He found the vast domains and properties of the State in the hands of officials who wasted and plundered its revenues. He had the moral courage to dismiss the native minister of this department, and to appoint in his place an honest Christian, whom he has since endeavored to assist in every way to carry out his responsible duties. He tried to do as much with the Ministry of Finance, but as yet without success.

The Sultan firmly believes in education as a mighty power for uplifting the people. Schools and colleges have accordingly, by his orders, been established throughout the Empire, and already their influence is being generally felt.

Every effort has been made by the Sultan to improve the roads and develop the industries of the country. He has encouraged the investment of foreign capital in the construction of railways, as well as in mining and manufacturing enterprises.

The endeavors he has made since the commencement of his reign have not been fruitless. Much real progress has been made in the development of agriculture and commerce, and there has been a decided increase in both exports and imports. Much attention has been

devoted to the improvement of the sanitary condition of the Empire by the erection of hospitals, and the organization of a competent medical service for the relief of the suffering; for consideration for the health of his people, the Sultan is entitled to the highest praise.

In many respects also his foreign policy has been most praise worthy. He has kept clear of entangling alliances, and he has resisted with equal firmness the advances of his friends of the Triple Alliance, and the pressure brought to bear on him by other Powers.

He has now reigned nearly twenty years, he commenced his reign under trying circumstances, without experience and destitute of the training fitting him to govern so great an Empire, with so little knowledge of the world, that he then seemed destined to allow affairs to drift entirely into the hands of his ministers, and with a Russian army encamped at the gates of Constantinople there seemed but little prospect of the revival of Turkish power. But, with the help of England, he first rid himself of the Russian army, and then, in spite of England and all Europe, was able to dispose of the conspirators who had been instrumental in placing him on the throne. He next established a government, which, had the All-Wise willed it, would have ensured that his reign commencing in peace and prosperity would be a blessing to the Ottoman Race, which, under his able and enlightened rule, might have expanded once more into its pristine Oriental magnificence. But trouble and strife and bitter enmity were his inheritance, and marred these prospects; had it not been for his patient watchfulness, the Empire would probably before this time have succumbed to the hostility arrayed against it. 288

We can, in conclusion, but hope that Sultan Abdul Hamid II may be long spared and enabled to guide his people through all their troubles, preparing for them an era of progress and happiness, and for himself an undying name as Savior of his Country.

APPENDIX

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ARMENIAN REFORMS

TEXT OF THE SCHEME PRESENTED BY THE POWERS TO THE PORTE, JUNE 4, 1895.

The following is the full text of the Memorandum and Project of Armenian Reforms drawn up by the Ambassadors of Great Britain, France and Russia, and presented to the Sultan, at Constantinople, on May 11:—

MEMORANDUM March–April, 1895

The appended Scheme, containing the general statement of the modifications which it would be necessary to introduce in regard to the administrative, financial and judicial organization of the Vilayets mentioned, it has appeared useful to indicate in a separate Memorandum certain measures exceeding the scope of an administrative regulation, but which form the very basis of this regulation, and the adoption of which by the Porte is a matter of primary importance.

These different points are:

1. The eventual reduction of the number of Vilayets.
2. The guarantees for the selection of the Valis.

3. Amnesty for Armenians sentenced or in prison on political charges.
4. The return of the Armenian emigrants or exiles.
5. The final settlement of pending legal proceedings for common law crimes and offenses.
6. The inspection of the prisons and an inquiry into the condition of the prisoners.
7. The appointment of a High Commission of Surveillance for the application of reforms in the provinces.
8. The creation of a permanent Committee of Control at Constantinople.
9. Reparation for the loss suffered by the Armenians who were victims of the events at Sassoun, Talori, &c.
10. The regularization of matters connected with religious conversion.
11. The maintenance and strict application of the rights and privileges conceded to the Armenians.
12. The position of the Armenians in the other Vilayets of Asiatic Turkey.

1. EVENTUAL REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF VILAYETS.

The reforms having to be applied in the six Vilayets of Erzroum, Bitlis Van, Sivas Mamuret-ul-Aziz, and Diar-bekir, it will be necessary to study the reduction of the number of these provinces. A fresh division which would allow of a certain economy in the general expenses of the administration would perhaps, facilitate the choice of Valis by diminishing their number, and would strengthen their authority by ameliorating their material position. It should be effected in such a way as to distribute the populations in ethnographic groups as homogeneous as possible in the different administrative unities of each province.

Marginal Note

For ten years prior to 1875 the Eyalet of Erzroum comprised the districts of Tchilder, Kars, Erzroum (present Vilayet) as well as Van, including Hekkiari, Bitlis, and Moosh. This Eyalet was subsequently divided into five Vilayets after the war of 1877–78, and the portion of this territory which remained in the possession of Turkey was divided into Vilayets: Erzroum, Van, Hekkiari, Moosh. Since then the Hekkiari district has been rejoined to the Vilayet of Van, and the Moosh district to the Vilayet of Bitlis, newly created. It is since then also that the Sandjak of Mamuret-ul-Aziz has become a Vilayet, with the addition of some neighboring territories, while the Vilayet of Deyrsim has again become a Sandjak.

317 2. APPOINTMENT OF VALIS GUARANTEED.

The Powers, attaching the greatest importance to the choice of Valis, upon whom will essentially depend the efficiency of the reforms contemplated by the Treaty of Berlin, are resolved to make representations to the Sublime Porte on every occasion when the selection may fall upon persons whose nomination might be attended with disadvantage. Hence they would consider it necessary that the Imperial Ottoman Government, in order to avoid disagreeable misunderstandings on this point, should semi-officially acquaint the representatives of the Powers with the choice which it proposed to make.

3. AMNESTY.

His Imperial Majesty the Sultan shall grant a comprehensive amnesty to the Armenians charged or sentenced on account of political offenses who shall not have been convicted of direct complicity in common law crimes.

4. RETURN OF EMIGRANTS.

All Armenians, to whatever religion belonging, who may have been exiled without judgment, either beyond the territory of the Ottoman Empire, or beyond the province in which they resided, or who may have been forced to emigrate abroad, by poverty, or by fear of events without having taken any criminal part therein, shall be allowed to freely re-enter Turkey, or the provinces which they had left, without being molested by the authorities. They shall also regain possession of the property which they held before leaving the country.

5. SETTLEMENT OF LEGAL PROCEEDINGS.

All prosecutions for common law crimes, or offenses actually under judicial examination or trial, shall be disposed of without delay. Judicial Commissions specially delegated from Constantinople shall be dispatched to each Vilayet, and in the chief town of each Sandjak shall rapidly proceed to deal with all unsettled cases.

Their decisions shall not be subject to any appeal.

These Commissions shall be composed of a President and two assessors—one a Mussulman, the other a Christian—and shall be accompanied by an examining judge and a procurator. One of these functionaries shall be a Christian.

6. STATE OF THE PRISONS.

High functionaries shall be deputed from Constantinople to inspect the prisons in each Vilayet, and ascertain their material condition, the state of the prisoners and the treatment they receive. They will also make inquiry concerning the conduct of the directors and warders, and may propose the immediate dismissal and trial of those who may not have observed the prescriptions of the law in their treatment of prisoners. Each of these high functionaries shall be accompanied by an assistant, who shall be a Christian, should the functionary be a Mussulman, and inversely. They shall, within a period not exceeding four months, draw up a report containing all their observations upon the result of their mission, and specifying any modifications and improvements to be introduced in the service and arrangements of the prisons.

7. HIGH COMMISSION OF SURVEILLANCE FOR THE APPLICATION OF REFORMS.

Immediately the new Valis are appointed they will repair to the chief town of the Vilayet, with the object of organizing the administration of the province on the newly-adopted bases.

They will proceed to the installation of Mutessarifs and Caimacams appointed by the Government, and to the territorial distribution of the Nahies in each Caza. They will also have electoral lists drawn up, and will proceed to the election of Councils of Nahies and of Mudirs.

They will see that the tax-collectors are elected without delay, and that the budget of the province and the distribution of charges between the different administrative sub-divisions are established as speedily as possible.

A High Commissioner specially delegated by his Majesty the Sultan, and the choice of whom shall be approved by the Powers, shall be charged to superintend the prompt and exact execution of these reforms. During the whole term of his mission he shall have full and entire authority over the Valis, who shall keep him informed of all the measures which they may adopt for giving effect to the new regulations.

318 The Imperial High Commissioner shall receive the petitions and wishes of the inhabitants, and shall entertain them within the limits of the new regulations. He will close his mission by a general inspection of the Vilayets, and will have power to amend the measures which may not have been taken in conformity with the law and the new regulations.

The Imperial High Commissioner shall be accompanied in his mission by an assistant, who shall be a Christian should the Commissioner be a Mussulman, and inversely.

8. PERMANENT COMMITTEE OF CONTROL.

There shall be instituted at the Sublime Porte a Permanent Committee of Control, charged to superintend the exact application of the reforms.

This Committee will be presided over by a high civil or military functionary of the Empire, and will be composed of six members, chosen from among the high civil functionaries of the State competent in administrative, judicial and financial matters, three of them being Mussulmans and the three others Christians.

The Committee shall meet at the Sublime Porte at least once monthly.

Its mission will be to superintend the strict application of the laws and regulations, to inform the Sublime Porte of any irregularities which it may observe in the administration and to name any functionaries failing in their duty; to receive petitions and examine the wishes and grievances expressed by the population, as well as all the reports which may reach the Committee from the representatives of the communities.

It is to the Committee that the Embassies will address, by the intermediary of their Dragomans, all the communications and information that they may consider necessary.

The Committee may request from the Valis reports upon the questions which it may thus be called upon to examine. Twice a year the governors-general will address to the Committee a detailed note upon the state of the prisons and the condition of the prisoners.

The Committee may delegate, when it may think fit, one or several of its members to make tours of inspection in the Vilayets.

It will present to the Sublime Porte reports upon all these questions, and will have the right to correspond direct with the Valis and with the competent Ministerial departments.

9. REPARATION TO BE MADE TO THE ARMENIAN VICTIMS OF THE EVENTS AT SASSOUN, TALORI, &C.

The Armenians who suffered either in their persons or their property through the events at Sassoun, Talori, &c., shall receive suitable indemnities and reparation.

The Imperial High Commissioner of Surveillance shall be charged to make investigation, and take the measures necessary to this end.

10. RELIGIOUS CONVERSIONS.

The Sublime Porte shall see that religious conversions are surrounded by all the guarantees arising out of the principles established by the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856 (Articles 10, 11 and 12), and too often evaded in practice.

Persons who desire to change their religion shall be of full age, and shall not be authorized to make their declaration of change of religion, save after a delay of one week, during which they shall be placed under the supervision of the head of their own religious profession.

11. MAINTENANCE OF THE PRIVILEGES OF THE ARMENIANS.

The Sublime Porte shall give precise instructions to the authorities to prevent the recurrence of infractions contrary to the rights and privileges devolving upon the Armenian clergy and the community in virtue of the Sahmanatroutioun of 1863 (Organic Statute of the Armenians) and of the Berats granted by the Sultans.

12. POSITION OF THE ARMENIANS IN THE OTHER VILAYETS OF TURKEY IN ASIA.

In the Vilayets of Turkey in Asia where the Armenian population of certain Sandjaks forms a notable part of the general population there shall be attached to the Vali a special Christian functionary, to whom the interests of the Armenians shall be confided. This functionary shall receive the petitions and complaints of the Armenian population, and will bring them to the knowledge of the Vali, who will deal with them, in accord with him, as they may require.

This functionary shall further address reports regularly to the Permanent Committee of Control at Constantinople. In these Vilayets, if there are certain localities (such as Hadjin, 319 Vilayet of Adana, or Zeitoun, Vilayet of Aleppo) in which the Armenians form the majority of the population, the present administrative division shall be modified, and the provisions of the scheme of reforms on the constitution of the Nahies shall be applied to the localities thus converted into separate administrative unities.

SCHEME OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS TO BE INTRODUCED IN THE
EASTERN PROVINCES OF ASIA MINOR: PRESENT VILAYETS OF ERZROUM,
BITLIS, VAN, SIVAS, MAMURET-UL-AZIZ, AND DIARBEEKIR.

CHAPTER I.—VALIS.

Article 1.—The Valis shall be selected from among the high dignitaries of State, without distinction of religion, offering the best guarantees of intelligence, capacity and probity. Consequently, persons whose designation would furnish matter of general notoriety, or be inexpedient for public or political reasons, would not be appointed to the office of Vali.

The Sublime Porte, being convinced that the effective application of the measures and reforms which follow depends essentially on the high qualities of the persons who are placed at the head of the administration of the Vilayets, will make a point of seeing that the functionaries whom the Government may intend to nominate possess the required capacities.

Article 2.—The Valis thus appointed shall not be liable to be recalled or exchanged, except in cases where they have been proved guilty, after legal inquiry, of acts contrary to the laws.

They shall be appointed for five years, and their powers may be renewed.

Article 3.—The Valis shall be assisted by deputies (Moavins), who shall be Christians when the Vali is a Mussulman, and Mussulmans when the Vali is a Christian. The Moavins shall be, like the Valis, appointed by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

They shall be specially delegated by the Vali to receive petitions from the inhabitants of the Vilayet, to supervise the police and prisons, and to control the collection of taxes. They shall be entrusted with the provisional government of the Vilayet in the absence of the Vali.

The Valis shall be assisted by a Provincial Council-General, which shall be elected under conditions to be subsequently determined, and whose task it shall be to deliberate on matters

of public utility, such as the establishment of means of communication, the organization of agricultural credit funds, the development of agriculture, commerce and industry, and the spread of public instruction.

CHAPTER II.—MUTESSARIFS.

Article 4.—The Mutessarifs placed at the head of the Sandjaks shall be appointed by his Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

In each Vilayet a certain number of the offices of Mutessarifs shall be held by Christians. The Christian Mutessarifs shall be placed in Sandjaks in which there is the greatest number of Christians. In the Vilayets where there is only one Mutessarif, he will necessarily be a Christian if the Vali is a Mussulman. The Mutessarif shall be assisted by a Moavin, who shall be a Christian if the Mutessarif is a Mussulman, and *vice versa*. The Moavin will act for the Mutessarif in the latter's absence.

320 CHAPTER III.—CAIMACAMS.

Article 5.—The Caimacams shall be appointed by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, on the nomination of the Vali. They shall be chosen by the latter from among persons enjoying the confidence of the population and fulfilling the conditions required by the regulations in force.

In each Sandjak a certain number of posts of Caimacams will be held by Christians.

The Christian Caimacams will be placed in Cazas where there is the greatest number of Christians.

Article 6.—In every case the number of Christian Mutessarifs and Caimacams shall not be less than one-third of the total number of Mutessarifs and Caimacams in the Vilayet.

The Caimacam, like the Mutessarif, shall be assisted by a Moavin, who shall be a Christian if the Caimacam is a Mussulman, and *vice versa*.

Attached to the Mutessarifs and Caimacams there shall be a Council analogous to the Provincial Council-General.

The Council of the Caza shall be elected by the Councils of the Nahies, and the Council of the Sandjak by the Councils of the Caza.

The Provincial Council-General shall be elected by the Councils of the Sandjaks.

No official shall be a member of any of these Councils. The Councils shall be presided over respectively by the Vali, the Mutessarif and the Caimacam, and will be composed of four members, without counting the President, of whom two shall be Mussulmans and two Christians.

CHAPTER IV.—COMMUNAL CIRCLES ("NAHIE").

Article 7.—Each Caza will be sub-divided into a certain number of Nahies.

The Nahie is a territorial sub-division which will comprise several villages with their immovable property, grounds, pasturages and other lands, the most important place being the chief town.

The circumscription of each Nahie will be, as far as possible, fixed in such a manner as to group the villages of one religion in the same Nahie; generally speaking, consideration will be given to topographical and ethnographical condition as well as to the convenience of the populations.

The Nahie will comprise 2,000 inhabitants at least, and 10,000 at most.

Every group of villages forming part of a Nahie, and whose inhabitants shall not exceed 1,000, may demand to be constituted as a separate Nahie on condition of being responsible for the expenses of the new administration.

Article 8.—Each Nahie shall be administered by a Mudir, assisted by a Council elected by the population, and composed of a minimum of four and a maximum of eight members.

This Council will choose among its members the Mudir and an assistant.

The Mudir shall belong to the class forming the majority of the inhabitants, and the assistants to the other class. The Council will also have a secretary.

Article 9.—If the inhabitants of a Nahie are all of one class the members of the Council shall be elected among the inhabitants belonging to this same class; if the population of the Communal Circle is mixed, the minority shall be represented in proportion to its relative importance, provided that it comprises at least twenty-five houses. 321

Article 10.—The Mudirs will receive from the budget of the Nahie a suitable allowance; a fixed salary will also be granted to the Secretary of the Council.

Special premises will be assigned to the Council of the Nahie and for the seat of the administration of the Communal Circle.

Article 11.—The members of the Council of the Nahie must be Ottoman subjects, have interests in the Nahie, be more than thirty years of age, and must be chosen from among those paying to the State an annual tax of 100 piastres. They must not have undergone any judicial sentence.

Article 12.—As soon as the Council shall have chosen among themselves the Mudir, his name will be communicated to the Vali, who will officially confirm him, after satisfying himself that the legal provisions have been complied with.

Article 13.—The Imaums, priests, school professors and any persons in the Government service may not exercise the functions of Mudir.

Article 14.—Half the members of the Council will be renewed every year. The Mudirs will remain in office for two years. The Mudir and the members may not be re-elected more than once in succession.

Article 15.—The attributions of the Mudir and the members of the Council, as well as the mode of their election and of replacing them, will be regulated according to the prescriptions of the Administrative Regulations for the Communes, Articles 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, and of the “Projet de loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d’Europe.” (Paragraph 12.)

Article 16.—The villages comprised in the Nahie will each have a Mukhtar, if a village contains several quarters, and if the inhabitants are divided into different classes there will be a Mukhtar for each quarter and for each class of inhabitants.

Article 17.—No village can in any part belong to two Communal Circles, whatever may be its position or the number of its inhabitants.

Article 18.—The police officers shall be recruited, without distinction of creed, from the population of the Nahie by the Council of the Communal Circle, in number sufficient for local needs, and for the participation in the service of the gendarmerie of the Vilayet.

Article 19.—The police officers of the Nahie shall be placed under the orders of the Mudir, and be commanded by chiefs exercising functions similar to those of the Tchaouchs and of the On-Bachis. They will be armed, and will wear a uniform to be determined 322

hereafter. They will be paid from the budget of the Nahie, and outside their police service may pursue their ordinary avocations. They will be mounted, or not, according to the needs of the service.

Non-Mussulmans liable for payment of the Bedel-i-Askerie, who may be recruited for the police will be exempted from the payment of this tax so long as they may serve in the police.

Article 20.—The police officers of the Nahie shall have as their first duty to assure the maintenance of good order and security in the territory and on the roads of the Nahie. They will, moreover, in obedience to the orders of the Mudir furnish some of the men to form the escort for the mails, and give assistance to the Mudir for executing judicial sentences and carrying out the prescriptions of the law.

CHAPTER V.—GENDARMERIE.

Article 21.—There will be organized in each province by virtue of a special regulation, a corps of provincial gendarmerie, the officers and men of which will be chosen from among all classes of the subjects of the Empire.

The recruiting of the gendarmerie shall be effected in the Vilayet among all the inhabitants, without distinction of race or religion. Two-thirds will be recruited from among the police officers of the Nahie, half among the Mussulman and half among the non-Mussulman officers. The remaining third will be composed of Tchaouchs and Bach-Tchaouchs chosen from among the most capable men of the regular army.

In matters of discipline and training the gendarmerie will be under the authority of the Ministry of War. It will be maintained and paid at the expense of the Vilayet. The pay of the officers of the corps shall not be lower than that of officers of corresponding grade in the regular army.

CHAPTER VI.—PRISONS.

Article 22.—In the prisons the individual arrested and subjected to preventive detention shall not be mixed up with the individuals incarcerated after sentence. The prisons shall fulfill indispensable hygienic requirements, and care shall be taken that their inmates shall not undergo harassing treatment.

The Valis shall nominate the directors and warders of the prisons, among whom there shall be a certain number of police officers and gendarmes.

CHAPTER VII.—COMMITTEE OF PRELIMINARY INQUIRY.

Article 23.—The Valis will establish at the chief towns of the Vilayets and Sandjaks preliminary Committees of Inquiry, composed of a President and two members, Mussulman and non-Mussulman. These Committees shall be charged to make inquiry concerning the reasons for arrests made by the gendarmes, and to order the persons detained to be immediately examined, and to be imprisoned should the offense with which they may be charged be of a character to render them liable to the penalties enacted by law. They will also have to release forthwith, under the surveillance of the police, the persons whose conduct may not justify the application of the law, and to see that no person be confined without necessity and illegally in prison. With this object they will visit the prisons and inquire into the condition of the prisoners. The Committees will draft reports, which they will send to the

Valis, mentioning among the individuals arrested by the police those who may have been released and those who remain in confinement.

CHAPTER VIII.—CONTROL OF THE KURDS.

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Article 24.—For the administration of the nomad Kurds the Vali will have under his orders in each Vilayet an Achiret Memsuri (an official charged with the supervision of the Kurdish tribes). This functionary will be empowered to arrest brigands and other malefactors, and to require them to be brought before the ordinary tribunals. He will have under his orders a sufficient escort, and may, moreover, requisition the aid of the local police. A certain number of functionaries placed under his authority will accompany each tribe in its annual migrations.

They will exercise police jurisdiction, arrest all malefactors, and bring them before the ordinary tribunals. The limits of the camps and pastures of the nomad tribes shall be clearly determined. The migrations must not become a cause of injury to the inhabitants of the districts traversed or temporarily occupied by the nomad tribes. If the latter commit any encroachment upon the property or outrage against the persons of the villagers, all migration shall henceforward be prohibited to them.

The existing regulations regarding the carriage of arms will be strictly applied to the entire Kurd population, sedentary as well as nomad. An effort will be made to inculcate the principles of a sedentary life upon the nomad population by accustoming them to field labor, and with this object allotments of land will be assigned to them in localities where their settlement cannot injure the tranquillity or well-being of the sedentary population.

The right of election and of eligibility does not belong to individuals forming part of the non-sedentary populations, or who are not settled in a definite and permanent manner upon the territory of a Nahie.

CHAPTER IX.—HAMIDIEH CAVALRY.

Article 25.—In the event of it being deemed necessary to employ regiments of Hamidieh Cavalry outside the periods of instruction prescribed by the regulations now in force, these troops can only be employed and quartered conjointly with the troops of the regular army, of which they must not exceed one-third.

At ordinary times and when off duty the Hamidieh Cavalry men must not wear uniform or carry arms. Under the same conditions, they are liable to be tried by the ordinary tribunals, as already prescribed in the Hamidieh regulations, in conformity with the prescriptions in force for the Redifs (Ottoman Military Code, Article 4).

CHAPTER X.—QUESTION OF PROPERTY TITLES.

Article 26.—Special Commissions, composed of a President and four members, two Mussulmans and two Christians, shall be charged to revise titles and claims to property, and to redress the injustice and irregularities which may come to their knowledge.

A Special Commission will decide the best manner of guaranteeing the rights of property in the future.

CHAPTER XI.—LEVYING OF TITHES.

Article 27.—All taxes, including the tithe, shall be levied directly under the authority of the Mudir by tax-gatherers elected by the Councils of Nahies.

All the inhabitants of the Nahie are conjointly responsible for the payment of the total of the tax imposed upon it.

324 Article 28.—The farming of the tithes and the corvee are abolished. Each administrative center, commencing with the Nahie, will take from the taxes which it has collected the sums necessary for the expenses of its administration according to a budget fixed and approved by the Government. Similarly the financial administration of the Vilayet will take from the total of the taxes of the province the sums necessary for the administration of the Vilayet, including the expenses of the public works and of public instruction.

The population can in no case be obliged to provide gratuitously, whether for troops or for officials on duty, the lodging and provisions necessary for their entertainment.

In the case of executions for non-payment of taxes strict care will be taken not to deprive the people of articles of prime necessity, or of tools used in their work.

CHAPTER XII.—JUSTICE.

Article 29.—There shall be in each district of the Nahie a Council of Ancients, presided over by the Mukhtar, whose charge it will be to settle in a friendly manner disputes between the inhabitants of the district.

Article 30.—There shall be in each Caza, proportional to the number of Nahies, a sufficient number of Justices of the Peace, appointed by the Minister of Justice upon the nomination of the Vali. One of these must of necessity live in the chief town of the Caza. One-third of the Justices of the Peace in each Caza must be Christians. The Christian Justices of the Peace shall be stationed in the centers where the Christian population is most numerous.

Article 31.—The Justice of the Peace shall have competence to try

1. In criminal cases, without appeal, contraventions punishable by ordinary police penalties and, on appeal, offenses entailing a penalty of not more than 500 piastres fine and three months' imprisonment.
2. In civil cases, without appeal, all personal actions, civil and commercial suits, involving sums up to 1,000 piastres, and, on appeal, the same suits up to 5,000 piastres.

Article 32.—The Justice of the Peace will also hold a Conciliation Court. He may, on the application of the parties, appoint arbitrators to decide disputes of which the amount involved does not exceed 5,000 piastres. In the event of a decision by the arbitrators the suitors shall forego all right of appeal.

Article 33.—Appeals from the decisions of Justices of the Peace sitting in place of the Caza's tribunals shall be taken before the Courts of Sandjak.

Article 34.—Sentences of imprisonment passed in the last resort by the Justices of the Peace shall be served in the prison of the Caza. The Mudirs must render assistance to the Justices of the Peace in the execution of civil as well as criminal judgments.

Article 35.—The Courts of the Caza being abolished, the tribunals of the Sandjak will be competent to try civil actions not exceeding 5,000 piastres, and appeals from the Justices of

the Peace in civil suits. They will have but one Civil Court, the Criminal Court being replaced by the Court of Assizes on circuit.

The Courts of the Sandjak shall be composed of a presiding magistrate with a diploma, appointed by the Minister of Justice, and two members chosen by the Vali from a list drawn up by the Councils of the Sandjaks.

Article 36.—The criminal sections of the Courts of Sandjak are thus replaced by the 325 Courts of Assize on circuit. The Courts of Assize are composed of a presiding magistrate chosen from among the members of the Superior Council of the Vilayet. To them will be joined two members appointed by the Court of Appeal from among the Justices of the Peace of the Sandjak, one a Mussulman and the other a Christian. The Justices of the Peace will receive a special allowance during the Assize Circuit.

Article 37.—The Court of Assize will sit turn by turn in all the Cazas, including the chief town of the Sandjak, where its presence may be necessary. It will be competent to try, on appeal, the decisions of the Justices of the Peace in regard to offenses, and, without appeal, crimes and offenses entailing a penalty of more than 500 piastres fine and over three months' imprisonment. The sentences delivered by the Assize Court in criminal matters cannot be dealt with except by recourse to the Court of Cassation.

Article 38.—On arriving at the Caza, the President of the Assize Court will have laid before him by the examining magistrate a list of cases capable of being heard by him directly, and a list of cases still under examination. If he notes in the latter any irregularities or unnecessary delay, he will immediately address a report to the Minister of Justice.

On its arrival at the Caza as well as on its departure, the Court of Assize will visit the prisons, inquire into the condition of the prisoners, and verify the entries on the calendar.

Article 39.—The Superior Court of the Vilayet shall be composed of a President and a number of members sufficient to try the civil suits coming before it, and to furnish Presidents to the Assize Courts on circuit.

It will act in civil matters as a Court of Appeal, and in criminal matters as an Assize Court. It will be regularly constituted as soon as the President and two members are assembled. It includes, moreover, a Public Prosecutor and a sufficient number of substitutes.

Article 40.—The decisions of Justices of the Peace and the judgments of the courts of all kinds shall be worded in the Turkish language. The Turkish text shall, according to the locality and the parties to the suit, be accompanied by a translation in the Armenian language.

THE SCHEME OF ARMENIAN REFORMS.

The following is the full text of the reforms agreed upon between the Ambassadors of Great Britain, France and Russia on the one hand and the Porte on the other, and sanctioned by Imperial Irade, dated October 17th, 1895.

VILAYETS AND MUTESSARIFATES

1.—To each Vilayet (Government General) shall be appointed a non-Mussulman Moavin (deputy) in conformity with the terms of Chapter II of the Regulation on the General Administration of the Vilayets of the 29th Shawall, 1286. It shall be his duty, in conformity

with this regulation, to co-operate in the general affairs of the Vilayet, and to facilitate the despatch of business.

2.—Non-Mussulman Moavins shall also be attached to the Mussulman Mutessarifs and Caimacams in the Sandjaks and the Cazas, where the importance of the Christian population justifies this measure.

326 CAIMACAMS.

3.—The Caimacams shall be selected without distinction of religion by the Minister of the Interior from among those holding diplomas of the Civil School and shall be appointed by Imperial Irade.

4.—Those officials who are now in office and whose capacity is recognized, shall be retained, even if without diplomas. If the number of non-Mussulmans holding diplomas from the Mulkie School should not, for the time being, be sufficient to permit of the appointments which are deemed necessary being made, these posts shall be filled by persons in the service of the Government, who although without diplomas, shall be recognized as capable of discharging the duties of Caimacams.

PROPORTION OF CHRISTIANS TO MUSSULMANS IN PUBLIC OFFICES.

5.—Administrative functions shall be entrusted to Mussulman and non-Mussulman subjects of the Empire in proportion to the numbers of the Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants of each Vilayet. The number of non-Mussulman officials in the administration of the police and the gendarmerie shall be fixed by the Permanent Commission of Control.

COUNCILS AND CAZAS.

6.—The Administrative Councils of the Sandjaks and the Cazas, composed of elected members and ex-officio members, shall be maintained and shall perform their duties in conformity with Article 61 of the Regulation on the General Administration of the Vilayets of 1286, and with Articles 77 and 78 of the Law of Vilayets of 1267, in accordance with which they were constituted. Their powers are fixed by Articles 90, 91 and 92 of the Regulation on the General Administration of Vilayets, and by Articles 38, 39 and 40 of the Instructions relative to the General Administration of Vilayets of the 25th of Muharram, 1293.

NAHIÉS.

7.—The Nahiés shall be organized in conformity with the provisions of Articles 94 to 106 of the Regulation on the General Administration of Vilayets of 1287, and with Articles 1 to 19 of the Regulation on the Administration of Communes of the 25th of Shawall, 1292.

8.—Each Nahié shall be administered by a Mudir and a Council composed of four members elected from the inhabitants. This Council shall choose from among its members a Mudir and a deputy. The Mudir shall belong to the class forming the majority of the inhabitants, and the deputy to the other class. The Council shall have, in addition, a secretary.

9.—If the inhabitants of a Nahié are of one and the same class the members of the Council shall be elected exclusively from among the inhabitants belonging to that class. If the population of the communal circle is mixed, the minority shall be represented in

proportion to its relative importance on condition that it comprises at least twenty-five households.

10.—The Mudirs and the secretaries of the Nahiés shall be paid.

11.—Candidates for the Councils of Nahiés must conform to the conditions provided for by Article 10 of the Regulation on the Administration of the Communes.

12.—Imaums, priests, school professors, and all those who are in the service of the Government, may not be elected Mudirs.

13.—Half of the Council shall retire annually. Its members as well as the Mudir shall be eligible for re-election.

14.—The powers of the Mudir and of the Councils of Nahiés are regulated by Articles 20 to 27 of the Regulation on the Administration of Communes.

VILLAGES OF THE NAHIÉS

15.—Every village in a Nahié shall have a Mukhtar. If there are several quarters and several classes of inhabitants, there shall also be a Mukhtar to each quarter and each class.

16.—No village may be in the jurisdiction of two Nahiés at the same time.

JUSTICE.

327

17.—There shall be in each Nahié a Council of Elders, presided over by the Mukhtar. It shall be the duty of this council to arrange a friendly settlement of disputes between the inhabitants, disputes provided for by the Judiciary Laws.

18.—The functions of Justices of the Peace shall be exercised in villages by the Councils of the Elders, and in communes by the Communal Councils. Their powers and the degree of their competence are determined by law.

19.—Judicial inspectors, whose number shall not be less than six, and who shall be Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans in equal number, shall be entrusted with the duty, in each Vilayet, of accelerating the judgment of all cases pending and of supervising the condition of the prisons, in conformity with the provisions of the second chapter of the Law on the Formation of Civil Tribunals. The inspections shall be made at the same time by two inspectors, one a Mussulman, the other a non-Mussulman.

POLICE.

20.—The police shall be recruited from the Mussulman and non-Mussulman subjects of the Empire in proportion to the numbers of the Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants of the Vilayet.

21.—Sufficient contingents shall be detailed for each administrative sub-division, including the Nahie. The police of the NahiEe shall be placed under the orders of the Mudir, and commanded by commissaries. Their arms and uniform shall be identical with the patterns already adopted.

GENDARMERIE.

22.—The officers, sub-officers, and soldiers of the gendarmerie shall be recruited from among the Mussulman and non-Mussulman subjects of the Empire, in proportion to the numbers of Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants of each Vilayet. The gendarmerie

shall be paid and maintained at the cost of the exchequer of each Vilayet. The pay of gendarmes shall be higher than that of soldiers of the Imperial army, and that of the officers equal to that of officers of the Imperial army.

23.—To the gendarmerie is entrusted the maintenance of order and the escort of the mails.

RURAL CONSTABULARY.

24.—The Council of the Nahie shall choose the rural constabulary from among the different classes of the population. Their number shall be fixed by the Permanent Commission of Control in accordance with the needs of each Nahie, on the report of the Mudir, and at the instance of the Vali. Their uniform and armament shall be settled by the Department of War.

PRISONS AND COMMITTEE OF PRELIMINARY INQUIRY.

25.—The existing regulations regarding the keeping up of prisons and lock-ups shall be strictly carried out.

26.—The Committee of Preliminary Inquiry provided for under Articles XI and XII of the instructions relating to the general administration of the Vilayets shall be called upon to exercise its functions in the most regular manner.

CONTROL OF THE KURDS.

27.—The migration localities of the Kurds shall be fixed in advance in such a way as to avoid damage to the inhabitants from the tribes. An officer, having under his command a sufficient armed force and gendarmes, will accompany each tribe in its migration. A Commissary of Police will be attached to him. The Kurds shall deliver to the authorities hostages for their good behavior during their migrations. The regulations regarding the passports and the carrying of arms shall be applied to the Kurds. The nomad and wandering tribes shall be urged to settle on lands which shall be granted to them by the government.

HAMIDIEH CAVALRY.

28.—The carrying of arms and wearing of uniforms by the Hamidieh-horse beyond the periods of instruction are prohibited. Beyond these periods, the Hamidieh-horse are amenable to the ordinary tribunals. A military regulation which shall determine all the details of their service shall be drawn up without delay.

TITLES OF PROPERTY.

29.—Commissions for the revision of titles to property shall be instituted in the chief town of the Vilayet and Sandjak. These commissions will be composed of four members (two 328 Mussulmans and two non-Mussulmans), and presided over by the Director of the Archives or the officer for real property. Their decisions shall be submitted to the Councils of Administration. Moreover, four delegates shall be sent each year from Constantinople to the Vilayets to investigate any irregularities which may arise in connection with properties.

30.—To avoid the employment of the public forces, special agents who shall not be entitled to make any requisition of rent nor of food, and who shall have no handling of the

money, shall transmit to the Mukhtars and the Receivers of the villages and quarters, elected by the inhabitants, papers on which shall be inscribed the taxes due from each inhabitant. The Mukhtars and above-named Receivers shall alone be charged with the collection of taxes and the paying of them into the exchequers of the State.

TITHES.

31.—The collection of the tithe shall be conducted by a system of farming out. Farming out on a wholesale scale remains abolished, and it shall be replaced by a system of collection by each village, in the name of the inhabitants. In case of difficulties the latter shall have the right of referring to the tribunals. Forced labor being abolished, payment in kind and in money shall be maintained in respect of works of public utility. The Budget of Public Instruction in each Vilayet shall be fixed by the Minister of Public Instruction. The sale, for debts to the State or personal debts of the house of the debtor, of the lands necessary for his subsistence, of his implements of labor, of his draught cattle, and of his grain remains prohibited.

PERMANENT COMMISSION OF CONTROL AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

32.—A Permanent Commission of Control shall be instituted at the Sublime Porte, under the presidency of a Mussulman, composed of an equal number of Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans, and charged to see to the strict carrying out of the reforms. The Embassies shall bring before this Commission, through the medium of their Dragomans, advices, communications, and intelligence which they shall deem necessary in connection with the enforcement of the reforms and of the measures prescribed by the present Act. When the Sublime Porte and the Embassies are agreed in considering the Commission to have accomplished its task it shall be dissolved.

REGULATIONS WHICH ARE TO APPEAR IN THE DECREE OF PROMULGATION.

I. HIGH COMMISSIONER OF SUPERVISION FOR THE APPLICATION OF REFORMS.—An official worthy of consideration in all respects shall be appointed by the Imperial Government, and sent on a tour through the different localities under the title of High Commissioner (Mufettieh), with the special task of supervising the execution of reforms and of presiding over their application. In case of absence or inability this High Commissioner shall be temporarily replaced by another high Mussulman official, nominated by His Imperial Majesty. The High Commissioner shall be accompanied on his mission by a non-Mussulman deputy (Moavin).

II. AMNESTY.—His Imperial Majesty the Sultan having on July 23, 1895, granted an amnesty to the Armenians accused of, or condemned for, political acts, this measure shall be applied to all those who, having been incarcerated before that date, are still in custody and have not been convicted of direct participation in offenses against common law.

III. RETURN OF EXILE.—Armenians who may have been expelled or removed from their country, or who may have emigrated to foreign lands, shall be permitted to return freely to Turkey after their Ottoman nationality and their good conduct have been proved.

IV. SITUATION OF NON-MUSSULMANS IN THE OTHER VILAYETS OF ANATOLIA.—Measures

in conformity with the principles above enunciated shall be put in force in all Cazas where non-Mussulmans form a notable part of the population (such as Zeitoun-Hadjin).

329 The above provisions have been embodied in a Vizierial letter addressed to Shakir Pasha, the High Commissioner, accompanied by the Act of Reforms. Copies of both have also been forwarded to the Valis of the six provinces, viz., Erzroum, Bitlis, Van, Sivas, Mamuret-ul-Aziz (Harpoot), and Diarbekir. It is still uncertain whether an Imperial Hatt, embodying the reforms agreed upon, will be promulgated, but should no Hatt be published it is thought that the full text of the Reforms Act will be published in all the papers in the shape of an official communication, as was done with the substance of the Act published in the Turkish newspapers on Oct. 20.

The following is the text, translated from the Turkish, of the Vizierial Order, addressed to the Valis of Erzroum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Mamuret-ul-Aziz, and Sivas, and to the Inspector, His Excellency Shakir Pasha:

In accordance with the glorious provisions of the Hatti-Humayoun of Gulhane, promulgated on the 26th of Shaaban, 1255, by His late Imperial Majesty, Abdul Medjid Khan, the illustrious father of the Sovereign, as well as the terms of the Firman of Reforms issued in the beginning of Jemazi-ul-Akhire, 1272, and in pursuance of the laws actually laid down and in force, as all men know, the selection and appointment of the officials and *employés* of the Imperial Government are effected, by virtue of an Imperial Irade and in due compliance with the special regulations on the point, and all classes of Ottoman subjects, to whatsoever nationality they may belong, are to be admitted to the service of the State.

It has, therefore, been decided that these shall be employed according to their merits and capacity, in virtue of regulations which shall be observed in respect to all classes alike, and also that all Ottoman subjects who comply in point of age and attainments with the existing regulations of the State schools shall be received into such schools without any distinction being made. Moreover, just as from time to time a number of measures and regulations have been introduced of a nature to bring about the necessary reforms in proportion as these are requisite and possible, in every part of the Ottoman dominions, and to bring about the well being of the subjects and increase the prosperity of the country, so, since the auspicious accession of His Imperial Majesty, his thoughts have been directed towards the complete realization of these benevolent designs. It is, therefore, intended by the Imperial Government to carry out gradually useful reforms throughout His Majesty's dominions, corresponding with local requirements and the nature of the inhabitants, and, accordingly, it has been decided to effect reforms in the Asiatic Vilayets of Erzroum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Mamuret-ul-Aziz, and Sivas, to comprise the application of the laws and regulations contained in the Destour, as well as the provisions of the aforesaid Hatti-Humayoun of Gulhane and the Firman of Reforms.

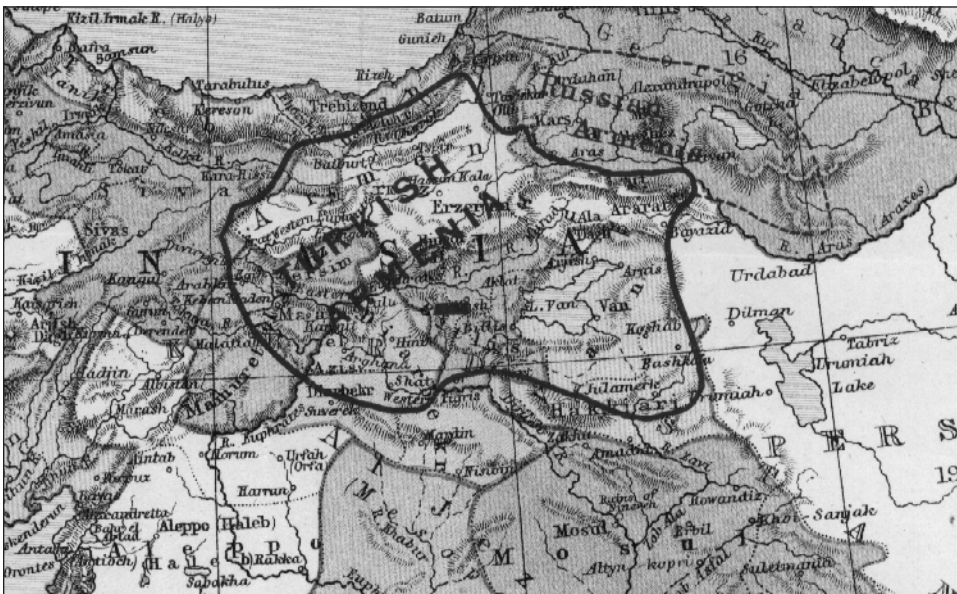
This decision, being submitted by a Special Council of Ministers to the Sultan, has been sanctioned by His Majesty in an Imperial Irade, and certified copies, obtained from the Imperial Divan, of the schedule containing the points of reform decided upon having been transmitted to each of the six Vilayets mentioned, a copy is enclosed to your Excellency herewith. Besides this, four other articles included in the decision and sanctioned in the Imperial Irade, are subjoined as follows:

1. An official in every respect worthy of regard shall be appointed by the Imperial Government, with the title of General Inspector, to attend to the carrying out of the reforms and superintend their application, and shall proceed to his post. In the event of the absence of the Inspector, or of any impediment, another high Mussulman official may be temporarily appointed by His Majesty to replace him. The Inspector will be accompanied during the execution of his duties by a non-Mussulman assistant.

2. As the Armenians accused or convicted of being implicated in political events were granted the Imperial pardon on the (11th) 23rd July (1311), 1895, this measure will be applied to all Armenians who shall not be proved to be directly concerned in any offense at common law, and who, having been imprisoned before that date, still remain in confinement.

3. Armenians exiled from the country, or who have fled for refuge to foreign countries, shall, upon proving their Ottoman nationality and their good behavior, be allowed to return freely to the Ottoman dominions.

4. In Kazas, such as Zeitoun and Hadjin, measures similar to the aforesaid rules shall be applied. It is unnecessary to explain or repeat that the most ardent desire of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, the bounteous benefactor, is the increase of the prosperity of the Ottoman dominions, and, in general, of all his subjects, and the ensuring of their comfort and happiness, and these articles and enactments will still further assure the realization of this aim. His Excellency Shakir Pasha, one of His Majesty's aides-de-camp, who has been appointed to the important post of General Inspector, has been named, in accordance with an Imperial Order, to the six Vilayets aforesaid, and the appointments of the assistant who is to accompany him, as well as the Commission of Inspection to be named in accordance with the schedule already mentioned, are in course of progress, and I have to desire you to proceed to carry out the matters decided upon with extraordinary zeal, attention, and care in your district, and to report in due course upon the results thus attained.



Spry's map of Turkish Armenia. [From William Spry's Life on the Bosphorus (London, 1895).]

Clara Erskine Clement—1834–1916

Constantinople—the City of the Sultans.

Boston, Estes and Lauriat, Publishers, 1895

A.D. 1895

- ¹⁶⁶ The reign of Abdul Hamid II has been especially prolific of persecutions of the Armenians. This nation seems to have been doomed to suffer at the hands of its conquerors; and such has been its terrible experience that the wonder is that anything which merits the name of an Armenian nation still exists.
- ¹⁶⁷ But what can be said of a sovereign under whose rule it is possible for such massacres to occur at the close of the nineteenth century as those reported from Bilsit <Bitlis> in the year of grace 1894?—a ruler who orders so terrible a vengeance upon a simple people, whose crime has been that in protecting their flocks they had killed a few Kurds who had already robbed them,—a vengeance which sacrifices ten thousand lives, which not only permits a wholesale massacre, but also the many fiendish atrocities which are sure to occur when armies are allowed to pillage and destroy; a vengeance which burns whole villages and leaves their places utterly desolate; a vengeance which cannot be spoken of in detail by reason of its cruel and unspeakable sins?

Edwin Augustus Grosvenor—1845–1936

Constantinople.

In two volumes. Vol. I, Boston, Roberts Brothers, 1895

A.D. 1895

To say that there are 450,000 Mussulmans, 225,000 Greeks, 165,000 Armenians, 50,000 9
Jews, and 60,000 members of less numerous subject or foreign nationalities is to give only an approximate and faint idea of the motley host who sleep each night in the capital of the Sultan. The endless variety of facial type, of personal attire and of individual demeanor, and the jargon of languages in some gesticulating crowd afford more distinct and more exact details than any table of statistics, however elaborate and dry. In the polyglot multitude, he who speaks but a couple of languages is considered ignorant, and is often helpless. The common handbills and notices are usually printed in four. The sign over a cobbler's shop may be painted in the languages of six different nations, and the cobbler on his stool inside may in his daily talk violate the rules of grammar in a dozen or more. Still, the resident who is possessed of four languages will almost always be comfortable and at ease. First in importance is his own vernacular; then French, for intercourse with the high Ottoman officials and for general society; then Turkish, for dealing with the humbler classes; and Greek, as an open sesame among the native Christian population. Howsoever many additional languages one can speak,—Italian, Russian, English, German, Arabic, Armenian, Persian, or a dozen besides,—they are not superfluous, and on occasion each will be of advantage and use.

<Drepanon/Sweet Waters of Europe> On Sundays the plain is monopolized by Christians. 88
Then Greek and Armenian and foreign beauties, attended in European fashion by an admiring train of gentlemen, stroll along the shady paths, and flirt in the sequestered nooks where their unescorted, indifferent Mussulman sisters have sat.

In the gloomiest part of Galata, accessible only through damp and sinuous lanes, stands 101
the Armenian Catholic Church of the Holy Saviour. It is the least uninteresting of the churches held by those Armenians who have forsaken their national religion and accepted the supremacy of Rome. Its chief distinction is derived from possession of a tomb, on which the following epitaph in Latin may be read: "Here lies the body of the most noble hero, Emir Beshir Sahabi, for fifty-six years the pacifier of the Lebanon. Loved of God and man, he was taken to heaven on December 30, 1850." The name of the dead emir now awakens hardly a vague recollection. Yet little over fifty years ago, it agitated all the courts of Europe, and the stately autocrat who bore it held the destinies of empires in his hands. At last he was betrayed to the allied English and Austrians, who surrendered him to the Ottomans . . .

It is the just pride of the Armenians that they were the first people to embrace Christianity, 102
and that no other national church is so ancient as theirs. So it is fitting that their chief sanctuary in Galata and the oldest which they possess in the capital, should be honored by

the name of Saint Gregory, their illustrious Apostle. This attractive edifice was erected in 1436, and consists of three intercommunicating churches. Its altar of black ebony, exquisitely carved and inwrought with mother-of-pearl, is unique. The tiny chapel on the left of altar contains an ancient picture of Christ—called, in art, a black Christ—which was found hidden in a cave, and is still believed to effect marvelous cures. The episcopal staff in jasper, ebony, and mother-of-pearl is a rich specimen of Armenian art. Near the main entrance, on the right of a patriarchal tomb, undistinguished by any monument, but held in everlasting national remembrance, is the grave of the journalist, Matteos Aivadian, who died in 1877.

103 Around the church cluster many Armenian institutions of education and beneficence. One, called the United Societies for maintaining Schools in the Interior, enjoys the generous patronage of the Sultan. Here, too, is the Central Armenian School, founded, in 1885, by the Great Patriarch Nerses. Probably mathematics, a branch in which the Armenians naturally excel, is here carried farther than in any other college in the Empire.

116 <Pera> Adjacent to the Armenian Church of the Holy Trinity is the Arvestanotz, a kind of practical Polytechnic School for young Armenian women. Founded by the sagacious philanthropy of an Armenian gentleman, administered by an efficient corps, thoroughly organized and equipped, it would be difficult to cite an institution more praiseworthy in its object and more excellent in its results.

The School of Notre Dame de Sion, on the outskirts of Pera, conducted by the ladies of that venerable sisterhood, has both a preparatory and an academic course; its students may pass directly from it to the highest professional schools of Paris. Valuable and varied as is the mental training it affords, it aims especially at the cultivation of character and of womanly grace. Many of the most refined and best-educated ladies of Pera enjoyed its advantages.

The Armeno-Catholic college at Pera, belonging to the Society Hamaskiatz, and the school of the Franciscan Sisters of Saint Mary deserve honorable mention. In these institutions, by whomsoever founded, marked prominence is given to religious instruction. Very great attention is of course devoted to the languages. Instruments and vocal music are always well taught; at the same time the less showy and more solid branches hold their appropriate place.

Schools of preparatory and intermediate grade abound for boys or girls or for both together. From immemorial custom such a school is connected with every Armenian or Greek church, not only in Pera, but throughout the capital. No matter how poor the parish or how
117 few the families, if there be a church, the school is sure to be found near by. The foreign residents or their legations have been equally solicitous for their own children, and each among the European nationalities is well provided.

160 Kouroutcheshmeh, as well as Arnaoutkeui and Bebek, the two villages nearest on the north, is inhabited mainly by Christians. Lechevalier, as he sailed by, a hundred years ago, remarked the somber appearance of their blackened wooden buildings. Until recently the Christians were forbidden to paint their houses, so that the dwellings of a subject and non-Moslem race might be recognized at once. Nevertheless, a far-reaching influence has gone forth from this dingy village. Many a prince and diplomat of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Samos has been born here.

<Bebek> On the northern brow of the hill a small Armenian | community cluster around 174/6
 their humble Church of Saint Santoukt. This lady was the daughter of the pagan Armenian
 king Sanadruch. She was put to death by her own father, who, in his hatred for the new faith,
 spared not even the members of his own family. The Armenians believe they revere in their
 ancient princess the first female martyr to Christianity.

Yenikeui is fantastic with its buildings, which overhang the water, and with its suggestive 179
 airiness. It is a charming place,—cleanly, orderly, and prosperous. The residents are almost
 wholly Greek, though comprising some wealthy Armenian and Ottoman families . . .

Old men still repeat in hushed tones the story of the Douzoglous, though it took place 180
 seventy-six years ago. Their family consisted of the mother,—a noble and queenly woman,—
 and of her grown-up children, five sons and two daughters. The lucrative position of chief
 goldsmith and expert in precious stones to the Sultan had been hereditary in their house over
 two hundred years. That family had enjoyed the favor of twelve successive sultans, and had
 amassed enormous wealth, and acquired distinguished honor. In a night everything was
 changed. Accusation and condemnation came together. Four brothers were hung from the
 windows of their still standing mansion. The mother and the daughters died of grief, and their
 kinsfolk were ruined and exiled. Soon after, their entire innocence was proved, their slanderers
 were punished, and the surviving brother was set free.

Another house, a colossal ruin, given by the Ottoman Government to the Austro-
 Hungarian Embassy a few years ago, could unfold a tale almost as tragic. In its erection the
 Armenian banker, Djezaerli, had already expended over a million dollars, and it was far from
 completion, when he too was condemned on a sudden charge. His property was confiscated,
 and he soon died of despair. None dared to come to the assistance of his stricken wife. The
 dainty lady for a time eked out a meager livelihood by the humblest labor, but succumbed at
 last to want and exhaustion.

The south part of the village of Buyoukdereh is inhabited by Armenians, Greeks, 186
 Ottomans, and Jews. North of the steamer landing, it is mainly given up to European
 foreigners. Every Oriental feature seems eliminated. Its | spacious quay, its stately mansions, 187
 its thoroughly western air, stamp it with an individuality of its own. Partly sheltered by the
 hill, less racked than Therapia by the never-ceasing northern wind, yet always the beneficiary
 of the delicious coolness, it is in summer the most delightful habitation on the Bosphorus.

. . . The modern church of the Armenians is consecrated to Saint Heripsima, one of the
 glorious women of their national history. She preferred martyrdom to a crown which might
 have been hers, had she accepted marriage with a pagan king.

The village of Kouskoundjouk spreads along the Bosphorus and far up the hill, covering 239
 the sides of a deep and many-ridged ravine. The unsavory stream, which dribbles down in a
 half-dry, slimy bed, is the ancient Chrysokeros. The place teems with population, mostly
 Armenians and Jews. Its Armenian Church of Saint Gregory the Illuminator is an
 architectural curiosity, being the only Armenian sanctuary in the capital which is surmounted
 by a dome.

241 <Scutari> Certain quarters are inhabited by Greeks and Armenians whose central points are their churches of the Prophet Elijah and Saint Paraskeve and of the Holy Cross and Saint Garabet. On the highest eminence of the city are the homes of many American Protestant missionaries.

275 <Prinkipo> During the Middle Ages all the islands suffered fear fully from the Venetians and Genoese. Prinkipo was ravaged by the Doge Dandolo and his followers of the Fourth Crusade prior to their attack upon the capital in 1203. Ninety-nine years afterwards the Venetians burned all its houses to the ground, and drove the inhabitants on board their ships. Anchoring off Seraglio Point, they stripped their prisoners naked, bound them to the masts and decks. And had them mercilessly scourged in sight of the horror stricken citizens, until the senile Emperor, Andronikos II, got together a satisfactory ransom. A thousand years earlier, Bishop Nerses, surnamed the Great, on account of his learning and piety, was during
280 twelve months | shamefully imprisoned here. He had come as ambassador of the Armenian King, Arsaces II; but his orthodoxy and his outspoken independence angered the Arian Emperor, Constantius II, and inflamed him to take this mean revenge.

David George Hogarth—1862–1927

A Wandering Scholar in the Levant.

London, John Murray, 1896

A.D. 1896

<in Afium Karahissar> The first necessity was to procure money; and after food and rest we 29
set out for the house of an Armenian who acts as agent for the Ottoman Bank. I was provided
with a letter of advice and a cheque on the Bank itself, and the Agent could not wriggle out
of cashing it, though he searched his heart by the space of an hour.

<In Karaman> A little Armenian, superintendent of the tobacco *régie*, has given us shelter 53
and food, but he means to cheat me of my horse, and I can get no bid.

The Christians who survive on the Western Plateau are dying too. Here is no question of 82
the Armenian, ineffaceable as the Jew, for he is neither indigenous nor numerous in the west;
nor of the few Greek traders who have pioneered a bastard civilization from the coast; but of
surviving communities of one blood, but not one creed, with the aboriginal “Turks.”

Our road <from Chermuk> was not to lie among these mountains, but on the bank 129
opposite to that to which their foothills fall, through villages of Armenians and “Turks,” the
latter long settled, peaceable and prosperous. There is not a trace of nomadism in all this
region; | the “Turks” are settled agriculturists, who do not flit in summer to a *yaila*, and their 130
facial type is indistinguishable from the Armenian. Indeed, they are doubtless originally of the
same blood—a converted population remaining throughout Armenia among those that have
kept the faith. Such “Turks” are found all round the elbow of the Eastern Euphrates; about
Divrik their villages alternate with Christian, but above Pingan on the right bank they cluster
more thickly together. “Turks” form almost the whole population of Kemakh and a moiety of
that of Erzinjian; and the same thin-featured, white skinned type is found everywhere
northwards until merged in the Georgian physiognomy of the Lazis. I cannot speak for
Eastern Turkish Armenia, the region of Van, Bitlis, Mazgird, and Erzerum, but would dare
wager that there too, wherever a rooted Moslem population, calling itself “Turk,” exists
among the Christians and the various tribes of Kurds, it is mainly of Armenian stock.

During the six days’ ride from Pingan to Erzinjian we enjoyed the grandest of panoramas; 132
sometimes by our side, sometimes far below, when we had to take to the hills, foamed rapid
after rapid of the Great River; beyond it lay a strip of green coast, and then the wall of hills
with dark patches in the ravines, where Armenian villages and gardens | marked the course of 133
some mountain stream, but becoming treeless and naked ere they shot up into a rampart of
black rock-needles and white domes, broken by blacker clefts and blue glacier hollows. It is a
tremendous mountain mass, this Kurdish stronghold, which has cost the Ottoman
Government so much and will cost it more, and the Kurds need assist Nature but very little

to close it against all comers—south, north, east or west. Indeed, in all this titanic region of the upper Euphrates Nature has never been modified much by Art. In recent times, indeed, some attempts have been made at road construction; the maps with which we were supplied showed *chaussées* in the valleys, crossing the river at Keban Maden and bisecting the Dersim; but in reality between Malatia and Erzerum no wheel has passed as yet. There are short lengths of roadway here and there—for instance, between Arabkir and Keban Maden, or for a dozen miles east of Egin, or in and around Erzinjian . . .

138 We had found nothing very ancient in Egin. It was probably a mere village or less before the Armenian migration of the eleventh century A.D., and was increased by refugees because of its inaccessible situation. Many “Turks” have settled there now, and the professors of the two creeds balance one another, each holding a flank of a theater of rocks, which opens on the right bank of the river, and can be entered only by most difficult paths from behind. The streets are slippery ladders, and the roof of one house is a courtyard for the one above; *bazars*, houses, gardens, are huddled together with little fresh air and less light—for the winter sun shines into the bay for only two or three hours—and the great spring at the top of the town which sends three cascades roaring to the river, fills the atmosphere with spray and the damp exhalations of thousands of trees. The air felt cholera-laden: indeed, long afterwards, we learned that the place had been suspect while we were there, and that we ought to have been
139 detained: but an Englishman is held to be a focus of seditious talk in Armenian towns, and so it came about that, orders from Sivas notwithstanding, we were bidden godspeed by the authorities with much goodwill on the third day, and rode rejoicing over the wooden bridge and up and down wild hills of evil repute for Kurdish robberies, till at evening we reached the river again, bending east at Pingan.

A spectacle had been presented to us in Egin very rare in provincial Turkey—that of a Moslem of high rank become a habitual drunkard. He had been Governor of the place, and, being suspected of a horrible crime of lust and murder, was living under guard in his own house until advises should arrive from Stambul. He insisted, it seems, on being allowed to call upon us, and came at night shuffling between two policemen. We were ignorant of his foul repute but could not mistake his condition, and endured his presence with a very ill grace. Having been in the West, he seemed to have lost all the virtues . . .

145 The Fourth Army Corps has its station here <in Erzinjian>, the best-armed and organized in the Ottoman army, and designed to co-operate with the garrison of Erzerum as a first line of opposition to a Russian advance. They certainly looked a formidable force to reckon with, these well-clad, well-fed soldiers, who filled every street and all the *bazar*, and hustled about
146 us asking if we were Russians; and they have work enough to do with other foes than the “Moscov,” for we barely saved our horses from being requisitioned to help convey a battalion dispatched in hot haste to the foot of the mountains, whence serious trouble was reported, the result of the immunity which the Kurds had enjoyed since the massacre . . . And this, it seems, was the outward and visible beginning of the now famous affair of Sassun.

This last lurid page in Armenian history, together with the whole “Armenian Question,” inevitably recurrent as an Armenian ague, is *sub judice* as I write <in 1895> and like to remain so. So far as I understand this vexed matter, the source of the graver trouble is the presence in

the heart of Armenia of the defiant Kurdish race, which raids the villages where the flocks are fattest and the women most fair, now cutting an Armenian's throat, now leaguings with him in a war on a hostile tribe, and resisting in common the troops sent up to restore the Sultan's peace. Whatever the Kurd does is done . . . just because he is Ishmael, his hand against every man who has aught to lose. 147

The Armenian, for all his ineffaceable nationalism, his passion for plotting and his fanatical intolerance, would be a negligible thorn in the Ottoman side did he stand alone. The Porte knows very well that while Armenian Christians are Gregorian, Catholic, and Protestant, each sect bitterly intolerant of the others, and moreover while commerce and usury are all in Armenian hands, it can divide and rule secure; but behind the Armenian secret societies (and there are few Armenians who have not committed technical treason by becoming members of such societies at some period of their lives) it sees the Kurd, and behind the Kurd the Russian; or, looking west, it spies through the ceaseless sporadic propaganda of the agitators Exeter Hall and the Armenian Committees. The Turk begins to repress because 148 we sympathize, and we sympathize the more because he represses, and so the vicious circle revolves. Does he habitually, however, do more than repress? Does he, as administrator, oppress? So far we have heard one version only, one party to this suit, with its stories of outrage, and echoing through them a long cry for national independence. The mouth of the accused has been shut hitherto by fatalism, by custom, by that gulf of misunderstanding which is fixed between the Christian and the Moslem.

In my own experience of western Armenia, extending more or less over four years up to 1894, I have seen no signs of a Reign of Terror. I have noted severe repression of national sentiment, amounting to a minor state of siege, but not certain evidence of more than a dozen distinct wanton outrages committed by Moslems on Christians, and no evidence at all that such as really occurred were inspired by a fanatical motive. In Armenia Christian as well as Moslem lives in a wild mountain land a wild life with fierce passions unbridled: are we to 149 expect in the struggle for existence no acts of cruelty or lust? Life in Christian villages has not shown itself outwardly to me as being very different from life in the villages of Islam, nor the trade and property of Armenians in towns to be less secure than those of the Moslems. There was till lately no visible sign, for all the whispered sedition on the spot or the violent utterances of nationalists in Europe, of that stagnant abject terror which should go with the state of things so constantly credited in Exeter Hall. There was tension, there was friction, there was a condition of mutual suspicion as to which Armenians have said to me again and again, "If only the patriots would leave us to trade and to till!" If the Kurdish Question could be settled by a vigorous Marshal, and the Porte secured against irresponsible European support of sedition, I believe that the Armenians would not have much more to complain of, like the Athenian Allies of old, than the fact of subjection—a fact be it noted of very long 150 standing; for the Turk rules by right of five hundred years' possession, and before his day the Kurd, the Byzantine, the Persian, the Parthian, the Roman preceded each other as over-lords of Greater Armenia back to the misty days of the first Tigranes. The Turk claims certain rights in this matter—the right to safeguard his own existence, the right to smoke out such hornets' nests as Zeitun, which has annihilated for centuries past the trade of the Eastern Taurus, the right to remain dominant by all means not outrageous.

I see no question at issue but this of outrage. For the rest there is but academic sympathy with aspiring nationalism or subject religion, sympathy not over cogent in the mouths of those who have won and keep so much of the world as we: Arria must draw the dagger reeking from her own breast before she can hand it with any conviction to Pætus!*

* I wrote these pages before the outbreak of the present Rebellion; and I let them stand as a record of my own personal experience. It will be time to revise them when we are informed far more certainly than is now the case of the measure of responsibility which lies on the shoulders respectively of the Sultan, the Armenian nationalists, and the wild tribes not really under Ottoman control.

George Douglas, Eighth Duke of Argyll—1823-1900

Our Responsibilities for Turkey—Facts and memoirs of forty years.

London, John Murray, 1896

A.D. 1896

As for the unfortunate Armenians, the change <imposed by the Treaty of Berlin> was simply 74 one which must tend to expose them to the increased enmity of their tyrants, whilst it damaged and discouraged the only protection which was possible under the inexorable conditions of the physical geography of the country.

At last comes, in 1894, one of those appalling outbreaks of brutality on the part of the 82 Turks which always horrify, but need never astonish, the world. They are all according to what Bishop Butler would have called the “natural constitution and course of things”; that is to say, they are the natural results of the nature and government of the Ottoman Turks.

The cruelties of their rule are not accidental, but chronic and inherent. Their Revenue system is, to the last degree, corrupt and oppressive. Their Judicial system is not only equally corrupt, but involves, besides, an open denial of justice to their Christian subjects. Their Executive system of armed ruffians, in the shape of Zapties, or police, is still such as was described forty-five years ago by Sir Fenwick Williams. Thus, in all the great leading branches of administration the | causes of oppression are as obvious as they are grinding and desolating 83 in their effects. Under the Revenue system the taxes are always farmed. The farmers are always Moslems living on the excess of their exactions over and above what they pay to the Government. The system is one which would speedily convert even honest men into villains, if honest men would ever take such an employment. But the revenue-farmers are never honest or scrupulous to begin with. They oppress and harry even their co-religionists. But towards their Christian fellow-subjects they are the most relentless oppressors that can be described or conceived. Torture or starvation in a Turkish prison is the lot of those against whom arrears can be pretended. Under the Turkish Judicial system no available appeal lies to any Moslem court, because there Christian evidence is not admitted against a Mussulman. All the boasted concessions of Turkey on this point have been simply lies. And there is no remedy, because the grounds on which a witness's | evidence is discredited need never be avowed. Then, under 84 the Executive system, the armed police are practically irresponsible; the whole machinery being what Sir Fenwick Williams called it—an instrument of oppression unequalled in the world.

What happens from time to time is this:—Murders—crimes of all kinds committed by Turks or Kurds, are at once by them impudently attributed to Christians—who, of course, are never believed and have no defense. But no doubt, occasionally, some one out of a thousand acts of violence and outrage committed by Turkish officials rouses, perhaps, some village community to resistance. A Zaptie is deforced—possibly, even, he is beaten. Instantly the Turkish Governor of the province launches on the whole community hordes of Irregular troops, inflamed by lust of plunder, of outrage, and by fanatical hatred. Then the pretended

- “insurrection” is suppressed by the indiscriminate butchery of men, women, and children. |
- 85 This is the ordinary course of Turkish government. But in Armenia this established Ottoman system enjoys special means and opportunities for its exercise. The country contains villages and settlements of the half-savage Kurds, whose whole habits and instincts are predatory. The villages and the cattle of the Christians are their natural prey when the Government does not discharge its duties in maintaining peace for all its subjects. Of course these Kurds are ready instruments of destruction against the Christians when the Government wishes to destroy them. The repulse of a Kurdish raid by a Christian village can always be treated as a rebellion against the Government. The next step taken by that Government is to enlist those savages in its own service—to add a contingent of its own troops, to put the whole under the command of some officer of well-known ferocity—and to launch them against the Armenian Christians.
- 86 This was the course followed in July 1894 by the villainous Turkish Governor | of the district of Bitlis, near the southern shores of Lake Van. Some villages which had bravely and successfully repulsed the Kurds surrendered on promise of protection when they saw Turkish troops and Turkish officers in command. And, having surrendered, they were at once, then and there, butchered—men, women, and children. Then, Christian blood having been once tasted, the work of enjoying more of it went on apace. The work of massacre and pillage was continued during several days, until some twenty-five villages were almost entirely destroyed. This was the report of our Vice-Consul at Van, who went to inquire as near the spot as the crafty Turks would allow him to approach.* But this was only the beginning of the infernal work. From the fair midsummer of 1894 to the end of December 1895 there were more or less continued massacres over a wide region of country, embracing the most populous centers
- 87 of the Christian population in the | Armenian provinces. It was one vast orgy of outrage—a perfect carnival of crime.

Moreover, in many places it took the form of direct and avowed religious persecution by Mohammedan fanaticism. Ministers of all sections of the Christian Church—the men and women of their schools and congregations—were offered the alternative of death or the abjuration of their faith. This is the direct testimony of the most—indeed, the only—trustworthy authorities as to facts, namely, the American missionaries. Those excellent and devoted men are free from the prejudices and jealousies of European politics. They think nothing of the “Balance of Power in Europe.” They have labored among the people for more than half a century, and the people can and do tell them what they are too much terrorized to tell any official agents. Their declaration is not only that the massacres were enormous, and indiscriminate of age or sex, but that they were accompanied by deeds of the foulest outrage and the most devilish cruelty.

- 116 At last, on December 13, 1895,† Lord Salisbury received the following telegraphic despatch from Sir Philip Currie: “It may be roughly stated that the recent disturbances have devastated, as far as the Armenians are concerned, the whole of the provinces to which the |
- 117 scheme of reforms was intended to apply; that over an extent of territory considerably larger than Great Britain all the large towns, with the exception of Van, Sassun, and Moush, have

* *Turkey*, No. I (1895). Part I. No. 22 et seq.

† *Turkey*, No. II (1896). No. 403.

been the scene of massacres of the Armenian population, while the Armenian villages have been almost entirely destroyed. A modest estimate puts the loss of life at 30,000. The survivors are in a state of absolute destitution, and in many places they are being forced to turn Mussulmans. The charge against the Armenians of having been the first to offer provocation cannot be sustained. Non-Armenian Christians were spared, and the comparatively few Turks who fell were killed in self-defense. The participation of the soldiers in the massacres is in many places established beyond doubt.”

The language which dwells on the cruelties inseparable from all insurrectionary 127 movements, has the same design—to pretend that the Armenian massacres were inflicted in the suppression of some real revolt. But this is false, and those who use this language ignore the direct and repeated evidence of our Consular agents, who tell us there was no popular insurrection. “The reports which have reached us show that the Sultan is mistaken in his belief that the Armenians have provoked these disorders”—this was the language of Lord Salisbury on November 11, 1895.* He had good reason to know how these accusations arise. They are invented by the Turks. There is much evidence to show that for a long time before 1894 the 128 Turkish authorities were preparing for the massacres. So long ago as February, 1892, in Lord Salisbury’s former Government, our Consul at Trebizond had reported to the Foreign Office respecting “the efforts of the Turkish authorities, at times frantic efforts, to discover sedition among the Armenians.”† And even if there were movements of impatience under the rule of brigands, it is not creditable to English men to speak of these as the smallest justification for the action of the Ottoman Government. Then, again, we have deprecations of the “Crusading spirit”; as if the agency of religious fanaticism were not notoriously enlisted entirely on the side of the Mohammedans, in so far, at least, as that agency was superior to vulgar greed, and lust, and the thirst for blood. We have authentic accounts from the Armenian missions of their people being offered the alternative of accepting Islam or death. We hear no indignation about this from those gentlemen who attribute 129 a “Crusading spirit” to all who revolt against the doctrine of a national interest which is indifferent to such hideous results. Their objection to any zeal in the cause of religion is entirely confined to such zeal when it can be detected in the cause of Christianity.

Then, again, we have a discrimination often drawn between the wild Kurds and the Turkish troops; as if the evidence was not clear that the Kurds were employed by the Turkish authorities, and as if the Ottoman soldiers and officers did not take an active part in the fiendish work. During the controversy about the Bulgarian massacres I recollect one speech in which the orator pleaded for the Government of that day that we “had no commission from heaven to go about the world redressing human wrongs.” Even if this were literally true—which it is not, for every Christian nation has a commission to remove such evils as may be accessible to its efforts—but, even if it were true, it does not apply to our relations 130 with Turkey. What the orator then really meant—if his sentiment was to suit the case—was that we have a commission—not certainly from heaven, but from the “other place”—to go about that part of the world stereotyping human wrongs, making them more terrible and

* *Turkey*, No. II (1895) No. 240.

† *Turkey*, No. III (1895) No. 10.

more incapable of remedy in order to suit a purely selfish purpose of our own. All these and many other forms of excuse are nothing but the promptings of uneasy consciences, dimly sensible of the unprincipled selfishness of the policy which they have at heart, and seeking for any plea that can hide its hideousness, even from themselves.

Like every other policy which is immoral, this policy of unconditionally supporting Turkey in her continued dominion over Western Asia is as stupid as it is iniquitous. If there is one conclusion more certain than another in the science of political economy, it is that everybody has a direct interest in the material welfare and prosperity of everybody else. This
 131 blessed natural law is seated in the constitution of things. It specially applies to a nation like ours, with a highly developed commercial system, in which the national life profits directly by every accession to the wealth and comfort of countries and populations which can and must exchange with us their products and their demands. We are ransacking all the unhealthy climates of the globe to establish new outlets for our commerce and our people, and yet we have been deliberately counting as a positive national advantage the continuous desolation, under a cruel government, of an immense country comparatively close to our own doors, a country which is capable of sustaining a very large population, and which was once actually the seat of some of the most ancient civilizations of the world.

We forget this—and the deductions from it—out of sheer thoughtlessness. Those fine countries have lain for so many centuries under the curse of Moslem conquest that they have
 132 dropped out of our mind altogether. It never occurs to us to remember how certain it is that they would speedily recover, and be the home of a much-demanding and a much-producing people, whenever that curse should come to be removed. At present they are, as it were, sponged out from the map of the world. Few travelers penetrate their recesses. Our Consular reports are not read—sometimes not even published—and even our Consuls become accustomed to look on outraged humanity in every form, and on a dwindling population, without special notice or remark. The thing is so familiar it ceases to seem worthy of notice.

Occasionally, indeed, the veil is a little lifted, and one such lifting has taken place in the present year. A small book has been published, giving an account of the journey of an English gentleman from Oxford, called “Wanderings of a Scholar in the Levant.”* It is a curious example of the old story of “Eyes and no eyes.” I have lately, elsewhere, had occasion to
 133 observe on a strange phenomenon presented by the language of many scientific men in describing the facts of Nature. In describing in detail those facts they find themselves compelled to exhaust every form of words in which they can express the obvious appearances of contrivance, purpose, and design. But the very same men, when they talk what they conceive to be philosophy, think it necessary to discard this idea altogether. An analogous contradiction is continual in the language of many men who have to describe the desolations of Turkish government. They honestly describe in narratives of travel the facts of the desolation when these stare them in the face; and sometimes, as honestly, they try to describe the systematic malpractices of political administration which they encounter there as facts. But when they come to touch on politics they will never “put two and two together,” nor admit the inseparable connection which binds the causes and the results together.

* By David G. Hogarth. John Murray. 1896.

The “scholar” above referred to is an excellent specimen of this seeing of isolated facts, and of this concomitant blindness to the great lessons which they teach. As a scholar he is wide awake to all the old, broken, or half-buried inscriptions which turn up everywhere, and record the high comparative civilization which has been destroyed. He depicts, incidentally but fairly, the fewness of the people, and their condition, sunk in poverty and ignorance. He has graphic passages on the immense natural advantages and wealth of the soil and climate, as the contrasted conditions under which all this human degradation is suffered and endured.* It is evident from his description that Anatolia alone, for example, is a region which might be one of the granaries of the world—full of corn and wine and oil; whilst other tracts of the country would be at least rich in wool and sheep and cattle, in timber, and probably in minerals. Cappadocia is represented as hardly less fertile, and the whole region has outlets to the Ionian Sea on one side, and to the Euxine on the other, which would bring its produce to the doors of Western Europe. Nor does he even fail to describe well, when he wishes to be as graphic as on other subjects, the vicious and destructive habits of Turkish government. There is even an eloquent passage which explains the real impossibility of any reforms in Turkey—the total absence, namely, of any one of the root ideas out of which the civilization of Christian countries has grown.† But when this strong descriptive writer comes to deal with the Armenian Question he falls into the usual senseless talk about the wild Kurds,‡ as if they could not be easily controlled by any Government of honest purpose, if even it were weak in strength; and as if it were not indisputable that the Turkish Government has, in this case, used and employed the Kurds to effect its own destructive purposes against the Christian tribes. Then this brilliant scholar goes on to blame the sympathy of Europe as one cause of the hatred of the Turks, and bespeaks time and patience, till we have heard the other side of the story. Lastly, he condescends to the plea that the Turks had at least a right to defend their own dominion.§ This is true—as true as that the tiger has a right to clutch its prey. In all this the “scholar,” who has seen and described all the essential facts, is as thoughtless and as heartless as the most comfortable loungee in the clubs of Pall Mall or on the benches of Parliament—who has imbibed the doctrine that it is for the interests of England that this naturally fair and fertile region of the world shall always be kept under the tooth and claw of Turkey, yielding nothing to our commerce, any more than the sands of the Sahara, or the deadly swamps of the Niger and the Congo.

To minds sunk in this condition of utter political selfishness, the only trouble arising from such a wasted condition of such a splendid country, seems to be the embarrassment they feel under the tiresome sympathy of foolish people at home, who have not yet been able to make up their minds that it is a matter of perfect indifference whether, under our protection, the Turks massacre, from time to time, ten, or twenty, or thirty, or perhaps, as recently, fifty thousand victims, in maintaining their own interests which are supposed to be also ours. If only the people of England could be persuaded to think like politicians, or like scholars, they would hear with perfect equanimity of the continual desolation of those beautiful countries—

* Hogarth, *Wanderings*, &c., pp. 84–5, 89 &c.

† Ibid. pp. 96–97.

‡ Ibid. pp. 146–147, &c.

§ Ibid. p. 150.

of the cruel oppression of the daily life of these people—and of the occasional massacres which are only the unavoidable consequences of that Turkish dominion which it is our interest to maintain.

- 142 The Turk is fundamentally the same barbarian that he has ever been. He inherits all the vices of the worst type of Oriental despotism—the blood and habits of the race that produced Zenghis Khan and Tamerlane; and the religion which, as Lord Salisbury has reminded us, is the most liable of all others to outbursts of a ferocious fanaticism. It is neither consistent with our honor nor with our interests to uphold him any longer. Both our interests and our honor place us, on the contrary, under an imperative duty to set about taking what steps we can towards at least the gradual ending of his dominion. It is only technically true that we are not actually under formal and binding obligations to protect the populations subject to the Porte.



Armenian refugees from the massacres at Constantinople.
[From Anna Gordon's *The Beautiful Life of Frances E. Willard* (Chicago, 1898).]

Henry Otis Dwight—1843–1917

Constantinople and Its Problems, Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress.

New York Chicago Toronto, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1901

A.D. 1896

One of the most terribly solemn decisions of a lifetime had to be made just after the massacre 30
in Constantinople in August, 1896, when this question again came up for instant settlement.
It was on a Sunday. On the previous Wednesday and Thursday six thousand people had been
killed in the streets of Constantinople, their bodies being collected like rubbish by the
municipal scavenger carts and their houses and shops being pillaged to the last straw on the
floor.

All business was suspended. The city was full of rumors of impending events yet more 31
terrible. A large number of English residents had taken refuge on a steamer in the harbor
chartered for the purpose by the British Government, and other Europeans were fleeing from
the city in flocks. About noon on that Sunday an official connected with the foreign
Diplomatic Corps came in a steam launch to the foot of the hill on which the old Castle of
Europe stands, and invited two of us to come to the landing where he awaited us in the
launch. He communicated to us, confidentially, information which he said was positive and
trustworthy, that upon the next day, Monday, the Armenian revolutionists would fire the city
in revenge for the massacre, devoting their attention chiefly to the Mohammedan quarters.

The Mohammedans, who outnumber Christians in Constantinople about three to one,
had decided that in case the Armenians attempted this crime, they would have their revenge
by killing every Christian in the city, of whatever nationality.

In those two years <1895, 1896> the wild storm of violence and carnage swept over the 38
Turkish Empire because the Mohammedans believed that the Armenians everywhere were
plotting revolution. Public safety therefore demanded that they should be crippled before
their plans could ripen. In this the Turks simply followed out the world's version of the
Golden Rule according to David Harum: "Do unto others as you think they're goin' to do
unto you, and be sure and do it fust."

Armenian revolutionists existed in Turkey but they were few in number. In any case the
Armenians in Turkey are about one million in twenty, and had there been no religious hate
for Christians, the Government would have dealt with them as it deals with disaffected
Mohammedans, reducing them to impotence by a few judicious arrests. Since the missionary
in Turkey labors largely among the Armenians, the Turkish Government professed to suspect
the missionaries, quite as much as any of the Armenians. It closely watched their actions in
search of grounds for expelling them from the country. At the same time the Armenian
revolutionists felt and resented the influence of the missionaries as being against their foolish 39
schemes of sedition. They even went so far as to notify three missionaries that they had been
condemned to death as enemies to Armenian interests.

William Mitchell Ramsay—1851–1939

Impressions of Turkey during Twelve Years' Wanderings.

New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897

A.D. 1897

- 44 Nothing is ever repaired in Turkey. A building once made is allowed to stand until it becomes uninhabitable. In the better houses, the ground floor is used for stables and lumber-room, and the dwelling rooms are all on the upper floor. If one of the steps in the wooden ladder or staircase that leads to the dwelling-rooms is broken, you must make a greater effort at that point, such is the will of God: so long as it is possible to ascend, things will be left untouched. Apparently, when a house decays, it is preferred to build a new one elsewhere. Hence the traveler is often struck by the number of ruined hovels, through which he has to pass before reaching the inhabited part of a town. Konia, for example, seems to be a city of the dead, if you enter it from some directions, for you ride through streets of roofless, empty, mud-brick houses. The author of *Anadol*²⁴ speaks at Kaisari about “the neglected aspect; great khans are deserted and crumbling to ruins, warehouses empty, bazaars only half occupied, and not a
- 45 street without its rows of uninhabited houses, and many gaps where houses I had fallen altogether . . . all displayed a depressed and languishing appearance, as if life were fast waning from Cæsarea.” In 1890 the parts of Kaisari which I saw were much better: the development of Armenian activity in recent years had caused a general renovation.

Thus almost everything in Turkey, whether public or private property, with few exceptions (and those usually directed by Europeans), goes surely to ruin.

- 96 There can be no doubt that a considerable part of the Christian population of central Anatolia turned Moslem during the first two or three centuries of Turkish rule, and the Mohammedanized Christian population has melted into, or perhaps has absorbed into itself, the settled and more adaptable part of the Turkish population. In Phrygia and Pisidia, the Christian population disappeared almost entirely; and the whole country became Mohammedan except a few small Christian settlements, *e.g.*, Zille beside Konia, Permenda beside Ak Sheher, Khonas near Denizli, quarters in the cities Sparta and Olu-Borlu, with one or two others. We see that the purely Christian city Laodiceia (pronounced Ladikya), in A.D. 1210, had become the mainly Mohammedan city Ladik in 1332, and in 1340 had even lost its old name and taken the purely Turkish name Thingozlou (Denizli, “full of waters”); and yet some of the old Anatolian institutions, such as “the Brotherhood,” (see chapter xi.) remained in a Mohammedanized form. Further we find no reason to think that any violent
- 97 change had occurred in the interval, for the Seljuk Sultans carried out no policy of extermination, but treated the Christian subjects so well that many of them fought valiantly against the oppressive Byzantine emperors. In view of facts like these, we must conclude that the population of cities like Ladik and Kutaya (Kotiaion) became Mohammedan in the mass, and that any Christian remnant dwindled or emigrated.

The change was due, probably, to two reasons. In the first place, though no direct

persecution of Christians was practiced by the Turks, yet the position of inferiority and degradation, to which the Christians were reduced, was such that a strong temptation existed to seek the easy, ever open entrance to honor and privilege. This alone, however, would have been insufficient without the second cause, which was that Phrygia had always been a hot-bed of heresy, and that all heretics were exposed to very harsh treatment at the hands of the Byzantine government. Many of these heresies were colored by Oriental ideas; and a strong Oriental substratum existed in the population. Hence they were prone to relapse into a religion of the thoroughly Oriental type like Mohammedanism. On the other hand Cappadocia, where the Orthodox Church had been far more completely victorious, has a very much larger Christian population.

The only way in which Britain could atone for the cunning that had given her so strong a position in Asia Minor was by using that position for the advancement of civilization and the benefit of the peoples of Asia Minor, just as she has used her position in Egypt.

. . . The Armenians knew that the notes urging on the Porte the necessity of “doing something” in Armenia were due to the insistence of the British ambassadors, and continued to hope that at last Britain would act; but they failed to see that the more they looked to Britain, the more was the face of Russia hardened against them. The Sultan put the notes in the fire, flouted the English in every way, showed special honor to every one whom the British consuls had marked for dishonor, and, naturally, was aided by those Powers whose influence in Turkey grew as British influence waned. No one knew better than the Sultan that the other Great Powers would do nothing against him so long as he was working | against England. For my own part, I cannot blame them for making their gain from our loss. The policy of Russia was clear and intelligible throughout, and not any more selfish than ours had been.

In this sketch I have attributed to the Sultan intense religious enthusiasm, patient and far-sighted adaptation of means to gain remote ends, extreme watchfulness, and great powers of work, sufficient to hold in his own hands the direction of the entire course of policy, internal and external—qualities that are as opposite as possible to the Turkish character. Further he has always been greatly averse to inflicting capital punishment on any individual; now, under the extremely centralized system of administration, no criminal can be executed except under the Sultan’s warrant; and, as this has been almost impossible to procure, he can with perfect justice claim to have abolished capital punishment; and this has been a fruitful cause of disorder, for the most serious crimes have often gone unpunished. This also is a characteristic most unlike the Turkish nature. Again, the Turks are not a deeply religious race: on the contrary they are as a rule far from assiduous in the ceremonies of the mosque, and readily take any excuse for omitting prayers; but the Sultan was said to be a member of the Rufai (Howling) Dervishes, and | when the ministers on being summoned to a council had to wait long, as was often the case, for the Sultan’s appearance, the reason was said by report to be that he was with a set of Dervishes in another place waiting till the ecstatic moment had arrived. The prophecy used to be current (though it has long died out in the development of the Mohammedan revival) that the Empire of Turkey was to end with an Armenian Sultan, and this was the Armenian Sultan. This strange saying was explained in several ways, some of them too scandalous for belief or quotation; but the best attested account was that his mother

was an Armenian by birth, who had adopted Mohammedanism. This account, widely believed in 1880–1882, is given as indubitable in the *North American Review*, Sept., 1896, p. 280, by Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, who knows Turkey from thirty-five years' residence as few men know it. In more recent years the authorized statement is that the Sultan's mother was a Georgian or Circassian—people vary as to the exact race. The important point is that every one recognizes how essentially unlike Turkish is the Sultan's character; and every one feels that the explanation lies in the inheritance from his mother. For my own part, the Armenian origin seems to me proved by the results: only Armenian parentage gives the clue to the Sultan's

151 character, his unwearied carefulness, his prevision, his personal timidity (which keeps him always a prisoner within his own palace walls), his fear of the Turks, his hatred for the Armenians, and the other qualities already described. This man, who has played the part of Mithridates in the nineteenth century and played it with such skill and success, with scheming head, not with warlike hands, well deserves the historian's study. It is a remarkable part that he has undertaken, to stem the tide of change, which the three previous Sultans accepted as inevitable, and to stifle the growth of civilization in Turkey, which the strongest party in Turkey desired. The task would have been impossible, had it not been for the resources that civilization put in his hands; for, indubitably, modern inventiveness, by facilitating destruction, places enormous power in the hands of barbarism. His ally, without whom he could not have done nearly so much, has been Germany. It was patent to every one as far back as 1882 that the Sultan, feeling he had nothing to fear from German aggression, inclined to favor that country, which became immensely influential in Constantinople and has remained so ever since. Each party had much to gain: neither had anything to lose. German capital found an opening in Turkish enterprises; German officers organized the

152 Turkish army; Krupp supplied the guns, and Germans calculated the range, did all the more scientific part of artillery practice, and taught the soldiers to do the simpler work. The Sultan wanted an effective army to defend his life and to crush disaffection; and the Germans gave it to him. So long as German officers are there to guide the operations, and so long as they succeed in keeping the supreme command out of the hands of some incapable Turk . . . and in the hands of some good Mohammedan officer, the Sultan can do as he will in the East. German railways radiate from the Bosphorus over Asia Minor. German enterprises get every facility they require. People may blame the selfish policy of Germany; but her policy has been no more selfish than that of every other European power interested in the East, our own included.

153 Now it is plain to every one who reads the official correspondence with any understanding
 154 of the situation, that the proposed <British> action on behalf of the Armenians was from the first always of such a character as would be most certain to strengthen Armenian gratitude towards England, and tend to make the Armenian people a bar against the development of Russian influence along the south coast of the Black Sea. This is not a question merely of the last two or three years; it entered on the present phase when a Liberal government came into power in April, 1880, and proceeded to reverse our whole action in Turkey, abandoning our strong position, and throwing away our advantages. In order to shirk responsibility, they began to hide behind the "Concert of Europe," hoping that the other Powers would act with them; but the majority had everything to gain by thwarting us, and they naturally declined

to play our game. Thus Britain gave Russia and Turkey the opportunity which they were eager to use, and opened the way for the great development of German influence, which has been the most striking feature in my experience of Turkish life. British statesmen have had a very difficult part to play in the last three years, since the question reached its acutest stage, and they have played it with uniform ill-success. But it is certain that nothing is gained by keeping up the sham which is at present maintained before our country; and the beginning of any better state of things in Turkey I will not be made, till it comes to be a rule among our rulers 155 first to understand, and then to tell the truth about, the Eastern bungle. I often have wondered, in reading the utterances of officials in both parties, whether the managers of our Eastern policy are selected because of their skill in misrepresenting, or their power of misunderstanding, Turkish affairs. Sometimes the one theory seems more natural, sometimes the other.

It may be said for the former English policy that, in general, it supported and encouraged the best elements in Turkish life. It was too blind to the inevitable predominance of the worst elements in the government, and often too weak in checking them, when it was not blind to them. But, except in the one damning case of the Bulgarian massacres, no British Government deliberately and consciously championed the worst side of Turkish action; and it must be allowed that those massacres sprang more from the weakness of the Porte and its utter inability to control the elemental forces of barbarism within the Empire, than from any deliberate plan. Our statesmen had a vague belief that Turkey might be reformed with care and time; and they hoped on with foolish, but well-meant, credulity. But, at the present day, the European Concert is supporting the worst elements in Turkey; and, perhaps, our co-operation in a policy which is I planned for the benefit of Russia and Germany is a just 156 punishment for the crime of supporting the Bulgarian massacres, and the duplicity of the Cyprus Convention.

Will the Sultan's policy be successful? Will the revival of Mohammedanism be permanent in Asia Minor? So far as the center and west is concerned, it cannot be. The Moslems are dying out there. Even where the Greeks have not begun to settle, the Turks are diminishing in numbers owing to conscription, misgovernment, and moral causes, on which I will not enter, because I have avoided studying or observing them. They have no heart. They are in the grip of the railways, and under the influence of Europe. In the eastern regions it may be different for a time. The Mohammedan revival has been far more carefully propagated in those lands, and for the moment it is successful by the usual Turkish method. As it was in Scio in 1821 and in Syria in 1860, so it is there at the present time, but on a vastly greater scale,—the signs of western spirit, western education and aspirations after the elementary rights of freedom alarmed the Turks, and they have set to work, after long preparation and on a carefully deliberated plan, to crush the hostile western spirit by general and indiscriminate 157 massacre. The Armenians will in all probability be exterminated, I except the remnant that escapes to other lands. There can be little doubt that about 200,000 of them have been actually put to death by the Turks, and I believe that fully four times as many have either died of starvation and hardship, or have so suffered from the unspeakable brutality to which they have been subjected, that they can never again be self-respecting men and women.

At present, in the western regions of Asia Minor, the feeling is almost universal that the Mohammedan revival in the east will, when it has done its work there, be extended also to

the west. The Greeks are a far greater danger to the Turks than the Armenians ever were. They have been less submissive, more audacious, more inclined to revolt, more successful in asserting themselves against the Turks. They will not long escape, when the Armenians are exterminated and Orientalism is once more supreme in the east, and they recognize this; and no rational man, who judges of others from a fair point of view, can blame them if they attempt to forestall the fate intended for them.

But even in the eastern parts of Asia Minor the Oriental spirit is doomed. The Kurds will massacre as many Armenians as the Porte wishes, but they will never be good Mohammedans or subjects of the Sultan, except in outward show. It remains to be seen whether they are
 158 capable of being reduced to order by the stern discipline of a western government; they can never be controlled by the Turkish officials, feeble in every thing except a massacre. Most of us, probably, will live to see the boundary between European and Asiatic rule placed near the Euphrates.

We shall wholly misconceive the present state of things in Asia Minor, unless we bear in mind the facts which have been stated in the preceding paragraphs. The situation in Turkey is not simply an uneasy balance between two opposite forces, where a little extra strength added to one side by the European Powers can restore equilibrium. Orientalism is ebbing and dying in the country. The tide of western ideas and western thoughts is flowing and strong; eight centuries of strict and stern repression are behind it and drive it onward irresistibly. The Great Powers of Europe, as they feebly and nervelessly protest against the movement towards freedom, and officially disown it, and stand for the constituted authority and rights of the Sultan, and reprobate the undue haste of Armenians and Cretans and the Young Turkish party to free themselves from the incubus that crushes them, are in the position of Canute when he
 159 set bounds to the flowing tide. The world, the course of history, and the mind of man, are against the Powers; and there is nothing possible for them in the long run except an ignominious retreat from their position, amid the contempt and the reprobation of mankind, whose feelings they are now outraging. They are now abusing the resources of civilized society and government, to support and prop up the feeblest and most contemptible administration by which barbarism and organized disorder ever tried to stifle enlightenment and order. But they cannot do more, they do not even pretend to do more, than prolong its dying agonies a few months or years; they do not think, and they hardly plead as an excuse, that they are lessening the inevitable dangers of its dissolution by postponement; some of them, doubtless, know (as those of my acquaintance, that are most familiar with the East, all feel) that they are only increasing those dangers by staving them off for the moment. They can drill a good army for the Sultan, and Turks are very good material for soldiers; but they cannot put permanent vitality into the Asiatic reaction.

The thing which they can and will succeed in doing is that they destroy the moderate and orderly element in the new movement; for the sober, intelligent, and reasonable men among the Armenians, those who have borne the toil and danger of patiently, quietly educating the people in the ways of peace, are far most exposed to massacre, and have been specially marked
 160 out in every case for the revenge of the brutal mob and more brutal officials, while the harebrained revolutionists, maddened by suspense and overhanging fear of massacre, who seized the Ottoman Bank in Constantinople, are the class which generally escapes, and becomes more reckless and inflamed.

The Turks cannot go through the elementary and indispensable routine of government 167 without the aid of a great number of Christian subalterns. That has always been the case; they have always found plenty of Armenians and Phanariote Greeks to serve them in this capacity; and the most tyrannous and oppressive officials in grinding into the dust the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Christians were these Greeks (as Mr. Arthur Evans,* a staunch champion of the Christians of Turkey, emphatically states). It is said that the present Sultan, when he came into power, began by attempting to make a clean sweep of all Armenian employees in government service.† Success was of course impossible, for Turkish officials to take their place could not be found; and hence the Sultan was able recently (as the newspapers mentioned) to retort on those who accused him of hating the Armenians, that he had in his official service in Stambol so many hundreds of Armenians.

But it is useless to import a cartload of good laws into a country, if no provision is made to train a set of officials, competent to carry them into effect. No machinery exists sufficient 168 to train the officials, or to ensure that a class exists educated enough to appreciate a complicated system of law and the complicated procedure needed to give effect to it. I have known a few vigorous and intelligent officials in Turkey, but as a rule their activity was directed to carry out a plain and simple style of administration of the semi-patriarchal type, where a rough sense of justice took the place of knowledge of the law, and filled that place quite satisfactorily amid a simple and elementary form of society. Why then—the question is sure to be put—is it said that good officials cannot be made out of Turks? Is not my experience sufficient to show that active and intelligent officials do exist among them, and can be found and trained when wanted? But in most cases where I have found such an official, I have also been told that he was not a Turk, but an Albanian, or occasionally a Circassian, or so on. The very Turks who were my informants themselves recognized the strangeness of active business-like character in a Turk, and unasked explained the reason.

If you hear one of the American missionaries give evidence of the way in which the 178 headman of an Armenian village, which had been raided and looted by Kurds, was tortured to death in his own house for declaring his inability to raise the usual amount of tax, and persisting after due warning in this rebellious declaration, it was the *Zaptiehs* who put a chain round his waist, passed it over a beam in the roof, and hauled the wretched man up and let him down again, until the chain cut into him, and he died of the treatment. In the country districts, when you hear of ill-will between the Christian villages and the Moslem, it is rarely, if ever, so far as my experience goes, a direct hatred against the hostile village: it is mediated through the *Zaptiehs* or even still higher officials, who are declared on the one side to take bribes from the wealthier Christians and let them off their fair taxation, and on the other side to allow the Moslem villages, from religious partiality, to be a year or two in arrears.

Throughout my whole experience of Turkey, the impression I have gained about the 190 Armenians, and the accounts I have heard of them on many occasions from hundreds of persons with whom I have conversed, men of the most diverse situations, sympathies, and

* *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*, p. 257.

† See Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, in *North American Review*, Sept., 1896, p. 280.

religions, agree in regard to the general character towards which the Armenians tend, and specially as regards their faults. There is less agreement about their virtues. Some, who have merely come in superficial contact with the worst class of Armenians—rich and tyrannical, ignorant and grasping, tradesmen who have made money in narrow, sordid business in towns—deny that they have any virtues at all. But all agree that the Armenians tend towards one type, submissive to the verge of servility, accepting without attempting to resist ill treatment and insult at which a worm would rebel. Looking through the travelers that have visited Asia Minor, one sees everywhere the same account, with one single exception. Mr.

- 191 Barkley, in his *Ride through Asia l Minor*, p. 87, expresses in the words of an Armenian at Sivri-Hissar, his own opinion and that of almost all the rest: “The Armenians get on well with the Turks. We are not like Bulgars and other Christians. When the Turk robs us, we see nothing; when he thrashes us, we say nothing; and so we have peace.”

The author of *Anadol, the Last Home of the Faithful*, describing a journey in Asia Minor in 1852, says: “More simple and abject than the ambidextrous and vainglorious Greek, possessing sounder sense if not so much vivacity, and, above all, less imbued with national pride and ambition, the supple and self-interested Armenian humbles his brow in the dust of the lordly, pride-sowing, and poverty-reaping Moslem, and, unfearful, becomes the master of his master’s all.” His observations are remarkably acute, and in several respects singularly prophetic. He saw clearly the faults of the Armenian character, but was not, as so many travelers have been, blind to the promise that lay concealed beneath the surface. His experiences are well worth reading and studying; and history justifies the concluding words of his general sketch of their character: “Is not their state a subject fraught with promise, calling for inquiry, and worthy of a prying traveler’s closest scrutiny?”

- 192 The sole exception to this unanimity of observation is in the pages of my friend, the “Wandering Scholar,” who speaks of the Armenian’s “ineffaceable nationalism, his passion for plotting and his fanatical intolerance.” He declares that “there are few Armenians who have not committed technical treason by becoming members of such societies* at some period of their lives.” He speaks of the “Kurd behind the Armenian, and the Russian behind the Kurd,” or, again, of the Kurd as “now cutting an Armenian’s throat, now leaguings with him in a war on a hostile tribe,” giving his readers in the west the impression that the Kurds and Armenians are two sets of unruly and quarrelsome barbarians, at one moment bickering with one another, at another uniting in hatred of common enemies (such as the Turks, the western reader naturally infers from the whole tone of the passage, though that is not actually stated in brief, quotable assertion).

- 193 It was not easy for me to see how the “Wandering Scholar” reached a view so diametrically opposed to all I have seen or heard or read; and yet I know that he judges here from what he saw and what he heard. In the following pages I shall try to bring out the facts, contemplation of which prompted his judgment, and to show their relation to the facts on which most people judge. He has seen one side of Armenian life which few have seen or believed to exist—the independent, warlike Armenian—and I personally am indebted to him for the knowledge of this side, without which I should not easily have reached the conception that I entertain of Armenian character; but he has, in my opinion, given far too much prominence to a certain

* Viz., “Armenian secret societies,” mentioned in the previous line.

small number of facts (correctly apprehended in themselves), and unduly minimized or wholly omitted others, in the picture that he draws in his usual vigorous and striking style. When, however, he says that there are few Armenians who have not been members of some treasonable secret society, I must confess that this statement seems to me one of the occasional slips he has allowed himself to fall into: as when on p. 40 he heard the “shooting of bolts” on the doors of the huts of Yuruk nomads (such inventions are far too civilized and elaborate for Yuruks, or even for a Turkish village), or when on p. 15 he describes how the lady of Bor spread her petticoats over a Hittite relief to hide it from our longing eyes (the lady’s dress would be more correctly described as a divided skirt). If such misuse of a name occurred in one of the historical books of the New Testament, it would be pitched upon by the critics as a conclusive proof that the book in which it occurred was a late forgery; but I am able to certify that the “Wandering Scholar” saw the scene at Bor, and describes it with the sure touch of an eye-witness and with a keen eye for the picturesque and the comic details, but with one slip in regard to dress. 194

I would not have directed attention to what I believe to be the incorrectness of his statement as to the Armenians and the secret societies, were it not that the judgment which I have quoted has been used in evidence, as entirely correct, against a race which is still struggling for life against enormous odds. The reason why I have made an effort to write this book at the present time is the desire to try, however feebly, to counteract the effect of the telling indictment which the “Wandering Scholar” has brought against the whole Armenian people, as a set of conspirators. I was most unwilling to protest against his words; for what is really mere difference of opinion between two friends is liable to be misconstrued by the public into rivalry between two competing scholars. But for the truth of history, in the urgent need of a people that is being exterminated amid the indifference or even the jeers of many, I volunteer my evidence.

The secret societies, or society, which took name from the Huntchak quarter of Constantinople,²⁵ caused much harm to the Armenian cause. Such societies are out of keeping with modern ways. It is indeed probable, or even certain, that the Greek kingdom would not have been set free from the Turkish tyranny until a much later period (if at all), had it not been for the powerful secret society which prepared and organized the insurrection; but it may be doubted if the *Ethnike Hetaireia*, the Greek secret society, still continues to be of any advantage to the Greek cause. It is easy for those who live at ease to condemn the Huntchagists; and it must be confessed both that their policy was entirely unwise, in the face of the overwhelming power of Russia, to which they were running counter, and that in some respects it seems to have been not merely reckless, but morally wrong. But, after all is said, my own sympathy remains entire and unbroken on the side of the suffering people, the vast majority of whom were wholly ignorant and innocent of the plotting. 195

As usual, my method shall be to give some examples from actual life, as they have come before me and gradually formed my opinions.

In 1881 we stayed a night in the town of Sandykli, a considerable place and seat of a *kaimmakam*. An Armenian came to call upon us, and entreated us to visit his house; he said he was the only Christian resident in the place, and it was so rare an event to see a Christian that he was eager to receive and welcome us. He showed us all the kindness in his power, sent wine to the house which had been placed at our disposal by the *kaimmakam*, and took a 196

good deal of trouble to help us. As a rule, such conduct is rare among Armenians; so far as my experience goes, they are not hospitable or disposed to take trouble to help a stranger. Persons who are strongly anti Armenian in feeling may attribute the kindness of my friend in Sandykli to the fact that the *kaimmakam* had set the example of courtesy, being greatly impressed by the account which our Albanian servant gave of us. But one who cannot tell by a man's face and eyes whether his hospitality is genuine or not, is not likely to make much success as a traveler. I have not, in general, any liking for being claimed as a fellow-Christian by well-to-do but ill-educated Armenian shop keepers. It depends very much on circumstances and persons, what emotion is roused by the claim to association and community. Many a Greek peasant, poor but full of love for education, has after some acquaintance glided insensibly into the address "Adelphe" (Brother), and I have appreciated it as a compliment; but my friend the "Wandering Scholar" has seen me chuck out of the room after very short talk some conceited and familiar young Greeklings of the wealthier
 197 classes. | If I felt that the Armenian of whom I speak had a common religion with me and claim of brotherhood founded thereon, it was because his heart spoke through his eyes to mine.

In 1883, at Afiom-Kara-Hissar, the Armenian correspondent of the Ottoman Bank,* to whom I had a letter of credit, abused his advantage to charge five per cent discount on my check. This was, as I knew, and as a high bank official afterwards confirmed, illegal and simple extortion; and I declined to submit. I told him I could sell my check better in the open market, and left him. In the street another Armenian resident came up a few minutes later, entered into conversation, and pressed us to visit him. He took us out to his country house several hours' ride from the city, entertained us handsomely, and conversed with good sense and good feeling. Hearing about my affair with the banker, he at once said that he would cash my check in full; and when I pointed out that in the circumstances it was quite fair that a certain discount should be charged, especially as my check was on Smyrna, not on Constantinople (where his correspondents were), he declared that he wanted to send money
 198 to Constantinople and the advantage was all on his side. In this case | nothing could be better than his action and manner throughout; and he was behaving thus to an entire stranger, whom he met in the street, about whom he knew nothing, except that I had been arrested and brought to the city by *Zaptiehs* a few hours previously on a charge of having excavated gold from the tomb of an old Phrygian chief, and that I was still under police surveillance.

Incidentally, I may remark how ready many Greeks and Armenians in the inner parts of Turkey have been to accept the check of a person who was to them an utter stranger. I don't know whether to attribute it to simplicity and ignorance of fraud (qualities not often attributed to either race), or to compliment myself on having honesty written on my face and them on being able to read it, or simply to see in it the proof that by long wandering and many visits I had come to be very widely known. In 1890, for example, I walked into the bazaar at Nigde, an important town, near Tyana in Cappadocia, and asked a Greek money changer whether he would cash my check on Smyrna. He at once said he would take it, and demanded two per cent discount, evidently expecting to be beaten down. As one has usually to pay five per cent, sometimes even ten per cent discount for changing money into small

* In 1881 there was a branch of the Ottoman Bank there, which was closed as not profitable.

silver, I thought his demand was entirely reasonable. That is only one example out of many. The only people who made difficulties about taking my checks were officials of the bank's branches. 199

The Kara-Hissar banker was a typical example of the narrow, sordid, tyrannical Armenian traders; I have seen him often, was once forced unwillingly to partake of his hospitality, when I came afterwards in less suspicious circumstances, but have liked him less each time than the preceding. Once I tried to induce him to use his influence to have a very interesting early Christian inscription and relief brought to Kara-Hissar for safe keeping in the Armenian church; but the attempt was vain. It must, however, be acknowledged that his objection—that the government was suspicious of every one who had any connection with monuments—was quite true, and in the light of recent events, the disgust I felt with his cowardly attitude is proved to have been unfair. He gauged the relation in which he stood to the government better than I. The recent persecution has been directed against every sign of interest in the past, as showing a tendency to revive Armenia.

Take two more instances of this class of Armenian. In the end of May, 1883, we came to Serai-Keui, at the newly-constructed terminus of the Ottoman Railway. A khan had just been built by an Armenian to accommodate the rapidly growing traffic; and we stayed there one night. In a khan the traveler is understood to supply his own food, and we did so; but, in addition, the Armenian *khanji* pressed on our Greek cook and Turkish servant some small quantities of sugar, etc., for their evening meal; and he insisted on saving the cook the trouble of procuring the fowl, which he was ordered to buy. The Turkish muleteer who was with us was bound (according to the usual bargain) to feed himself and three horses: our two were attended to by our Turkish servant, and paid for by us. 200

In the morning the *khanji* sent in a bill of portentous extent, on a long and dirty sheet of paper, in which small quantities of almost every conceivable kind of grocery, with many other things which I could not read, were charged at famine prices. A night at a first-class hotel in New York would hardly have been so expensive as that night, spent on the mud floor of the yard of the khan (our room being too filthy for habitation). I sent for the *khanji* and told him I would pay him half, and that the half was triple what I ought to pay. He began to bluster and threaten. At that time, near the beginning of my work, when the Asia Minor Exploration Fund had just been raised, and success was problematical, I was in no humor either to spend the Fund unprofitably, or to stand a moment's trifling with a decision which had been once pronounced: success afterwards produced easier temper, but also, I fear, greater laziness. Without a word, but merely showing half the amount of the bill ready in my hand, I ordered the horses to be prepared and loaded; when this was done, every one mounted, and we started; I offered the money once more in vain, put it in my pocket, and rode out last of all; the *khanji* came up and laid his hand on the reins to stop me; my riding-whip came down sharply on his hand, and he drew it back. I never saw him again; but near three months afterwards, when I was at Serai-Keui again, a servant from the *khanji* came and asked for the money, which was paid at once. This incident caused some talk and general pleasure in Serai Keui, where the *khanji* was cordially detested and much feared. 201

At Sivri-Hissar in 1883 I was greatly delighted with the beautiful glossy socks of Angora wool which are sold there. One of our servants bought a pair; and I told him to go and get twenty pairs for me, intending to send some as gifts to deserving friends at home. He came

202 back, saying that the Armenian, from whom he had bought his pair, did not possess so many, but would try to procure them. Next morning, as we were ready to start, the socks were delivered, and hastily put into my bag. On the following day, I took out a pair to put on; and the very sight of them, glistening like silk, was cool and refreshing. Each pair was bright, and clean, and glossy white; and each was so arranged that one sock was concealed within the other. In the first pair, the inner sock was a tattered rag of common wool; and on trial every pair was the same. I had twenty good socks and twenty bad. The Armenian had procured twenty worn-out socks, washed them, and thus made ten good pairs into twenty. Then he had watched until we were on the point of departure, when his fraud would be more likely to pass unnoticed.

These are specimens of the class of Armenian, who bring the people into general hatred and contempt. I might multiply examples; and so could every one that has ever been in the East. In fact, ordinary travelers or tourists in Asia Minor rarely meet any other class of Armenian, for education has not been spread among the Armenians in western Anatolia, 203 where the American missionary influence has hardly been felt.* In Constantinople, I and even in Smyrna, I have no acquaintance with the resident Armenians, having found the Greeks far more sympathetic and useful in archeological work. It is that class of Armenians of whom the author of *Anadol* says: "Using his influence and ascendancy over the great, he protects the poor, to fatten on the forestalled earnings of the plough, boat, wagon, or camel, which he holds in pawn. Despised on one side, hated on the other, he is enriched alike by the Pasha and the peasant; and well he knows the weight and power of that golden lever which he wields." Almost the entire carrying trade between the Black Sea harbors, and all parts of Asia that come into trade relations with those harbors, is in the hands of Armenians; and the poor wagoners, camel-drivers, etc., are their slaves. A vast population of the distributing and retail trade belongs to them, except in those west and south-western parts where the Greeks are all powerful. They are not popular, and they do not deserve to be, so far as my experience goes. But to speak of that large and powerful class of Armenians as implicated in secret societies, and as engaged at any period of their lives in plots against the government, would be as ridiculous as to accuse Messrs. Glynn, Mills & Co. of taking part in a conspiracy to blow up 204 the Bank of England with dynamite. I even doubt if the Ottoman Government is unpopular among the majority of that class of Armenians, for Turkey is the paradise of the rich unscrupulous man, who does not shrink from using the power of the purse.

Further, that is not the class of Armenians which has given rise to the recent Imperial policy of massacre. None know better than the palace officials that their most useful, nay, their indispensable instruments in misgoverning the Empire, have always been found in that class and in a corresponding class of Phanariote Greeks. It is among the poor Mohammedan peasantry that the Armenian capitalists are hated; and the massacres do not originate from the peasants. Generally speaking, that class of Armenians has suffered from the massacres only so far as it was necessary to appeal to the greed and envy of the Mohammedan city mob in order to rouse them to the pitch of massacre.

But that class of the Armenians cannot fairly be taken, though it often is taken, as fair

* The mission stations exist chiefly in the central and eastern districts: Smyrna and Manissa are, I think, the only stations in the west.

specimens of the Armenian race. It is not the natural growth of the Armenian qualities and religion, it is the necessary outcome of eight centuries of Turkish rule. To appreciate what Turkish rule is, we must not go to travelers in recent years, who have seen only the condition of central and western Anatolia—roughly speaking, Asia Minor west of | the Euphrates— 205 where, for a number of years, Turkish administration has been carried on under constant dread of European interference, and where the Christian population has been saved from wrong by that dread. Yet even there, take the following example out of many which reached my ears, on the authority of Mr. Barkley (*Ride through Asia Minor*, p. 109), not a man who has any prejudice in favor of Armenians (as any reader of his book will see). “In October, 1877 . . . at an Armenian village, eight hours from Yuzgat, a band of recruits arrived one evening. They . . . ordered the villagers to bring them everything they had, money, food, etc. The people in a panic obeyed” . . . (only hiding their raki, which the soldiers rummaged till they found). “Then they made a hell of the place. Every woman, young and old, was insulted and outraged in presence of husband, fathers, and brothers. All the cattle, horses, and sheep were either stabbed or shot, and finally the village was burnt to the ground. Then the ruffians departed for Yuzgat, forcing the men of the village to accompany them as porters, the soldiers even riding on the men themselves; some of the old and feeble soon broke down, but were forced to continue by being pricked forward with knives and bayonets. One old man actually died on the road.” But the British consul, a man of | vigor and knowledge of the country, at 206 Angora investigated the facts, reported them by telegraph, and succeeded in compelling punishment. “The end of it all was, that the soldiers were caught, and, as all was proved to have occurred as stated, the officer in command was *degraded*,* while some of the men were sentenced to prison for five years.” As Mr. Barkley remarks, this “was not a very severe punishment for wholesale rape, arson, robbery, and murder”—especially as we don’t know how long the imprisonment lasted in fact—but it was sufficient to be a salutary and lasting lesson, for any exercise of official authority in punishment of crime produces an immense effect in Turkey. The consul at Angora related the same story to me in 1881, but I prefer to give it in Mr. Barkley’s words (likewise derived from the consul) to add another witness.

We must, however, go back to an older time, if we want to appreciate what uncontrolled Turkish rule meant, alike to Armenians and to Greeks. It did not mean religious persecution; it meant unutterable contempt. The Turk did not mind what religion those dogs belonged to, and he was as far as possible from conceiving the wish to make them Mohammedans. They were dogs and pigs; and their nature was to be Christians, to be spat upon, | if their shadow 207 darkened a Turk, to be outraged, to be the mats on which he wiped the mud from his feet. Conceive the inevitable result of centuries of slavery, of subjection to insult and scorn, centuries in which nothing that belonged to the Armenian, neither his property, his house, his life, his person, nor his family, was sacred or safe from violence—capricious, unprovoked violence—to resist which by violence meant death! I do not mean that every Armenian suffered so; but that every one lived in conscious danger from any chance disturbance or riot. Every one knew that any sign of spirit or courage would be almost certain to draw down immediate punishment; and that in bribery of the officials lay the only hope of redress, and the best chance of escape. They are charged, by the voice of almost every traveler, with

* The italics are Mr. Barkley’s.

timidity and even cowardice; but for centuries they had the choice offered them between submission and death. So long as they were perfectly submissive, they were allowed to live in comparative quiet; so long as they had money, they could purchase some immunity from, or redress for, insult. Naturally and necessarily the bravest were killed off, they that could most readily cringe and submit survived, and all efforts were directed to acquiring money, as the only means of providing safety for family and self.

208 This account, so far from being an exaggeration, does not convey to people accustomed to safety of the person, and unused to the brutality of which Oriental nature is capable, an idea approaching the real horror of the situation in which the Christians lived in many parts—not in all parts—of Turkey. As to European Turkey, a witness of unimpeachable authority, who under the name of “A Consul’s Daughter and Wife” <Mrs. Blunt> wrote in 1878 on *The People of Turkey*, ii., p. 121, after mentioning the custom she had seen in Macedonia of holding marriages in a cellar, says: “The custom of marrying in the most retired part of the house instead of the church, among the peasants, is, according to my information, the result of the dread they had in times of oppression of giving unnecessary publicity to their gatherings, and thus inviting the cupidity of some savage band of their oppressors . . . This state of things was brought back during recent events. Some months ago . . . in Macedonia, the bridal procession had just returned from church, when a band of Turks fell upon the house, robbing and beating right and left until they arrived at the unfortunate bride, whom, after divesting of all her belongings, they dishonored and left to bewail her misfortunes in never-ending misery.” It is a fact familiar to every person who has even the slightest
209 acquaintance with the condition of the parts of Armenia | most exposed to Kurdish incursions, that incidents of that class have always been too common to attract notice. They were, in most cases, not even special acts of revenge aimed at a special family by enemies; they were an ordinary thing, an amusement of the district, which could be prevented among the poor only by concealing the marriage. The only difference from the Macedonian incident is that the Armenian bride was usually carried away for several days and made the property of the Kurdish village. That was the permanent condition, from which escape could be obtained only by money or by death.

It has been asserted by persons who could readily procure evidence, if they wished to find it, before making assertions, that this state of things belongs only to the last few years, and is the punishment for the intrigues and plotting of the Armenians. But in the districts where the Kurds have been dominant, such things were the rule long ago; they were talked about, and were the subject of consular reports and ambassadorial intervention, when I first saw Turkey and began to learn what was the condition of the country. It was in the recoil from a condition like this, under the stimulating hope of British consular interference, and through the growing knowledge of European and American freedom, that the secret societies began to
210 become | important. But the great mass of the people was too ignorant and too down-trodden to take any part in the plots.

It has certainly been a thousand times worse since the Sultan took the Kurds under his protection, and gave special honors to the most outrageous among their chiefs. In former times the Kurds were considered enemies of the government, and the officials in the feeble, helpless, incapable way in which Turkish administration is conducted, made a show of trying to protect their Armenian subjects from them. But under the present Sultan, such a pretense

ceased. In the style of the pugnacious Irishman, trailing his coat through the village, and asking "if any gentleman would tread on the tail of it," your Kurd stalked through an Armenian village glaring round to see if any one would venture to look at him, or if any one would be so insulting as not to be doing what the barbarian's momentary caprice chose to consider that the wretch ought to be doing. The only way in which the miserable peasant could make sure of giving no insult to the Kurdish ruffian, as he stalked through the place, was to keep out of his sight; on those who offended him the punishment was inflicted in indescribable brutality, by people whose amusement and talk, whose jests and cursing, lie in extremes of horror, surpassing the disgustingness of those crimes which seem to us so 211 unnatural as to imply insanity in the perpetrators.

To appreciate what was the situation to the verge of which the Armenians were often brought and which they felt as a danger continually threatening them in case they displeased their masters and a riot was roused, one must conceive what has been always the character of a thorough going Turkish massacre. It does not mean merely that thousands are killed in a few days by the sword, the torture, or the fire. It does not mean merely that everything they possess is stolen, their houses and shops looted and often burned, every article worth a half penny taken, the corpses stripped. It does not mean merely that the survivors are left penniless—without food, sometimes literally stark naked. That is only the beginning, the brighter and lighter side of a massacre in Turkey. Sometimes, when the Turks have been specially merciful, they have offered their victims an escape from death by accepting Mohammedanism. But as to the darker side of Turkish massacre—personal outrage and shame—take what the more free spoken historians of former times have told; gather together the details of the most horrible and indescribable outrages that occasional criminals of half-lunatic character commit in this country; imagine those criminals collected in thousands, 212 heated with the hard work of murder, inciting each other and vying with each other, encouraged by the government officials with promises of impunity and hope of plunder—imagine the result if you can, and you will have some faint idea of the massacres in the eastern parts of Turkey.

There has been no exaggeration in the worst accounts of the horrors of Armenia. A writer with the vivid imagination of Dumas and the knowledge of evil that Zola possesses could not attain, by any description, the effect that the sight of one massacre in the Kurdish part of Armenia would produce on any spectator. The Kurdish part of Armenia is the "black country." It has become a charnel house. One dare not enter it. One cannot think about it. One knows not how many maimed, mutilated, outraged Armenians are still starving there.

Further, to rightly appreciate the educative surroundings in which Turks grow up, one must remember that such massacres were preached and roused and led by the priests, who set the example in some cases of treating the murder of Armenians as a holy sacrifice, and who promised special honor in Paradise to all who joined in the holy work, teaching that massacre and outrage of Giaours is a religious merit.

But it is not the case that all Turks in any city took part in massacre. The better class 213 disapproved; many regretted; some even tried to save Armenian friends. It must be remembered that it needs an extraordinary strength of emotion to rouse a Turk to actual interference with what he regards as the will of God; and their natural view was that the massacre had been willed by God and the Padishah, and the fact must be accepted; and yet

some did interfere. But the city mob, after it was once roused by priests and officials, reveled in the work. The conduct of the blacks in the island of S. Domingo, when they rose against the planters and the garrison, and murdered almost everybody, furnishes the nearest parallel to Armenia; but there the planters retaliated.

In the course of years in an uneasy and uncertain country, it has been strongly impressed on my mind that the higher moral development is hardly possible for a class or a race, until it has obtained security for the person. The first gift of God to man is his body; that gift is man's free possession, which no other man has any right to slay or to vitiate; and safety of the person lies at the basis of moral progress. So long as men live with the possibility of murder and outrage present before their minds, the higher qualities of character cannot be developed.

214 Even the most trustworthy, steady, and disciplined troops, and their officers,* tend to become demoralized by long exposure to unseen and incalculable attacks; but when a race or clan of men spends its existence from childhood upwards in such a situation, life degenerates into a craven and degrading scramble for safety; and if safety can be gained best by ignoble acts, then only they survive that are quick to act ignobly.

But, it may be said, the Armenians have been craven to accept this lot, and should have preferred death. Let those who have proved that they could themselves choose death in preference to a slave's life, cast reproach at them; and those who reproach the Armenians that have lived are all the more bound to approve the Armenians that have rebelled.

The Armenian, as he is after eight centuries of slavery, has been described in the preceding pages. But there remains a small group of Armenians free and unconquered by the Turks. In the fastnesses of the Taurus mountains there exists a remnant of the once powerful Armenian kingdom, which ruled over great part of Cilicia and the adjoining hill country of Cappadocia and Isauria for several centuries, after the rest of eastern and central Asia Minor had become
215 a Turkish possession. It was a prince of these Armenians who welcomed Barbarossa and his crusading army on their toilsome march from Konia over Taurus to the southern sea, a few days before the great German Emperor perished prematurely in the waters of the Kalykadnos. If the Armenians subject to Turkey tend towards a timid and submissive type, the contrast of the free Armenians proves that the timidity is the result of the long repression and the "reign of terror." The few thousands of free Armenians of Zeitun maintained their freedom against all efforts of the Turks till 1879, when the modern cannon of a large army compelled a surrender. By ambassadorial intervention (English mainly, I believe), the intended general massacre was prevented; but a fort was built commanding Zeitun. Again, in the desperation caused by the massacres of the last few years, Zeitun rebelled, captured by assault the fort, held, though it was, by superior numbers, and resisted for months every attack of a Turkish army far more numerous than all the Armenians, men, women and children numbered together: the army was officered by Turks. But the Powers intervened, "in the interests of peace"; the consuls from Aleppo came and induced the Zeitunli to lay down their weapons, to submit to disarmament, to give up their old flint-locks and muzzle-loaders, with which
216 they had beaten the improved repeating rifles of a Turkish army. All this was done under the solemn pledge and guarantee that, if the Zeitunli surrendered their weapons and submitted

* I speak not without testimony from men, whose tried courage has made their name familiar to the world.

to the Turks, a Christian governor would be placed in authority over them. Not a word more has been spoken by the Powers about a Christian governor; and I am not sure how many of those cheated Armenians still live to be governed.

The free Armenian is not unlike the Kurd in certain characteristics. The faults to which both tend are graspingness and selfishness, in contrast to the Greeks, who tend rather towards the faults of vanity and display. Both free Armenian and Kurd cling desperately to their freedom, and in the surroundings of the Turkish Empire both were unruly, a thorn in the side of the Turkish government, a terror to traders, and almost a bar to communication. I believe that the Kurd is just the Mohammedan Armenian, and the Armenian is the Kurd passed through centuries of Christianity. To that extent the view taken by the "Wandering Scholar" seems to me correct; and it relates only to an exceedingly small fraction of the Armenians of Turkey.

Yet, while it is true that, of all the races with whom I have mixed in Turkey, there is none that I have personally liked less than the Armenians, I none among whom I have found so 217 little interest in history, none to whom I owe so little individual gratitude for kindness shown to a traveler and a guest, none who have so often treated me as a stranger whose sole interest in their eyes was the possibility of making money off him, none whose character has seemed to me generally so bound down to the estimate of life by the standard of money alone—yet I will say for the Armenians that they have furnished the most striking examples known to me of capacity to receive and assimilate and rise quickly to the level of higher education and nobler nature, when the opportunity has been placed before them by other people. It is among the Protestants that these examples most occur; and this brings us to the subject of the American missions in Turkey.

So far as I have had any experience, the priests of the Gregorian Church seemed more ignorant and on a lower intellectual level than those of any other form of Christianity that I have come in contact with. For example, at an Armenian monastery three hours east of Kaisari, we had an interview with the Armenian bishop. He had entered the monastery at the age of ten, and had never been outside of its walls during the sixty years that had elapsed since then. His conversation showed as much ignorance of the Gospel history, as it did of the 218 modern world . . .

The reforming policy of Sultan Mahmud, after he recognized that the empire could not 221 be maintained simply on massacres like that of the Greeks in I Scio, or of the Janissaries in 222 Stambol, inaugurated a new era. But the Armenians themselves were too crushed and down-trodden to take advantage of it; and, moreover, there was a great difference between the intention of the Sultan in Stambol and the actual fact in Sivas or Erzerum or Mardin or Kharput. Mahmud might order that a new spirit should reign; but he could not put the new spirit into his officials in the provinces.

The American mission stepped in to offer to the Armenians what they could not make for themselves. It was under Sultan Mahmud (who died in 1839) that they inaugurated their enterprise; and it is literally true that it was a scheme encouraged and patronized by the Imperial Government and by the most enlightened among the Turks. Both Mahmud and his two successors were favorable to the cultivation of right relations between the Christian and the Moslem sections of their subjects, and freely granted to the missionaries all the rights and

privileges they needed or wished. It was, of course, not possible to eradicate the fanaticism of the Moslem town mob by an Imperial order. The early missionaries in distant cities were often in a very precarious position. Dr. Farnsworth, the senior missionary in Kaisari, a man of singularly good knowledge of Turkey, whom you might look for on his rounds through his district alike in the deepest | snows of winter and the hottest sun of summer, told me that
 223 when he first went to the city, the Pasha was so afraid that anything might happen to a man who was under the Imperial protection, that he would not allow the missionary to go about the city without a guard. The whole force of conservatism, alike among Mohammedans and Armenians, was arrayed against these pioneers.

224 It is undoubtedly true that very bad feeling and even gross abuse was often shown by Gregorian or Catholic Armenians to the Protestants; but this feeling has been painted by some writers in somewhat exaggerated terms. They hear some facts, and state them correctly, but give the incorrect impression, that there is nothing else on the other side. It is really not fair to take some scraps of private conversation, print them, and spread the idea that they convey a complete picture of a complicated and difficult historical problem . . .

235 The tedious intervention of consuls and ambassadors must often be employed by the missionaries, when a constituted head might deal directly with the Imperial Government. I know from friends, who have had a large stake in Turkey, that the slowest and most uncertain
 236 way of getting anything | from the Porte would be by setting in motion consular and ambassadorial machinery. On this subject, however, least said, soonest mended; though many stories might be told.

Mr. Barkley, in the work just referred to, gives a very unfavorable account of the Armenian Protestants; and, undoubtedly, it cannot be denied that members of the body could be found, whose character and motives were no better than his description. But my deliberate opinion is that he applies to the whole body language which is true only of the worst specimens; and the conduct of the Protestants during the recent years of massacre emphatically and triumphantly disproves his estimate of them. The truth seems to me to be that Mr. Barkley could not stand the welcome which they gave him, as he arrived at Kaisari, when a band of about sixty Protestants were on the outlook to receive him outside the city—"old men, middle aged men, boys, small and great, and even quite little children"—who all saluted him as a "Brodder." They escorted him to the mission-house, "all showing plainly by their scared look that they expected to be kicked a little by every Turk they met"; but nothing worse befell them in the streets than a chorus of "Giaours" and unquotable curses of the Turkish style.

237 The missionaries have, perhaps, made a mistake in creating a system too rigid and inelastic. They sometimes, perhaps, aim at making their converts into American Congregationalists, which seems to me unsuitable to the Armenian character and circumstances. The true Armenian Protestantism should adapt itself more readily to the Armenian prepossessions. For example, Armenians have a prejudice that a church ought to have a dome; the pastor at Kaisari recognized this and built accordingly, and, as I think,
 238 rightly. But the missionaries hardly accommodate themselves enough | to the pet conceptions of the nation. If the Armenians think that a particular architectural form is conducive to the

sacredness of a building, it is, surely, advisable to humor them. It seems not at all necessary or wise to teach them that every one of their little prejudices is false and wrong. But I am loath to criticize with inadequate knowledge persons whose work I admire so much as that of the American missionaries.

Richard Davey—b.1848

The Sultan and His Subjects.

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A.D. 1896

<Vol. I>

- 119 In order still further to remedy the great decrease in the general population, consequent on the siege, and, possibly, with a view to preventing a Greek predominance, Mohammed, some five years after the Conquest, summoned from Asia Minor some thirty thousand Armenians, to whom he allotted a quarter of the city which, in remote times, had belonged to the Venetians, but which was henceforth to be known as Kum-Kapu—or the Sand-gate—where to this day the Armenians chiefly reside. He granted them privileges . . . and he gave them funds, wherewith to build themselves a Patriarchal Palace, and a prison.
- 144 The long reign of Murad IV stands out prominently in the midst of this tumultuous disorder, on account of the memorable siege of Erzerum, in 1627. The city, after a long and heroic resistance, succumbed to the Turks, who put to the sword every Armenian—man, woman, and child—they could discover. Seventy thousand Armenians are said to have perished in Erzerum and its vilayet alone. Massacres of Armenians also took place on a great scale at Bitlis, Van, Aleppo, and in almost all those cities, indeed, with whose names we have of late, and for the selfsame reason, become so painfully familiar.
- 282 Turning to the lower orders, the same fine qualities are apparent: courtesy, frugality, sobriety, patience, industry, kindness to animals and children, and a far higher sense of honor and truthfulness than will be found in a corresponding class among the Christians. The Greek and the Armenian shop keepers will almost invariably cheat you, but the Mohammedan never—unless, indeed, contact with Western civilization has absolutely demoralized him. I cannot but repeat what every other traveler has said before me. There is no finer people in the world, than the lower orders of the Mohammedan population of Constantinople. Fanatical they are indeed, and to the last extent. The entire nation, in fact, save some few thousands of educated men, belonging to the last two generations.
- 284 It is not so very long since the days of good Elizabeth Fry, who first attempted to reform the appalling condition of British prisons; and it is only fifty years since Charles Dickens wrote his never-to-be-forgotten description of the orgy round the scaffold, at the execution of the Mannings. Nay, only a year ago, when a woman was hanged at the Old Bailey, a London mob gathered without the jail, where it could not actually behold her writhing form, behaved not so very differently from the Turks, and only lacked opportunity, it may be feared, to prove itself no whit more civilized than the fanatics who have lately hacked 100,000 Armenians to death. Nor should we forget that, in the year of grace 1897, an unoffending Armenian refugee has been kicked to death by London roughs, because, forsooth, they considered him to be a foreign “interloper.”

Mahmud II made a fatal mistake when he permitted his Ottoman subjects to change their costume, to doff the turban and the caftan for the fez and the redingote. So long as the Turk wore his Oriental robes, he was comprehensible. We forgave his blunders, and we even overlooked his cruelty. We took him as an Asiatic who had come too close to Europe. But at all events, we knew where we stood. | Once the present masquerade began, confusion worse
285
confounded fell on Turk and Giaour alike. An Armenian massacre, conducted by Islamic fanatics, garbed in semi-barbaric paraphernalia, might have been partially condoned. But the spectacle of a mob in frock-coats and suits of dittos, torturing their fellow-citizens, and cutting their throats, is a thing we cannot pardon. We forget that the habit does not make the monk, and that ninety-nine Turks out of each hundred are still barbarians.

The Armenians are not behind the Greeks. They, too, spend vast sums on education, and
289
are striving earnestly to improve the tone of their youth of both sexes. Still, the moral atmosphere of their schools is not an absolutely healthy one.

The education of the Roman Catholic subjects of the Porte is almost exclusively in the hands of the religious orders. The Lazarists have a very fine college for boys in Galata; the Jesuits another in Pera; and the Franciscans, Capuchins, Christian Brothers, and the Brothers of St. Vincent de Paul, give gratuitous teaching to the children of the poor, regardless of denomination, throughout the Empire, and have certainly maintained their reputation against all odds. The Jesuits have nine colleges in Asia Minor, and the Dominicans, Christian Brothers, and Lazarists, many schools in Armenia. Their system of education is identical with the one they follow in Europe. There are many excellent convent schools for girls, which up till recently were frequented by the Mohammedan daughters of liberal-minded Turks. The Sultan has put a stop to this, not much to the regret | of the teachers, who found the Turkish
290
girls very difficult to manage. Our own High School for girls, under the very capable direction of Miss Green, would be worthy of London, it is so well and so intelligently managed.

Another educational institution at Constantinople, Robert College, deserves special notice, not only on account of the valuable work it has done, and is doing, but because the extreme beauty of its situation, on the hill over the Bosphorus, is a perfect revelation to a traveler, who, like the author of this book, had been sorely disenchanted by his earlier experiences, as far as sky and scenery are concerned, of this world-famed locality.

The college was founded at Rumelli Hissar, in 1863, by Mr. Charles Robert, of New York. It stands on a most lovely site over the Bosphorus. The view from the terrace of the house inhabited by Dr. Washburn, the President of the college, is marvelously beautiful. The Bosphorus, as seen from this point, appears to take the shape of three beautiful lakes, which, at the early season of the year, are literally wreathed in purple masses of the judas flower, which cover the banks with sheets of brilliant color. The fine ruins of the castle built by Mohammed II form a majestic and thoroughly medieval foreground.

Robert College would seem, so far as is possible on so small a scale, to combine many of the advantages of Eton, with those of a first-class University. The teachers, all of them, whether European or American, | have passed rigorous examinations in the higher branches
291
of education. The scholars are almost all Orientals. At the present moment, Armenians predominate, but some twenty years ago, the Bulgarians were in the majority, and to Robert College Bulgaria certainly owes the remarkable strides that country has made in European

civilization and liberal ideas. The school is undenominational, the pupils, who are all resident, being allowed to attend their several places of worship on Sundays. Some years ago there were several Turks in the college; but the Sultan has lately, and not wisely, prohibited their attendance—in the mistaken fear that they might imbibe revolutionary and anti-Mohammedan ideas.

296 On the occasion of a visit to Brusa, Murray's guide-book was impounded, and only restored just before I returned, on payment of a sum equaling about four shillings in our money. The portion of the guide-book dealing with the Turkish administration had been excised, and all allusions to Armenia, even to such simple facts as that an Armenian church stands opposite such and such a mosque, utterly obliterated. A railway excursion to Ismidt was advertised. At the hour (six o'clock in the morning) appointed for departure, the travelers were told that the Sultan had forbidden the trip, out of fear that it might lead to an Armenian conspiracy. There was not an Armenian in the party, which exclusively consisted of English and Germans, who had bought their tickets beforehand. All intercourse between Turks and Europeans is prohibited. No Turkish gentleman dares invite a European to dine with him—no Turkish lady dares pay a visit to a European of her own sex.

This condition of things existed long before the Armenian crisis; but it evidently led up to it, and it is leading up to worse things now—to such discontent among His Majesty's subjects that the end cannot be far off.

298 Turkish intolerance, so called, is a subject which needs a little fair and just attention. In a certain sense the Turk may, indeed, be said to be intolerant. He is so absolutely in love with his own religion, that he looks upon all persons who believe otherwise than himself, as half-witted, and much to be pitied folk. But he has an intense reverence for religious feeling in all its forms, and, in times of peace, the Christians in Constantinople have invariably been treated with the utmost courtesy. The Mohammedan Bazaar actually subscribed to give a donkey and panniers as a present to one of the "Little Sisters of the Poor" who frequents the Bazaar in order to collect scraps for her poor people. This was an absolutely freewill and unprompted offering. No greater tolerance could, I am sure, be found either in England or in America. Greek and Armenian religious processions are frequently to be seen in the streets of Pera and Galata. Convents are built with far less trouble and opposition than in France, and, 299 somewhat to the inconvenience of travelers and visitors, convent bells ring freely everywhere. Christian schools, and colleges of all denominations, work undisturbedly.

300 The Turk holds himself far superior to the Christian. Yet he always sets the despised Christian in the highest places in his capital. The finances, the very Government, are carried on by Englishmen, Armenians, French, Germans, Poles, Greeks, and so forth. The Finance Department is directed by that exceedingly able Englishman, Sir Edgar Vincent, who, to the qualification—so necessary in the East—of an imposing presence, adds a very remarkable business capacity. The *Dette Publique* is managed by Sir Vincent Caillard, and by a French gentleman, who hold office alternately, a year at a time. The railways are worked by foreign officials and employees. The Government and the domestic Palace are run by Armenians and Greeks.

<Vol. II>

The Genoese merchants were masters of the Black Sea. They made their head-quarters at 64
Trebizond, whither they carried merchandise from places as remote as Bassora and Baghdad,
and whence they sent it down the Black Sea to Galata, and so homeward to Genoa. Aleppo,
one of their busiest stations, gave them access to the Mediterranean. Marco Polo found them
on the Caspian Sea, and they were known and welcomed among the Armenians on the
Plateau of the Taurus. "The Armenian gentlemen," says Marco Polo, "were at one time great
sportsmen, and hard fighters, and now they are much given to drink, and are grown cowardly.
On the Caspian Sea they have a town called Gizzia—by the Turks, Ayazza—where the
Genoese and Venetians have stations, and buy silk, and wool, and such-like precious goods.
"The Genoese were well known in Gesarea, and Siss was such a favorite resort with their
merchants that they built themselves a church and Consulate there . . ."

The vestments of the Greek priests are extremely magnificent and picturesque, but less so, 140
I think, than those of the Armenians, which are more flowing and graceful. The much
disputed color, blue, is used, in both the Armenian and Greek Church, on festivals of the
Virgin and on certain others—the Ascension, for instance—commemorating events in the life
of Our Lord. Black vestments are never employed, not even at funerals.

Between the Black Sea and the Caspian a vast high table-land stretches, dominated by 155
Mount Ararat, which rises in its center, and hemmed in by Mingrelia, Imerethi, Guria,
Georgia, Chirvan, Ghilan, Aderbaidjan, and Kurdistan. It is scarred in all directions by
mountain ranges—northwards by the Caucasus, south wards by the radiating spurs of the
Taurus. Yet another smaller tract, annexed by former conquest to the larger territory, trends
away from the shores of the Euxine and follows the Euphrates as far as Diarbekir. These two
countries, some 420 geographical miles in width, and 900 in length, watered by the Tigris
and Euphrates and their tributary streams, are still known as Greater and Lesser Armenia.

. . . Cities renowned in dim antiquity were plentifully sprinkled over the two divisions of 156
Armenia. Garin, sometime called Theodosopolis, and, more recently, by the name it still
bears, Erzerum; Ani—celebrated in olden times for its Titanic buildings, now lying in ruin;
Vagarchavad, of which the only vestiges remaining are the church and monasteries of
Etchmiadzin; Ardachad, or Akhaljian, the ancient capital of the country; Tovin, or Dovin,
many times destroyed and rebuilt; Van, founded, according to local tradition, by Semiramis;
Edessa, once celebrated for its schools; Nisibe, the capital of the first Assacides; Erivan,
famous for its majestic walls, parts of which are even, now standing.

Before it fell a successive prey to Persians, Turks, and Russians, Armenia formed a kingdom
in itself, which endured—from its foundation by Haig until the close of the fourteenth
century—under four distinct dynasties; the Haician, the Archagourian, or Assacidian, the
Pacradunian, or Pagratidian, and finally the Rupenian. None of these dynasties were regular
in their succession. Thus the first three were parted from each other by several centuries,
during which the country was the victim of its barbarian neighbors and saw its princes
murdered or imprisoned, and their thrones usurped by strangers, who drained the land of its
resources.

Much of the earlier history of Armenia may be graven in the as yet undeciphered 157

cuneiform inscriptions of Van and of other venerable cities, the ruins of which still exist, though many, as in the case of the majority of ruins in Asia Minor, are mere mounds, whose thick earth mantle carefully guards its hidden secret until some favored explorer shall earn the privilege of bringing it to light.

160 The immediate results of the introduction of Christianity into Armenia were exceedingly beneficial. Schools and colleges were soon established, and presently yielded a rich harvest of men, distinguished alike for their learning and their sanctity: among them Mesrob, who invented the Armenian alphabet; St. James of Nisbe; the historian Phaustus of Byzantium; St. Izaak the Great, who with St. Mesrob first translated the Septuagint into the Armenian language; Moses of Khoren, the father of Armenian history; and the philosophical Patriarch Kiud, who was a disciple of Mesrob. This great intellectual movement lasted less than a
161 century, then it was stifled by the Eutychian, or Monophysite controversy, which eventually brought about a schism between the Armenian and the Latin and Greek Churches.

From the fifth to the tenth century, Armenia was cut up into a number of principalities, squabbling and fighting among themselves. So enfeebled did the country become, that it soon fell a prey to the hordes of Kurds and Circassians on its borders, who have never ceased to be a standing menace, against which only the strength of unity and superior civilization can hope to stand.

At the beginning of the tenth century, Kars, a small kingdom, the last to bear the proud name of Armenia, was founded in the north of the country. The city of Ani became the capital of this state, and for a time it flourished, producing some men of considerable eminence, but this prosperity was very transitory. The first years of the following century saw the Mongols pour down "like locusts" on the Armenian plateau and desolate it. The Princes of the Royal houses contrived, however, to escape to their impregnable castles, in the fastnesses of their mountains, and there entrenched, they continued to bear the empty title of Melik, or King. In this general dispersal, several of the Armenian Princes contrived to reach Cilecia, where they established a small kingdom, which managed to maintain its autonomy, though surrounded by the hostile Greeks and Latins of Iconium. When, however, the Crusaders first appeared in Asia Minor, the Kings of Tarsus, unluckily for themselves, conceived it politic to
162 make an alliance with them. They fought gloriously under the banner of the Princes of Antioch, but they lost Tarsus, and even failed to secure the gratitude of their allies. Finding themselves between two fires—the Turks and the Latins—persuaded that the Latins would be eventually and permanently victorious, the Armenians placed Lusignan, King of Cyprus, upon the throne left vacant by the murder of their last legitimate sovereign. The Lusignan dynasty did not endure for long, and all the chivalry of the Knights of Rhodes, who, when Tarsus was attacked by the Mohammedans, flew to its rescue, failed to dislodge the victorious standard of the Prophet from the walls of the doomed city. Leo VI, last King of the Lusignan line, was first carried captive to Jerusalem, and thence sent to Paris, where he died, in 1393, and was buried in the Church of the Celestins. This Prince left descendants, who have frequently and clamorously asserted their rights to the Armenian crown. The last well-authenticated claimant, Guy de Lusignan, died miserably in a Parisian cellar in 1795. Another pretender died at Milan, and in extreme poverty, early in this century. There is good reason to believe that there was more truth than appeared on the surface in the pretensions of a certain

Armenian family named Khorian, which created a considerable stir some ten years ago. This was especially the case in England, when Archbishop I Khorian, who was chosen to represent the Armenians at the Congress of Berlin, appeared in London society, and by his fine presence, distinguished bearing, and picturesque costume, won many important people to favor his cause and back his claim—far from a modest one—the Island of Cyprus to be made over to him and his family, en attendant the throne of Armenia! One of his brothers married an English lady, who is still living; the other settled in Paris, where he married the remarkably accomplished and musical Mdle. de Nosrois (now dead), well known as Princess Marie de Lusignan, of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia, and as a friend of Victor Hugo. I met Mgr. Khorian in 1884, and possess several very interesting letters in which he sets forth his claim to his regal titles in a tolerably coherent manner. He died, some six years since, in Constantinople, and, strange to relate, a Roman Catholic, having relinquished all pretension to the Archbishopric of Bekistash, which, by the way, he had created for himself. 163

From the destruction of the short Lusignan Dynasty up to the present time, Armenia has lain helpless in the hands of Turks, Mameluks, Byzantines, and Turks again, and so incessant has been the repetition of cruel massacres, that the only wonder is that a single Armenian remains to tell the dreadful tale.

In 1242 the whole of Armenia was overrun by the Mongols. This was the greatest disaster that ever befell the unhappy nation, for the slaughter was so tremendous that it never was able to recover its numerical strength. In 1513 Sultan Selim I conquered the western half of the kingdom, and the Egyptians subjugated a great portion of the eastern side. A little later, the Tartars overran and plundered the plateau of the Taurus, and the incessant brigandage of the Kurds and Persians made life unbearable to the peaceful Armenian farmers. By this time almost every vestige of ancient civilization had been swept away. 164

It may be fairly asserted that in no other country of such undoubted antiquity have past generations of mankind left fewer marks. Some very fine and little known ruins of ancient fortresses and palaces do still exist—as the so-called palace of Semiramis at Van, and certain old and exceedingly interesting monasteries—but otherwise there is very little in Armenia, beyond its splendid scenery, to attract the traveler. Mr. H. F. B. Lynch, in his recent admirable series of papers on the Armenian question, describes the burrows of the Armenian and the Kurd as scarcely discernible in the landscape. The extent of territory included in Turkish and Russian Armenia could easily support a population of twenty millions. At the present moment there are not more than three millions of inhabitants in the two divisions of the plateau of the Taurus. On the Turkish side of Mount Ararat the population, according to the best calculation, amounts to about 1,500,000 souls, of whom, perhaps, 500,000 are Armenians, 500,000 Turks, 450,000 Kurds, 5,000 Greeks, and 7,000 of various nationalities. On the Russian side the population I may be 1,000,000, of whom circa 520,000 are Armenians.* The total Armenian population scattered over the world reaches about 3,000,000—2,500,000 in Turkey, and the rest in other parts of Europe, in Egypt, and in America. I take these figures, rather roughly, from four separate sources: from Quinet's "Empire Ottoman," published in 1891, from statistics supplied me by the Jesuit missionaries, and from those given by Mr. Taylor, our late Consul at Erzerum, and by Mr. Lynch. But an 165

* After the Treaty of Adrianople, circa 500,000 Armenians crossed over into Russia.

exact census of the population of this part of the world is almost unattainable. The Mohammedans, for instance, will not state the number of their women and children; and the Christians, in their anxiety to evade the military tax on male children, are always extremely reticent. As for the Kurdish and other semi-savage tribes, who dwell in inaccessible places, they have never been properly counted at all. In their case, mere guesswork is the only possible resource. The Jesuit missionaries, who make a point of collecting every kind of information in the countries where they labor, usually count the number of houses; thus, ten houses to the Mohammedans, five to the Armenians, six to the Greeks, and so forth.

My present purpose is to show that the kingdom of Armenia has so frequently changed its confines, that it can now only be considered as “a geographical expression,” and that the true Armenians are so inferior, speaking numerically, to the other nationalities among whom they dwell, that it is absurd to compare | their condition with that of the Bulgarians, who were in the proportion of three to four to their Turkish oppressors.

I will not here enlarge on the geographical peculiarities of the country. Of all the peoples who inhabit this region the Armenians are certainly the most remarkable. They have strongly marked features, which have led many to believe the nation to be of Semitic origin; they are exceedingly shrewd in business matters; so adroit, indeed, in financial transactions, that throughout the East it is popularly averred that “no Jew can flourish within ten miles of an Armenian.” When all the surrounding tribes were lost in the intellectual sloth of barbarism, the Armenians possessed a literature. Almost all those resident in Asia speak Turkish, although the pure Haican language is taught in their schools. Several Turkish daily papers are expressly published in Haican characters for the benefit of such Armenians as cannot speak their national language. A great movement in favor of popular education occurred among them as early as 1830. With the assistance of wealthy emigrants and exiles, Armenian schools for boys and girls have been opened at Constantinople, Smyrna, Zeitun, Hadjin, Marasch, Aleppo, Angora, Cæsarea, Van, Mush, Bitlis, Erzerum, etc. The movement is all the more remarkable when we consider the painful condition of these people, surrounded as they are by hordes of armed barbarians, Kurds, Circassians, Lazes, Kazaz, Kizilbaches (devil worshippers), who for 166 ages, especially in the rural districts, have rendered their | lives almost unendurable, and have made Armenian history one long tale of martyrdom. It is a mistake, however, to imagine, as, judging from the daily papers, some people seem to do, that the Armenians have only been exposed to these horrors during the latter half of this present century.

In the year 404 John Chrysostom, having denounced, in burning words, and to her face, the evil life led by the Empress Eudoxia, in Constantinople, was exiled to Caucasus, a small town in one of the valleys of the Taurus, just where the high-road, leading from Cappadocia into Persia, is crossed by another running through the Syrian province of Upper Armenia. It was a military station of some importance, established to ensure the safety of the few travelers who passed that way. St. John himself tells us that the town was a wretched little place, from the walls of which you could see the rare huts of the peasantry dotting the valley below. Here he dwelt with one Dioscorus. He had not been long installed in his new quarters, when a heavy fall of snow covered the town and its neighborhood with its fleecy mantle. So bitter was the cold, writes the saint, that it was impossible for him, in his enfeebled state, to leave his chamber. One day some of his friends brought the appalling news that the Isaurians—or, as we should say, the Kurds—had swooped from their mountain lairs on to the plain below.

They shortly reached the town, which they began to sack and pillage. The soldiers of the garrison were powerless to defend the place, and the brigands plundered houses, burnt farms, carried off women and cattle, and massacred all who ventured to oppose them. St. John Chrysostom, with many of the unfortunate townsfolk, fled into the woods, and, after numerous adventures, eventually arrived in the city of Arabissus. The Isaurians, when their work of devastation at Caucasus was complete, followed the refugees, continuing their depredations as they went. "Like ferocious beasts," says the great orator, "they fell upon the unhappy inhabitants of Armenia, and devoured them. Trouble and disorder are universal. Hundreds of men, women, and children have been massacred; others have been frozen to death. The towns and villages are desolate; everywhere you see blood; everywhere you hear the groans of the dying, the shouts of the victors, the sobs and tears of the vanquished." Reading the passages in the letters of St. John Chrysostom, referring to this matter, one could almost fancy oneself perusing some sensational paragraph in a London evening paper, headed "Fresh outrages in Armenia." 168

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a number of Armenian refugees appeared in Flanders, Holland, France, Italy, Spain, and even in England, where they sought the assistance of Edward III. They had been driven out of their homes by the Kurdish and Persian invaders, and had been wandering from country to country in search of hospitality. There used to be, in old Paris, a Rue d'Armenie, and the Armenians are frequently mentioned in the early archives of Bruges.

Again, somewhere in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, four Basilian monks arrived from the neighborhood of Van, and implored the Archbishop of Genoa, Porchetto Spinola, to whom they were recommended by a Latin priest in Constantinople, for permission to found a monastery of their Order in his dioceses. They were kindly received by the archbishop, on whom their narrative of the dreadful massacres in their native country produced a profound impression. The "savages and the Saracens" had, they assured him, desolated their villages, burnt and pillaged their monasteries, and massacred so many people that the stench of the unburied bodies had produced a dreadful plague. And so through the centuries the cruel tale goes on. The archives of the Franciscan and Jesuit Fathers, employed as missionaries in the East, teem with references to the outrages committed by Kurds and other savage tribes on the population of the Taurus plateau and of other parts of Armenia. A massacre which took place in 1825 was the subject of diplomatic representations to Sultan Mahmud II. I have before me, as I write, a report presented to the Sultan in 1876 by the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople. It gives a long and concise list of the yearly massacres and vexations to which the Armenians in the Taurus regions and in Asia Minor had been subjected during the years extending from 1860 to 1877. Armenian massacres are, in fact, as old as Armenia itself. A terrific slaughter of Armenians took place after the siege of Erzerum, in 1622. Seventy-two thousand men, women, and children are said to have been put to the sword. In this year all the Armenians in the leading towns throughout Asia Minor suffered terribly. 169

When the Egyptian Khaliph destroyed the kingdom of Lesser Armenia, such of the inhabitants as escaped the general massacre took refuge in the gorges of the Taurus, which soon became the asylum of all who remained faithful to Christianity. The little state thus formed prospered, and has preserved, even to our day, a simple Patriarchal form of existence. 170

It is known, on account of the number and beauty of its olive trees, as “The Zeitun.” Its total population amounts to between twenty-eight and thirty thousand souls. Until the time of the late Abd-ul-Aziz, the Zeitun remained independent. In 1861 the Turkish Government resolved to annex the little state. General Aziz Pasha marched at the head of a horde of ill-disciplined troops against the inoffensive people. The villages were sacked, the monasteries pillaged, and the bodies of the monks were buried with dogs, the more completely to defile them. The women and children were treated with a brutality that defies description, and then massacred. The news of these events reached Constantinople late in the year, and excited much indignation among the Ambassadors. Mgr., afterwards Cardinal, Hasoun, the Catholic Patriarch, undertook a mission to France in favor of the unfortunate Zeitunlis. This mission was partially successful. The Zeitunlis agreed to accept a Turkish Mudir, and even to pay an additional tax of 13,000 piastres per year. In 1878 fresh outrages occurred, owing to the action of the infamous Davud Effendi, the Mudir. A theft took place in his Konak, and he suspected an Armenian in his employ of being its author. The man denied his guilt and was put to the torture. His persistent assertion of his innocence so exasperated the Mudir that he murdered him. He was tried, and acquitted. On this, popular indignation became so furious against him, that the troops were called out, and some 4,000 persons put to death. Thanks, however, to the intervention of Kaimil Pasha and Veyssi Pasha, an amnesty was proclaimed; but from that day to this the Zeitun, once so peaceful and prosperous, has been the scene of constant and bloody struggles. Its unfortunate population has not escaped the sinister effects of the late massacres, and its desperate resistance, only last year, to the Sultan’s forces, is in the memory of most of the English news paper-reading community.

Averse as every thinking man must be to the methods, and to many of the objects of those persons who, for the last three years, have so sedulously endeavored to drag this country into an ill-considered crusade against the Sultan, and the misgovernment for which, justly or unjustly, his critics would fain hold him responsible, it must be acknowledged that though other and more important interests may prevent the Powers from directly redressing the wrong, that wrong does exist in a most cruel and oppressive form. That the Armenians are a nation of *frondeurs*; that they are restless maneuverers; that much of the suffering brought on the poorer classes, the rank and file, so to speak, of the nation, is due to the machinations, often the unprincipled machinations, of those who direct the national feeling; that many Armenians are money-lenders or money-getters, not over-nice in their methods, and therefore hated by their Moslim fellow subjects—all this may, and must, be freely admitted. But, though there is no good purpose to serve at this present time by going into painful detail, and thus exacerbating an already sore subject, the fact remains, that the slaughter of men, women, and children, in the various parts of the Turkish Empire inhabited by this unhappy race, has amounted, within the last eighteen months, to something between 125,000 and 160,000. Sympathy, surely, is their right—even if more important national considerations must prevent an immediate and direct redress of the suffering inflicted—and a resolute endeavor and determination to leave no stone unturned which may effect a happy issue out of their afflictions.

Let me, for a moment, before we quit this interesting and unhappy people, speak a final word on the subject of their present state of suffering. Effect without cause cannot exist, and

there is no question that, if the truth were told, these systematic massacres of the Armenians would be shown to be a matter less of religion, than of personal antagonism. The Armenians of Asia Minor were, until quite recently, in precisely the semi-barbarous condition under which they labored 1,000 years ago. But this status of civilization, though not remarkable in itself, was higher, by many degrees, than that of their neighbors. They have always, as I have already pointed out, been distinguished for their keen business perceptions, and for a shrewdness in trading which gives rise to the Turkish conviction that no Jew can get the better of an Armenian. These peculiar instincts enable them to live, and even to acquire capital, under the most adverse circumstances. The Turks, who never can learn business habits, are dependent on the Armenians and Greeks for many of the necessities of their life. In Constantinople, in fact, it is currently asserted that the Turk is helpless without an Armenian to suggest to him what he should do and say. The Armenian in the capital, therefore—unless, as in recent events, he is exposed to exceptional peril—lives an easy life enough. But on the plateau of Armenia he is exposed to the chronic dangers incident to a semi-savage country, and, above all, to the terror of the periodical invasions of the Kurds, occasionally and erroneously confused, in our public prints, with the Turks proper. The Armenians are a 205
sedentary race, and make excellent farmers and tradesmen. These Kurds—savage nomads, who live by plunder in great part—are really the majority of the native population of the north of Asia Minor.

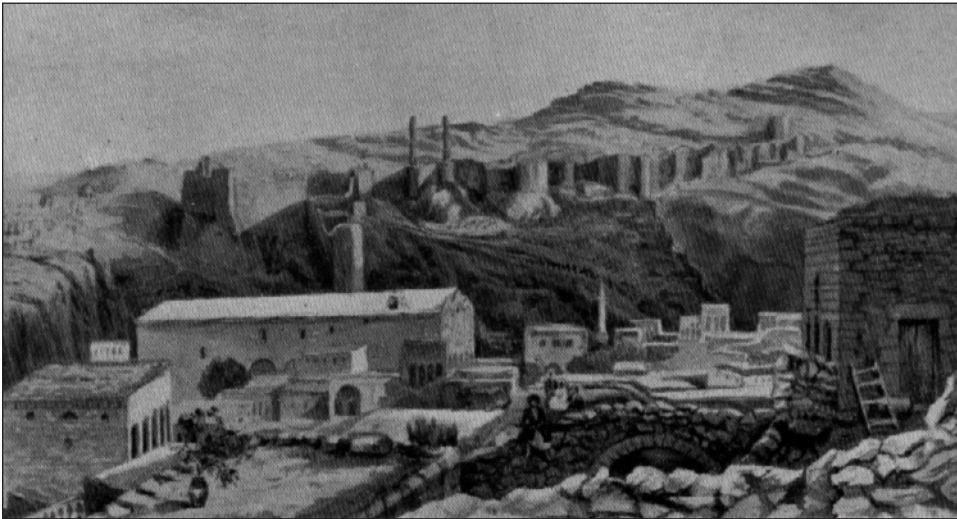
The condition of the whole of Asia Minor, notwithstanding the natural wealth of the country, is one of chronic desperation; the roads are wretched, the agricultural implements exceedingly primitive, and, while the inhabitants of one district may make a small profit on the sale of their corn, those in the next will very probably be dying of starvation. Only four years ago the Kurdish tribes who live near the source of the Aratus, in the Vilayet of Erzerum, were thus dying at the rate of ten and twenty a day, and it required all the efforts of the authorities to prevent a greater degree of anarchy in the neighborhood than actually occurred. The Kurd, as I have said, is a consumer, and not a producer. The Armenian is apt at manufacturing, and at dealing. The only Kurdish industry is the manufacture of carpets, of which the makers do not know how to dispose. The Armenian buys them for a trifle, and makes a big profit on his bargain. If the Kurd needs money, the Armenian lends it to him on heavy usury. If the wretched Kurd cannot pay the interest or the capital, the Armenian prosecutes him, just as the Jews are said to squeeze the peasants in Russia, and with the same result. The Kurd waits his opportunity, and as he has two means of making his presence unpleasantly felt, the position of the Armenian is a perilous one. The Kurd may swoop down on his fields and villages, and plunder both; or, in case of resistance, he may proceed to a 206
general massacre. Occasionally the Armenian will turn and fight, and the Kurd gets the worst of it. Then comes on the scene that scourge of the Ottoman Empire, the needy official, the Pasha, who after years of intrigue, obtains the governorship of a Vilayet with the sole object of making as much money as he possibly can, by every means, legitimate and illegitimate, which lies to his hand. The Armenian, generally the wealthiest of the Pasha's subjects, is pretty sure to be the object of his illegal methods of taxation. If he refuses to pay, the Kurds are allowed to pillage and massacre with impunity—not unfrequently sharing the booty with His Excellency. Thus the Armenian finds himself between two fires. On one side he is assailed by a well-organized revolutionary propaganda, directed not only against the Ottoman

Government, but against the Sultan, its supreme chief, and unquestionably fomented by foreign intrigue; on the other by the consequences of misgovernment and racial antipathy.

Since the Crimean War, the Armenians have clung with remarkable courage, and even obstinacy, to their hopes of regaining their independence. For some years after that event, no subjects of the Turkish Empire behaved better, or showed more loyalty to the Sultan, who was at that time surrounded by many able and sagacious Armenian officials. But the reforms necessary for the pacification of the provinces in which the Armenian population preponderates, have never been carried out. By the Treaty of Berlin, signed in 1876, Great Britain took over, in a particular manner, the interests of the Armenian population of Turkey. It was promised protection, with an insistence on the due execution of the measures of reform called for by its condition. Buoyed by these assurances, the revolutionary party, at home and abroad, has grown gradually bolder, and the Armenian agitation, which five years ago menaced the peace of Turkey, now threatens the peace of Europe. Injudicious speeches and excited meetings in England have roused the fanaticism of the Mohammedan population of Turkey to fever pitch. The massacres in the Sassunlick which startled Europe in the autumn of 1894, have been followed by a series of outrages far more terrible than is generally realized by the English public. The earlier horrors were so willfully and purposely exaggerated, that the truth of what has since occurred has been, in a measure, discredited. Had the National Armenian Committees stuck to facts, instead of propagating a series of absurd stories, such as that of the Armenian ladies who, to protect their virtue, cast themselves from the summit of the rocks into the stream of the Euphrates, Europe would now be much more indignant than it is. Owing, in a great measure, to the inability of our Government to stir in the matter, without the assent of the other Powers, and to the hysterical exaggerations of probably well-intentioned, and in most cases absolutely ignorant, busybodies, something like 125,000 men and women, the majority of whom were as innocent of politics as the unhappy children who were butchered with them, have been put to death. Not a few thoughtful persons directly accuse the Sultan, of having deliberately and purposely organized these horrible occurrences. The present writer does not share this view. The Sultan is too intelligent not to know, and fully appreciate, the fearful consequences of such treachery. But he is utterly helpless. Timid and nervous by nature, surrounded by exceptionally incapable advisers and parasites, and tottering at the head of a most childish and irrational Government, His Majesty is as powerless to stem the tide of religious fanaticism which the Armenians themselves, and their over-officious friends in England and elsewhere, have unloosed, as the legendary individual who is described as exhausting himself, in the endeavor to rake up the sea with a pitchfork.

. . . You can sometimes see the Armenians dance. They form a circle consisting of from forty to fifty men and women, holding each other by the hand or round the neck, so close together as to form a compact body, the leader of the dance being the only one who detaches himself from the rest. He holds the person next to him at arm's length. In the center of the ring squat the musicians, whose instruments consist of a small guitar with wire strings, and a couple of bag-pipes, like those common in Scotland, only not played with the same spirit and with no attempt at harmony. The master of the ceremonies has a muslin handkerchief in his hand, which he lifts up and down, now posing himself on one foot, and then on the other, the rest of the party doing exactly the same thing with more or less clumsiness, hopping and

balancing themselves from foot to foot as they slowly work round the circle; and so they dance by the hour without showing the least sign of fatigue, or indeed of any particular pleasure. The non-dancers stand in admiring groups outside the magic circle.



Urfa's burned Armenian Church and ancient citadel.

[From J. and H. Harris' Letters from the Scenes of the Recent Massacres in Armenia (London, 1897).]

James Rendel Harris—1852–1941, and Helen B. Harris—?

Letters from the Scenes of the Recent Massacres in Armenia.

London, James Nisbet & Co., Limited, 1897

7 A.D. 1896

<Constantinople, April 1> . . . The president <of Robert College> and his wife, Dr. and Mrs. Washburn, and Dr. Long and his daughter and others came to dinner. Mrs. Washburn has a sister, a Mrs. Lea, who is a missionary at Marash, and she told us some awful accounts of sufferings. They are feeding thousands there daily, at the rate of 2¹/₂d. a week each. This only gives bread, and sickness of various kinds prevails. These ladies told me that they had been hard at work all the winter making garments, that Armenian merchants had given their committee about £1,000 worth of material (first and last), and that they themselves had sent over 3,000 garments, yet this is nothing to what is needed . . .

8 That afternoon (Monday) we visited M. Ismirlian, the Armenian Patriarch, and Dr. and Mrs. D. accompanied us, Dr. D. interpreting. We had a card from Dr. Baronian, of Manchester, to introduce us, and the Patriarch said he had also received a letter from him about our visit.

He is a noble old man, but extremely sad-looking—indeed, “sad” is too mild a word, “broken-hearted” would be better. We were quite alone with him in his private room, and the ecclesiastic who brought in coffee immediately retired. He spoke very warmly and gratefully of the efforts of English people, “friends” and others, to relieve his suffering nation, but with
9 *intense surprise and* *indignation* at the lack of action on the part of the Christian nations politically. He said that so systematic a persecution, which was *not* a mere wave of fanaticism, was unparalleled in history. Monsters like Nero, he said, have flooded the world with blood, and then disappeared; “*but our suffering has no respite, no end!*” He gave us his blessing as we rose to go, and we also said that we prayed God to keep and sustain and bless him in his most arduous position.

He impressed us greatly, and Lady Currie told me later in the day that she looked upon him as a holy man, or as if he were almost an apostle. The Sultan has not only threatened but tried to buy him by offers of the greatest favors, but he can neither be bribed nor intimidated; and yet, if he thought it would be for his people’s good, no personal love of power would for a moment weigh with him to prevent him resigning.* They say that an unprincipled Armenian has just been offered £10,000 to bring about his downfall.

17 <Smyrna, April 12, 1896> As we draw nearer and nearer to the places where our call takes us, the accounts become more distressing. We have met here a young lady missionary from Ourfa . . .

She was in Ourfa until before the great massacres; at that time they were caring for some

* We understand that, through the influence of Vice-Consul Fitzmaurice, these forced converts have been permitted to return to their former profession.—J. R. H.

thousands of refugees | who had made their way on foot from Moush (nearly fifteen days' 18
journey), and had arrived in extreme destitution, with their bodies, as she says, a mass of
corruption.

<Aintab, April 23, 1896> We have just arrived here, and find that there is a post going 27
seaward to-day, so I catch the opportunity to send word where we are. The last four days have
been occupied in continuous travel, and we are somewhat the worse for wear.

We rode two days in a carriage, engaging a wagon or *araba* for our servants and bags of
needment. By this means, as the roads were at their best, we made forty miles odd on Monday
and nearly as many on Tuesday, and finished the two days' journey at Killis, which you will
remember as the scene of the latest massacre some three weeks or so ago; we thus found
ourselves in the wake of the storm, and were able to form some idea of what it must have been
like. The Armenian church was turned into a hospital, and I was told that there were seven
men still lying there, several of whom cannot survive. As it is no part of my business to
officiously thrust myself into the political life of the country, I did not indulge the sightseer's
natural instinct to look at any thing that has the flavor of death or dying, and no doubt my
conduct would in this way be more acceptable | to the authorities; for I gathered that the 28
kaimmakam or mayor does not approve of such visits being made and I do not think he
would wish an interior view of the church to be taken, nor that an "interview" (in the modern
sense) should be sought with sufferers and doctors.

<Aintab, April 24, 1896> Yesterday Mrs. S., the wife of Dr. Shephard (just returned from 34
Zeitun and Marash with the English Consul, Mr. Barnham), took me to a number of poor
homes in the town, from which husbands, sons, &c., have been taken by the recent trouble,
either by death or to be put in prison. Mrs. S. is employing a number, about two hundred, of
these men and women in embroidery, a most exquisite industry to which they seem born, and
the results of which she is sending to "Liberty's," London. I want very much that some
English friends of the Armenians should open a depot for its sale, so that a mere business-firm
should not absorb all the profits from this fruit of industry, every penny of which one could
wish the poor women to have. From house to house we went (five or six), and in each one
was the same exquisite cleanliness, great delicacy of personal neatness—their hands so fine
and clean for their beautiful work—and in every home, in spite of bare walls, a plant or two,
scented geranium mostly, and in every case a leaf or two was picked and presented to us both
on leaving. In better homes they give a little button-hole bouquet, but you cannot call
anywhere and come away flowerless! The girls here are strikingly pretty; bright brown eyes,
delicately marked eyebrows, white regular teeth, and gentle manners, and their black glossy
hair they wear in long braids; and these are the women the Turks are taking and treating as
we know. Delicate, modest, gentle girls! Several cases we have heard of here were sad enough.

I took my "Frena" camera with me and photographed some ruined and burnt houses, but 35
I wish I could have photographed a regular catacomb I went down into, under one house. It
is being dug now by one family, in the courtyard of their house. You see the better houses are
protected by high walls with iron doors outside, and a court within, and *inside the court they*
cannot be seen, so they are preparing a place of refuge for any future calamity. It was a scramble
getting down, some ten feet underground; but once there they had already made a good cave,

very much indeed like some of the chambers in the Catacombs at Rome. This catacomb is connected with the well, so that in case of detention they would have water. I took the opportunity of telling them of the early Christians who had suffered at Rome and acted much as they were doing now, at the same time expressing my earnest hope that their catacomb might never be used.

When one of the large Christian houses was attacked and fired, someone called out for the water-hose to put out the fire, and a man ran to seek it. It was sent attached, *not to water*—but a *petroleum* barrel, and so the fire was helped instead of hindered. The lady of this house and her son were both shot as they came out—offering to give the mob anything they wanted—and their bodies burned.

I do not mean to put many tales of horror into my letters, but one more I must add just now, as it was told on the lawn-tennis ground yesterday, by one of the students to a horrified group of his companions, and then interpreted to me. One of their own number, a hot headed
 36 young fellow, had left the college at the time of the Zeitun excitement, with the idea of helping his fellow countrymen there. News had just come in that he had died in prison, and on his dead foot the marks were found where a red-hot horse-shoe had been fastened.

Now for a change. It will do your hearts good to know that all the Turks are not cruel. The American hospital here would undoubtedly have been wrecked but for the determined efforts of a Turk, whose brother's life Dr. S. had saved. Other Turks also secreted Christian friends and neighbors in their houses. The Armenians themselves are helping one another splendidly. Everywhere this is the case. It is not only England and America that have given money. Many rich Armenians have quite impoverished themselves, and they are waiting on the sick and caring for the homeless in the church and school-houses here most lovingly.

49 <Ourfa, May 5, 1896> We crossed the Euphrates at Biredjik, where there is now not a single Christian left: all have either been killed or embraced Islam.* We came across some of these unfortunate apostates, and indeed one or two were in our party, unless I am much mistaken. One man who came to Aintab wept much over his unfortunate position, and with others will take the opportunity of confessing his faith again when better times come. I fancy they will not find it so easy. Another man sends word that although, for the sake of his wife and children, and in view of his lonely situation in the country, he has embraced Islam, he keeps up morning and evening prayer secretly with his wife.

51 We spent the night at Serouj (the ancient Serug, a place in which I was much interested as being the home of one of the most famous fathers of the Syrian Church, Jacob of Serug); the city is now a mere collection of Kurdish huts, built of mud, and having the appearance of a group of beehives. And the whole of the plain was dotted over with similar ant-hills, which made one think of Africa rather than of Asia. Nothing remains of the old civilization of this region except a series of hills or mounds covering the sites of ancient cities and villages, and no doubt rich in antiquities, if one could be permitted to excavate them.

As I said, it surprised me to see the way in which the Kurd was holding the country. The

* We understand that, through the influence of Vice-Consul Fitzmaurice, these forced converts have been permitted to return to their former profession.—J. R. H.

nomadic Kurd was encamped in tents with reed walls and canvas roofs by the side of the agriculturist, who was tilling the rich plain. I reckon him to be about as unvarnished a savage as one could wish to see. Their wild dogs flew at us, and would cheerfully have torn us to pieces, and the men are not much better. And the Armenian population in this country has this unvarnished savage for its nether millstone, and a certain other varnished savage for its upper millstone—an over-lord and an under-lord. Is it any wonder that they talk of leaving the country, and eagerly discuss any and every possible scheme of emigration?

Here in Ourfa we are in the city that was once the metropolis of Eastern Christianity (the home of Abgar, of Tatian, and of Ephrem), and now has become its charnel-house and sepulcher. We pass constantly by looted shops and battered doors; we talk with the widows and pity the orphans; we try amid these wrecks to keep our own faith alive, and to rekindle the faith of the suffering people of God. They are a precious people, their patience is boundless and unutterable, and their charity towards one another abundant. What has been done for them in the West has fractional moral value compared with their care for one another. If the problem of living here can be solved they will solve it; but for myself it seems to be the insoluble and impossible problem, the *reductio ad absurdum* of existence. 52

We are delighted with the way in which relief operations have been carried on here. Miss Shattuck, the heroine of the massacres, is the mainspring, but she has a capital local committee (of Armenians), who investigate all cases and classify them, and give help in the wisest way, so as not to multiply distress in relieving it. There is no one here now, as far as I can make out, that is starving; the trouble may recur next autumn, but for the present the people are preserved alive, and most of them are getting to work again. The weavers have been employed to make cloth for the naked, and the coppersmiths are now being set to work to supply the empty houses with the necessary cooking gear; and so gradually the broken fabric of social order is being pieced together, and the smashed machine made ready for some more revolutions. The greatest trouble ahead will perhaps be the orphans; but here also the people are taking hold of the matter for themselves, and it will not do to open orphanage operations until everything has been done that can be done in the way of finding homes for them.

<May 6> . . . Miss Shattuck and I, accompanied by our guard and some of the Relief Committee, went to inspect an Armenian house, kindly lent free of cost for two months, to receive orphans, until further arrangements can be made. It has been terribly battered about, and, indeed, we have not been in one Armenian house yet which does not show marks of violence; but, in spite of injury, it is a fine old house, evidently belonging to a family or families (since life is on the patriarchal basis here) of the better class. Carved marble pillars and beautifully carved woodwork on doors and shutters showed the refinement of its late occupants. The owner was with us, and told us that twenty-one of his kith and kin who had lived there with him had been killed in the massacre. Twenty-one! Just think of the desolation of his hearth and home! and of the nobility and charity of nature that could take joy in giving the scene of formed happy family life to shelter the orphan children of his people. After Miss Shattuck and her helpers had decided what had to be done to put the house in order, we next proceeded to the little infirmary where the few wounded people who have neither recovered nor died yet remain. There is a man with a great sword-gash across his face cutting the nose in two, another shot through the lungs, another with one hand off and the other wounded . . . 57

64 Extracts From Recent Letters (chiefly from American Missionaries).

<From Ourfa. January 3, 1896>

I know you will be anxious for further report of the massacre. By actual count 1,500 of those killed in the streets were dragged by the feet to a long trench outside of the city and there thrown in, one on top of another. Many of those you and I knew intimately, our Boys' High School teacher, nine of the priests, and our pupils' parents took refuge in the big Armenian church. There were in the church between 1,500 and 2,000 people. The soldiers came and entered it and were followed by other butchers, some were first killed, but most were burned. The church itself is of most solid stone and did not burn. They have been longer in cleaning up the church than in the streets. For several days I have seen men lugging in sacks the ashes, bones, &c., along the brow of the hill just by our house, and dumping the contents
65 over the wall. The air in the city is *very bad*. I have with me in the house, church, and school-rooms 250 people, many of them seriously wounded. It takes me, with the help of the others, from five to six hours daily to dress the wounds. One woman will probably lose her arm. Each person has more than one wound. I sent to the Government and demanded 300 loaves of bread and 500 beds and clothing. Hundreds of people have come to me for shelter, but I had to turn them away, as there is no room. They come with pale, drawn faces, having lived in wells, coal-heaps, manure-heaps, and similar places, and have not tasted food for several days. The massacre was carried on systematically. One set of soldiers went ahead and killed the men, and were followed by another set who drove the women and children in crowds, and with much rough treatment, to the khans and mosques. Still another set followed, who then stripped the houses of everything.

Our pastor had a most peaceful end; was shot and no blood ran. The six orphaned children were sent to me and are with me still.

Some of the most wealthy of our people have now nothing left in this world; they are with me, and so humble and patient and untiring in helping me and others . . .

66 March 11.

. . . What is to be done with the great mass of widows, probably over 500, and some say 3,000! All have children, without a father to support them—a bare house in place of former, at least comparative, comfort, and with nothing to wrap the new comers in. What wonder that some of the women in desperation expose their children to quick death, rather than awake <await> the slow death of a future with out means of support . . .

We are now convinced that the loss of life here was 6,000, and perhaps near 8,000. The stench is yet very great in the Armenian church. There is a crack in the stonework of the gallery from which blood flowed.

We have this week opened a temporary home for convalescents. This course seemed imperative in order to save a few of our few men.

68 <Ourfa, May (probably near 16th)> A day or two since Miss Shattuck, Mr. S., R. and I went to see the great church where the multitude, between 2,000 and 3,000, were killed at the time of the massacre, and an awful sight it was. The two priests who remain alive (who were both wounded and left for dead), met us at the outer gate of the yard . . .

. . . Here is the enormous church—blackened from floor to roof—the roof, a mass of 69
black, except where the white calcined stone shows through. All along both sides are the
calcined and broken stone brackets which once supported the two great galleries where the
women worshipped, and these galleries were crowded on that day as closely as it was possible.
What must have been the scene as these fell in with their living burden upon the crowd, and
into the flames below! There is another large gallery opposite the altar—not fallen—and from
the crowd of women here, numbers of girls were selected and taken away to Moslem harems
both here and at Aleppo. One sad tale I must tell, to bring home to your hearts the realization
which only detail affords, and then we will again reverently leave the church and turn to other
things.

One woman had sought refuge here with her husband and six children. She was a very
nice-looking woman, and, in spite of her mature motherhood, still young, and a certain Turk
had cast his eyes upon her. Her husband was killed in the churchyard; she saw it, and sought
the church with her children; the Turk followed her triumphantly, saying, “Now I shall have
you,” &c. This drove the poor creature to despair, and | she flung one of her children into the 70
flames from the gallery, and then exclaiming, “What is there to live for?” sprang after it herself
and perished. The child was saved, and with four others of the family (for one was burned)
will we hope be soon sent to Constantinople and taken under the kind care of Dr. and Mrs.
D. We learn that the people were lured to the church by soldiers going to their houses
previously and telling them that if they went there they would be protected. One of the priests
also told us that they knew who the chief instigator of this crime was, and that he some times
meets him in the street, and when he does so, he, the Moslem, always smiles triumphantly at
him!

. . . You will remember that in a recent letter we spoke of a house kindly lent by an
Armenian—who had had twenty one of his family killed—for the use of orphans. When
visiting it a few days since we were shown from the roof | a cave under the wall of the city, 71
which had been filled with bodies after the massacre, dragged thither by their heels, the cave’s
mouth being then stopped up with earth. While we were looking we noticed three or four
Armenian women there weeping and wailing over the spot—no doubt their dearest were there
buried!

<Edessa, April 26, 1896> In 1845 the Armenian bishop, Haretoon Kahengian of Edessa, 76
considering that the remaining part of the temple was nearly destroyed, and that it was now
holding a crowded congregation, began the building of a new and a larger church, which is
now standing . . .

On this church the free labor of thousands of pious believers was spent. This mother
church had about 20,000 children around her, who, having entered upon a path of mental
and material progress, were expecting a very bright future; but alas! the year 1895 brought
with it unexpected calamities which not only destroyed the flourishing present, but also
ruined the hopeful future.

For the prosperous condition of the Armenians had excited passionate envy, and on
October 25 the signal of the first attack was given to our Moslem countrymen by some armed
men entering the Armenian quarter, and | killing a harmless man, a money-changer, by name 77
Baghas. On the following day violent attacks were made on all sides, and also hundreds of

houses which were at the entrance of the Armenian quarter were pillaged. About sixty-five persons were killed and thousands of men, women, and children were taken by force to the barracks and there compelled to put on white turbans and to profess Islam to save their lives.

After these painful events the Armenians were besieged. They were deprived of water and victuals; besides this, about seventy Armenians were put in prison, on the pretext that they were revolutionists. After this the Government demanded all the weapons possessed by the Armenians for traveling purposes, on pain of terrible punishment as rebels, which they obediently yielded up, feeling assured that the Imperial Government would protect their lives.

On December 27 and 28 took place the second disturbance, in such a dreadful manner that we spare your feelings the relation of them in detail. It is enough to say that our Moslem countrymen plundered all our houses and shops, and fired very many, making an exception of such as were around the Protestant church, which were protected on account of Miss Shattuck, the American missionary, being a foreign subject. The Moslems carried on their deadly work by means of all kinds of instruments, *i.e.*, by Martini rifles, revolvers, bayonets, axes, daggers, spears, &c.; their aim was to kill all males above ten years of age. Many blind, dumb, sick, and crippled were among the killed.

78 Then the gendarmes advised the poor Armenians to take refuge in the church, because they said they were going to protect it. But, instead, the fiercest attack was made upon the church. They set it on fire, and men, women, and children, first embracing each other, were burned to death.

Many ladies and girls were dragged half-naked to the mosques, from which they were taken to different Moslem houses, according to the choice of their captors. After that, under threat of a third massacre, from five to six hundred weak Christians accepted Islam.

Without reckoning the wounded or those who have lost a limb or been paralyzed through fear, the number of the slain is approximately as follows: 2,350 men, 820 women, 1,290 children. But it is thought that when all the names are collected the number will rise to 5,000.

In deep sorrow we mention that among the slain there are found respectable, useful, and diligent public men.

Now this afflicted people, deprived of all its useful members, deprived of its rightful properties, is also deprived of the one single consolation which it can have on earth, namely, the Christian services which had their origin nineteen centuries ago. These have now for six months altogether ceased, on account of the injuries to the church. The capacity of the church of our Protestant brethren not being sufficient to hold the two congregations, many have been deprived of public religious comfort of any kind.

79 As with the church, so with our schools, which have been dispersed, and the poor forlorn orphans wander about in the streets begging. They are in great danger of being immoraled and turned to Moslems.

Thus the once nourishing congregation, which has never before held out its hands to others for help, is now in a languishing state. Those of them who have survived through the kind providence of God, are a group of poor men who, with their material goods, have lost all their means of livelihood; so much so, that they are utterly unable to rebuild the church and re-establish the schools . . .

<Ourfa, May 17, 1896> . . . It is by superior intelligence that the Armenians have made 83
 such progress in the East, and it is imperative, unless they are to relapse into the old barbarism
 of fifty years back, that the schools be maintained and improved. The recent attack upon the
 Armenians was, if I may put it figuratively, a blow at the head. Most of the leading men are
 gone, and many of the teachers. And the recent calamities have made it impossible that the
 schools, which have just been reopened, can be at once self-supporting, as they were before
 the massacres. The Gregorians have reopened with about 300 children out of a former 500,
 and this they could not have done without the aid of the Protestants. The number of teachers
 is wholly inadequate, and there is no school for girls. There are thousands of children
 unprovided for. As to the Protestant part of the community, they lean somewhat upon the
 American Mission, and will recover more rapidly; they have begun work with 300 to 400
 children, both boys and girls. The whole of the work is elementary in character, and there is 84
 urgent need for some provision of a more advanced nature.

The Armenian holds his own here, because he is brighter and better educated than the rest 85
 of the community. Recent events have put him down at the bottom of the ladder; and as the
 Armenians say in their appeal, the children are “immoralizing” in the streets. Unless they are
 rescued, many will be far behind their dead fathers and mothers, and some of them will be in
 danger of a change of religion. It seems to me that the rescue of the children intellectually is
 as important as shoes for their feet, or beds to sleep on.

<Diarbekir, June 1, 1896> . . . <In Garmoush> we stayed at the house of a Protestant 96
 pastor, and here we found to our regret that a very fine old Armenian copy of the Gospels,
 for which R. had offered a good sum, and hoped to get, had been plastered up again inside a
 wall, fears having prevailed, and was therefore lost to him and scholarship . . .

This town [Severek] has suffered very terribly, and there are many hundreds of widows,
 and they have had *hardly any help* . . .

<Mardin, June 22, 1896> Life here is very quiet, while R. and Mr. Andrus are away on 109
 their manuscript-hunting tour, the one great event being the closing of the Missionary
 Schools (High Schools) for the summer. These schools have not been interrupted as those at
 the other missionary stations have been, there having (as I before mentioned) been no
 massacre here, though all the country around was pillaged, and one burnt village lies in its
 desolation on the plain just below the town.

<Mardin, June 29, 1896> I have very little personal news for you to-day, for our life here 113
 has gone on very evenly since I last wrote; but the rumors that are coming in are most
 disquieting. We have no certain news except a telegram from Dr. Raynolds of Van to the effect
 that the missionaries are safe, but the rumor in the market-place here is that every Christian
 at Van has been killed, and that the Government have turned the cannon on the towns of
 Erzeroum and Bitlis and leveled them with the ground.* There is a great panic here, of course,

* The state of things at Van was not quite so bad as the alarmist rumours painted it, though the outlook
 was dark and sad indeed. And the other reports as to Erzeroum, &c., were not substantiated.

and the Christian men who have any money say they will take out their papers and go to Beyrout, or anywhere, and leave everything. We hear also of Arab risings near here, and altogether it seems as if a new reign of terror is commencing.

130 <Harpoot, July 18, 1896> . . . <Besides Khayad, there is> still more utterly devastated village, or rather small town, called Kitabel, also on the Tigris, close to Diarbekir, where very many were killed, and witnessed a good profession for Christ, especially the Protestant pastor.

142 <Harpoot, July 22, 1896> Our descent on the third day into the great plain on the northern side of the Taurus was very tedious and trying, especially as we accomplished it under a blazing sun—but our good horses never once made a false step—and before evening we had arrived at the Government village Mezreh, at the foot of the steep hill of 1,000 feet high, on the summit of which Harpoot stands, and were met and kindly greeted by our Consul, Mr. Fontana, and also by Dr. Barnum and Mr. Ellis, two of the missionaries from Harpoot, who, after we had stayed a little while in conversation with the Consul (who lives at Mezreh), escorted us up the hill to their fortress-like town. In riding across the plain, we had come through much desolation and two ruined and burned villages, and on entering the town, we rode through the *entirely ruined* Christian quarter until we arrived at the American Mission, where four buildings only remained standing out of twelve, the rest being heaps of ruins.

The kindest welcome awaited us here as at every mission station previously visited, and we were soon at home with this heroic little band, every one of whom has faced immediate and terrible death without fear or flinching. This is no figure of speech, for their destruction was evidently intended by the authorities here, if not by those at Constantinople, and it was not by any Government protection (as with Miss Shattuck at Ourfa), but by direct Providential intervention that they were saved.

143 The soldiers were ranged on the hill-side below, and the cannon planted pointing at their buildings, which stood high above the Christian quarter, and the bullets fell *in showers* upon the premises, while one shell burst in Dr. Barnum's little study, and we saw the path it made and where it broke, with its own remains, which he keeps as a relic.

The officials put the blame for this disgraceful attack on those above them when not on the Armenians themselves, and justice and truth are things unknown.

And this continued reign of deceit and lies and oppression is never for a moment varied by the opposite. The poor villagers send constantly to the mission with one tale of sorrow or another. The Kurds are taking their harvest, for example; the missionaries tell this to the Vali, with name of village, date of robbery, &c., who professes to be as much interested as they in the good of the people; and then follows the *invariable* report, which sounds like an echo of the Sultan's letter to Queen Victoria last winter, "We have made all inquiries, and we find none of these complaints are true," and that is the end!

This neighborhood has suffered more largely in pillage and destruction of property than any other in Armenia, and already about £30,000 has been spent here, and over 73,000 people kept alive, and still the needs are almost as great as ever. There is not a village rebuilt yet of the more than 150 which have been pulled down and burned.*

* A wagon-load of kerosene cans was supplied by the Government to the Kurds for the purpose, &c.

The tale our missionary friends here (Dr. and Mrs. and I Miss Barnum, Mr. Ellis, and two single ladies) told us of the time of the tragedy here, was most thrilling. They were all together, with over 100 of their people, afterwards 400 gathered round them, and driven by the fire and the whistling of bullets from one place to another. They had also with them two aged and paralyzed missionaries, who had to be carried—a Mr. Wheeler and Mrs. Allen—and they all found a temporary shelter on the top of the roof of the girls' school-room, since burned, which having a little parapet around, was some protection from the observation of the soldiers on the opposite hill. Here they expected and prepared to die together, but after a while, finding the entrance to the boys' school-room, which was on higher ground, accessible, they planned a united retreat thither. In doing so they were deliberately fired at by a Turk, who had found his way to the roof on which they were, as well as became again the targets for a brief space of the soldiers' bullets. The Turk *aimed too high*, else one or more *must have been killed*, his bullet was found in the gateway they passed through afterwards . . .

A tiny statistical return will assist the imagination to grasp the extent of the desolation in the districts of Harpoot and Palu:—

Statistics for Palu and its forty-three villages.

Armenian houses	2,074	Kidnapped girls	43
Number of Armenians	14,878	Kidnapped women	152
Houses plundered	2,059	Girls married to Turks	29
Houses burned	755	Women married to Turks	21
Houses destroyed afterwards	259	Girls returned	16
Killed	900	Women returned	92
Wounded	513	Churches destroyed	44
Families converted	474	Monasteries destroyed	2
Individuals converted	3,181	Schools destroyed	37
Individuals circumcised	603	Ecclesiastics killed	16

This list does not include those who died from fear and exposure. The kidnapping represents but a small part of the violence done to women.

Statistics gathered at Gregorian Episcopate for Harpoot and its seventy-three villages

Needy persons	26,990	Wounded	1,315
Houses plundered	6,029	Miscarriages	829
Houses burned	1,861	Killed in fields and highways	280
Churches badly injured and defiled	29	Persons burned	56
Churches burned	15	Died of hunger and cold	1,014
Protestant chapels destroyed	5	Suicides	23
Protestant chapels badly damaged	18	Martyrs Bishops	1
Monasteries burned	2	Martyrs Priests	11
Monasteries damaged	4	Protestant ministers	3
Forced marriages to Turks	166	Teachers	7
Rapes	2,300	Men, women and children	1,093
Forced conversion of priests	12	Total deaths	4,127
Forced conversion of men and women	7,664	Loss of property	1,651,956 liras Turkish.

This does not include Malatia, Arabkir, Egin, Charsanjak, Gighi, Palu, Choonkoosh, and Diarbekir districts.

These statistics have been carefully prepared.

147 <Harpoot, July 25, 1896> One of the most difficult problems in connection with the relief of Armenian distress is that of the villages, and it is difficult in two ways. The first is that these villages are so numerous that to deal with them is much the same as trying to deal with single shops, houses, or persons in a city where there has been murder and pillage. One does not know where to begin, and even if one had a millionaire on the Relief Committee, one would hardly know where to stop. But the second reason which makes it hard to help is that a village is a village. It has no walls, nor gates; little or no active government (though that is not always a hardship, when, as in this country, the dogs persistently fraternize with the wolves): and consequently when an attack has once been made upon the Christians either by their neighbors or by outside tribes, the chances are that it will be repeated as often as there is anything worth plundering in the village. In the city, people can combine their strength |
 148 (even when disarmed by the Government as the first step in a massacre); they can hide a good deal of their property or carry it from place to place; but what can a poor villager do, who owns a very obvious yoke of oxen, and an almost as obvious store of grain? I know of several towns that have been able successfully to resist massacre, but I cannot at present recall a successful defense of a village.

And it is the sense of their helplessness in these villages that makes their and our hopelessness, whenever we give way to despair with them. Here at Harpoot, one looks to the south, from the cliffs where we are perched, across a great upland plain bounded on the south by the Taurus mountains, which we crossed on coming from Diarbekir. This plain is well watered by mountain streams and dotted all over with villages, mostly Christian villages, and almost all of them have been burned and destroyed. For days before the massacre and plunder at Harpoot, the missionaries watched the flames rising from one village after another, as the Kurds and Turks drew nearer and nearer to this doomed city. And what is true of this plain is true of every plain and hillside in this part of the country. It is the same to the north of Harpoot, across the Euphrates, where they have not only carried off the spoil of the people, in oxen, grain, implements, and other properties, but have come back again to plunder them of the oxen purchased for them by some of the relief workers (happily the Government has secured restitution of this last bit of plunder), and are even now threatening them with a renewal of the attacks . . .

150 Hoo-i-loo is the name of the place, as nearly as I can write it from sound (for you will not find it marked on any map), and it lies between three and four hours from here (all distances, as you know, are measured by hours with us, like the German *Stunde*, and an hour stands for the distance covered by a laden horse in an hour of time, say between three and four miles English). Our party consisted of Mr. Gates, Miss Bush, Miss Emma Barnum, our two selves, our servant, and a *zaptieh*. There was a cool breeze blowing, and we had a delightful ride across the plain, passing on the way a little Armenian church into which were built two Latin
 151 inscriptions, dedicated by Nero to some officers of the third legion. It seemed | appropriate to find the name of Nero here! It ought to be inscribed over the whole country-side, and on a thousand broken walls and ruined homes.

When we came to the village, we found that it consisted of about three hundred houses, and that not more than six were standing. All the rest was brown, bare, broken wall of mud-brick, without a roof, and with hardly a door or a window-shutter left. The people began to

come around us and welcome us; one of the first women that drew near had lost her hand; there was no more than a stump left by the sword of the destroyer.

We went to the ruins of the church; the roof, as I said, was gone, and every piece of timber in the walls was burnt out by fire. The debris had raised the floor by perhaps a foot. The people crowded round with eyes full of tears, the women telling of slain sons and other pitiful things; the pastor, too, came to talk to us—a fine young fellow, in whom we were much interested. We made the tour of the village, found a little Catholic church similarly destroyed; then I took a lesson in archaeology, for I noticed the streets deep in dust from the disintegrating brick, and saw how these mounds or tells were formed that we have seen so many times on our journey. Moreover, it was clear that desolations of this kind had occurred from the earliest times in this country, for how else could we explain the frequency with which such tells or mounds are found? If the people at Hoo-i-loo do not rebuild, there will be a tell formed there within a couple of years.

<Harpoot, July 30, 1896> One of the most pitiful of recent cases was that of a young 161 Armenian who came to call here; he belongs to a wealthy family, but in the recent troubles he lost father and brother, and almost all their estate: he was wounded in forty places, and you will not be surprised that he has taken eight months to recover; rather you will be surprised at his recovering at all, and will pronounce it an irregular proceeding. And now, just as he is recovering, face to face with a ruined business and a desolated home, the Government have arrested him on a charge of conspiracy, and are searching his house. The ground of this proceeding is, that he wrote a letter to a friend in Erzeroum asking him to assist a poor fellow either to find employment or to *escape to Russia*. This letter has been intercepted, and is considered evidence of conspiracy. The pathetic side of it lies in the fact that the man has already suffered to the utmost limit, but this does not satisfy the persecutors, and I suppose they will not spare him unless he can bribe his accusers and his judges.

Talking of bribery and its prevalence in the social order, we have been dealing with it in the mission lately as a burning question, which had to be faced, not merely theoretically, but practically. (We are all of us sound theoretically, it is no question of abstract ethics.) The question arose as follows. As you know, the prisons in Turkey are filled with leading people from the Armenian community, especially with Protestant teachers and preachers, who are the chief agents of civilization in this country, and therefore the favorite victims of the Government in their attempts to reduce the Armenian | people to primitive serfdom and 162 savagery. In Malatia, and in Arabkir, two neighboring towns, there are many Armenians in prison, all of them known to be innocent of the political offenses with which they are charged, and none of them as yet honored with a trial . . .

Malatia is the most beautiful city I have yet visited in Asiatic Turkey. If we use the word 167 Paradise in the old Persian sense of park or garden, this place is or was a paradise. It is a succession of beautiful gardens, planted with poplar trees and every variety of fruit trees, and watered by streams that descend out of the neighboring mountains. Almost all the houses stand in the midst of their own gardens, and the impression of the city as one approaches it from outside is more like that of a long stretch of woods than of an inhabited place, as the houses are almost entirely hidden away.

Before the troubles began in this place the relations between Moslems and Christians were very friendly, and there was no revolutionist propaganda of any kind, as there is also no trace of any such movement in the majority of the inland cities of Asiatic Turkey. But the fire of fanaticism is easy to light; a part of its fuel was found in the increasing prosperity of the Armenians, and the match was set to the fuel by a direct telegram from the Sultan. As the
 168 Moslems are five to one, it is not | surprising that the massacre was a successful one; what is surprising is that the Christians were able to defend themselves for many days by firing from the roof of the chief Gregorian church upon the attacking Turks, when they had only old-fashioned guns with flint-locks, whereas their persecutors were armed by the Government with Martini-Henry rifles.

I could tell you many tales of horror in connection with these days of violence and persecution. The estimate of Christians killed varies from 2000 to 4000; most of the leading Protestants were slaughtered, and the flesh of their chief men carried round the market for sale at twenty paras (about 1d.) the oke (2½ lbs.)! I may say that I thought this last piece of atrocity must be apocryphal, but we have heard it from four different quarters. In one of the churches fifty people were burned, and no doubt the great Gregorian church would have been the scene of a massacre like that at Ourfa, if it had not been for the heroic defense made by the people who were imprisoned in it.

The Protestant church and schools which I have visited to-day is a mere pile of bare walls. Of the houses in the Christian quarter 560 were destroyed, and up to the present time I cannot find one case of rebuilding, such is the fear in which the poor people live. Add to all this wreck of property in the destruction of houses, churches, and schools, the wholesale robbers of everything that could be carried away, the violence done to the women (600 girls and brides carried off to Kurdish and Turkish houses), and the ruin of families by the murder
 169 of the | men, and you will get a faint idea of the state of things in Malatia. As I have said, it is in some ways worse than Ourfa. At Ourfa the houses are built of hard stone, upon which fire had little effect; but here the material is sun-dried bricks made of mud, with roofs of poplar beams, and such houses it is comparatively easy to destroy.

176 <Harpoot, August 19, 1896> . . . Here come trooping up the stairs, and on to the verandah, accompanied by a number of women caretakers, the band of orphan children from whom, with the help of the committee, I am to select the fifty orphans I have promised on behalf of the Friends' Relief Committee to care for during one year. Each little creature salaams in a way that tells of a high civilization somewhere in past history, if not of present
 177 culture, and stands waiting my verdict, | and then for each pleading voices are lifted up,—and these Armenian women know how to plead!

181 <General Notice of the Mission of J. R. and H. B. H. to Armenia> They had been able to visit every city they designed to visit; once only having met with prohibition as to route. They soon found that no fresh organization was wanted: the Armenian question is an American one. The civilization of Asia Minor is American; it is covered by a network of American agencies; there are good colleges and schools, medical colleges, and schools for training preachers. The same thing is going on as in Bulgaria: the Americans are training the future rulers of the country. The Armenians were getting wealthy, enterprising, full of skill and

commercial activity, thus provoking the hostility of the Turk, and furnishing a seed-bed of persecution. Our friends always co-operated, where they could, with the American missionaries as well as with the English consuls, and never had he met with more beautiful co-operation than with the Americans, who were always at their service.

It felt like putting together a clock that had been smashed: it was a piece of broken society, and you had to study the conditions of life, beginning at the bottom—food, clothing, shelter—working up. Suppose in one of our towns, one half of the shops were looted, one fifth of the population dead or wounded, one fifth of the women widows, it would be very difficult to put it all together again. Whole trades had disappeared: you want to shoe a horse, all the smiths are dead; tools are stolen, and the workmen have nothing, and cannot get them back. The social problem was therefore very difficult, requiring much | adaptation and skill. 182 What could they do? Put together those who belonged together—try to construct a common wealth out of ruins!

The capital necessary for this would be, indeed, almost boundless; it was absolutely impossible to undo the work that the Turks and Kurds had done by giving money. You come into a village where every house but five or six are in ruins, and in the midst of these ruins the people are living and sleeping, with very little to cover them. The villagers say, “It is useless: the houses will only be pulled down again if we build them;” but you converse with them, and you see that if some would build a few houses others would follow suit. This is the true evolutionary line. Our friends supplied not money, but materials for building, the people found labor; they built five or six small houses, and this furnished a nucleus: others would then build. It would take £10,000 or £15,000 to rebuild a village; they could only put down £100 worth of raw materials as a beginning.

They devoted attention to this because the winter was coming, and they saw that many would die of cold as well as starvation.

Then as to the widows and orphans: No one else was working for them, that part of the community was incapable of recovering itself: men could begin again and go to work; the child is helpless, and widows nearly so. In Malatia there were 1,560 orphans and 500 widows, and almost every Christian house was ruined. Imagine the state of fear and despair in which the people were. Our friends took hold of the question, and began to | organize, collecting 183 some of the orphans into little groups, and setting women to take care of them. The children were running wild about the streets, *playing at massacre*, and learning everything that was bad. Our friends induced the Gregorians and Protestants at Malatia to combine in a school committee, and they then furnished accommodation for 1,500 children for the present. They saw no other way of restoring the social machine.

Something permanent was thus done. Others had given away corn; the harvest was being collected, and was a rich one. They had not therefore given much for food, and never gave money, lest the Turks should take it away. The Turks had indeed made strenuous efforts to get at the relief funds, and not always without success, but so far as he knew they had got none of theirs.

. . . Some of the work had developed in a remarkable degree, especially at Ourfa. They came there at its worst point. | The condition was something like that in England after the 184 Black Death. The price of labor had risen, and this made revival easier. The Turks tried to get complete control of trades, &c., but could not. Our friends undertook twenty orphans to

begin with, and tried to restore the school for 700 children; now Miss Shattuck writes there are seventy orphans and 1,100 children under care, and the city has largely recovered, and trade and industry are reviving. The place where things were worst has now a better prospect than most . . .

There is a good work to be done amongst these people: they are not savages, but the progressives of the East.

185 . . . There is still need of caution at present in any publication, as a hostage is in the enemy's country.

J. R. E. arrived at Constantinople on Sunday, August 24, and for two days was engaged in trying to see ambassadors and other persons of influence, but without much avail. Miss Kimball, from Van, with whom and her two companions he had travelled from Samsoun, while walking down the streets of Galata, said, "These streets will run with blood before long." They did so. It was known that something was going to happen.

J. R. E.'s personal experience in the streets during the massacre on Wednesday generally confirmed the newspaper accounts. It was systematically organized: the carts were ready, and the wards of the city were taken one after another; the porter of one hotel said ninety-six carts
186 of dead bodies passed the door before 4 a.m. | on Friday morning; not a single male Armenian was left, it is said, in one quarter: they were hunted like rabbits.

NOTES OF J. R. H.' JOURNEY.

Taking up the thread of our narrative from Harpoot, July 30: We went from Harpoot to Malatia: Shakir Pasha, the Reform Commissioner, was there; the British consul went also, and some missionaries from Harpoot. There was much excitement in the place on our coming, the whole town came out to view us, and we were welcomed remarkably.

We were much surprised at what we found. At Harpoot it had been a country difficulty, a village question, many of the houses were not destroyed; the lives had been mainly spared,—a few hundred people killed. In Malatia it was a contrast. A city, in which the destruction of life was awful, almost all the houses were down; it was like Ourfa again, where there were very few Christian villages outside the city.

We visited Shakir Pasha, and called on the Mutessarif,—it was he who gave the direct orders for the massacres; he killed the Christians even in the Government buildings, ordered them out in the street and had them shot under his eyes, when they begged to be spared . . .

After these arrangements on the Saturday, we looked about the city, a beautiful one, a city
187 of gardens—every | house in its own garden, with streams of water running through; perhaps 40,000 inhabitants. The houses were not as at Ourfa of stone, but of mud bricks and poplar beams, some very beautiful, but destroyed easily, simply burnt out; 500 or 600 had gone, only two or three Christian houses were left,—we had one. The people were living in gardens and on the ground. The place had been visited by the Red Cross Mission.

There are no missionaries living at Malatia: it is under the Harpoot station, the preaching all done by natives, and well done. There are 1,560 orphans in the city, and over 500 widows. In one ward of the city there was only one male Christian left. Christians are perhaps one in nine of the population; there were killed altogether about 3,000 (November 1895). Very little news of this came to Europe. The people defended themselves in the Armenian church,

barricaded themselves on the roof of the church with the stones found there, and kept up fire for eight days, till the Government was obliged to send them protection.

Armenian Relief Fund.

193

I add a report of relief work done in the Harpoot district . . . —J. R. H.

<Harpoot, September 3, 1896> . . . In the first place, many have no houses to shelter 196 them. When cold weather sets in they will be no longer able to live in gardens as they have been doing through the summer, but will be forced to huddle together in small and unsuitable quarters, where disease will break out and carry off many. This is notably the condition of Arabkir city, where 1,561 houses were burned, and only 621 remain to the Christians. If some provision is not made for sheltering the people, last year's epidemic of typhus fever is almost certain to be repeated there. More than 600 died of this disease last year; the fatality is likely to be worse this year, because the people are more enfeebled. Many villages are in the same condition as regards shelter. This is the most pressing need at the present moment.

The second need is that of help to start in business. Many are still unable to provide themselves with tools or capital so that they may resume their former occupations. In Arabkir weaving was the principal industry. The Red Cross gave some 150 looms. Others had repaired old looms or provided themselves with new ones. With the opening of the winter there will be a demand for all the cloth they can make, but they have not the capital to purchase thread for their looms, and the merchants who formerly furnished the capital have been impoverished, so the looms stand idle . . .

The third feature of the situation is one that calls for serious thought and effort. It is the 197 large number of widows and orphans left without any bread-winners on whom to depend for support. A careful canvass of the city of Malatia and seven near villages shows that there are 1,883 orphans and 630 widows there. The number in Arabkir is said to be even larger. In the village of Harboosi there are between thirty and forty orphans who wander about the village as the dogs do, eating, sleeping where they can. Every town and village furnishes its contingent of widows and orphans, and the villagers are too much engrossed in the struggle to provide bread for their own families to care for these helpless ones as they would ordinarily do. What is to become of them?

. . .

(Signed) A. F. Gates.

. . . At Eghin the scene was terrible. Most of the Christian houses were burnt, many of the 206 best and most respected townsmen are killed; a father and his three sons, for example, who have all left widows except the youngest. Some of the women and girls, to escape dishonor, flung themselves into the river. Alas! for the unutterable woes of these people. Our friends deem this act to be justified: "It is better to fall into the hands of God."

Some assert that the Armenians always themselves bring on these troubles, that they do something to bring down reprisals. H. B. H. (speaking for the localities she knows) states that this is a falsehood patent to all who witness the events. The massacres are planned beforehand. The Armenians have been deprived long since of their arms, they are defenseless and cowed. Do the sheep attack the wolf? They have no recourse, no place to flee to. Abject submission is their attitude, and their only possible policy.

And now Harpoot is trembling. The fiery trial of Government was not enough. The Turks are saying "Wait a little, wait until the harvest is gathered in. By the middle of October this will be done, and then." Imagine with what feelings the peasants are reaping their fields, and the poor wives and daughters are going about their daily tasks!

209 <Harpoot, Sept. 23, 1896> I am very sorry to report that a great calamity has befallen the city of Eghin. There is no town in the interior with more wealth probably and with better houses. There were about 1,000 Armenian houses and an equal number of Turkish. Of the Christian houses it is said more than 600 have been burned. The estimate of the killed is from 800 to 1,000.

210 Eghin is one of the few places that was spared during the devastation last autumn. A large ransom was paid to the Kurds at that time, and the Turks and Christians joined in defending the place.

The official version of the late affair is (I have it from superior officers), that the Christians gathered in large numbers in the churches, Sunday morning and Monday morning, and prolonged their services so that the suspicions of the Turks were excited. On Tuesday the Armenians set fire to some of their own houses in the upper part of the city, and began to fire on the Turkish houses, killing a soldier.

The facts seem to be these. The local governor, who is a native of the place, with two or three others has represented to the Governor here that there were some seditious characters there, and it is claimed that some Eghinlees in Constantinople were concerned in the late disturbances there. The Vali spoke to some of the Eghinlees who live here in regard to it, and they wrote to their friends, and they said there was only one suspicious character there, and he was a Harpootlee, and had been sent away. Correspondence between the Eghin, Harpoot, and Constantinople authorities has been going on for several weeks, and it would seem that the Constantinople Government was persuaded that there was a seditious element in Eghin, and orders were sent to eliminate it. A few days ago, the Kurds, but not in large numbers, threatened the place, but they were sent away by the soldiers. This was repeated two or three times. On Monday the 14th instant they again appeared, and the Christians had begun to distrust their own neighbors and closed their shops. Tuesday morning, as the shops were not opened, the Governor sent criers throughout the city, to proclaim that the Kurds had been dispersed and the Government would assure the perfect safety of every citizen, and every person was commanded to open his shop and resume his business. Upon this, the shops were opened and business resumed its usual course. About noon a single shot was fired, and the slaughter immediately begun. The gun is supposed to have been the signal, although the Turks claim that it was fired by an Armenian. Massacre seems to have been the first thing in order; plunder, and the burning of houses, later. It is reported that many women and girls threw themselves into the Euphrates, which flows just at the foot of the city.

211 The *Kaimakam* has telegraphed that two or three thousand persons are helpless and hungry, and he appeals for aid. The Government will probably do a little for present relief, but it will be only temporary and inadequate. Eghin seems to have suffered even worse than Arabkir and Malatia.

Some prominent Turks intimate that the probabilities are that trouble is in store for this region, and they say that if it comes, it will be worse than last year.

Further Report on the Eghin Massacre.

213

<Harpoot, Sept. 29, 1896> The news which I gave last week concerning Eghin was derived chiefly from two candid Turks who were there at the time of the massacre—they left before there was a definite knowledge of the extent of the disaster. I do not know of any persons who have come from Eghin since that time, but letters received by to-day's mail more than confirm the first reports, and agree in fixing the estimate of about 2,000 as the number of the killed. More women and children in proportion seem to have suffered this fate than in any previous massacre of which I know. Many of the dead were left in the streets for days as food for dogs, and large numbers were thrown into the Euphrates. They have been seen floating down the river forty or fifty miles below the city. In some cases whole families have been obliterated. Two thousand is a large proportion in an estimated population of between 5,000 and 6,000 Christians. 214

The letters give the number of houses as 1,100, and of these it is said that only about 150 are left. The carnage of blood and fire lasted from Tuesday the 15th to Thursday the 17th September.

All the testimony concurs in showing that the massacre was official, and that it was wholly without reason. There was no disturbing element, except in the imaginations of a few officials. They had alarmed the central government. The Vali and the military commander were in the telegraph office here most of the time from the beginning to the end, communicating with Eghin and Constantinople. As far as I can learn, the people made no resistance whatever, and no Turks were killed, except possibly later, in the division of the spoils. There were no Kurds in the place. The work was done by citizens and soldiers. The massacre extended to several of the Eghin villages, but we have no details.

The local government is constant in its assurance that no further massacres will take place in this region, and a good deal of energy is shown in restraining the turbulent element. Five people were killed in the Aghun villages, one of them a priest; but the timely arrival of soldiers prevented a general massacre. After all that has happened, it is not surprising that the Christians have no sense of security, and that they are unnerved by fear. The destitution of the coming winter threatens to be almost as great as last year.

I passed through very few villages on the way to Sivas. One of the most interesting to me was a town which I turned aside to see, named Khangal. It is celebrated for possessing a very early and valuable copy of the Armenian Gospels. I went to the church to look for it, and found the marks of recent destruction both in the church and in the ruins in the neighborhood. The Armenian brethren, to whom I had unfortunately no introduction, told me that the book had been carried off by the Turks. That was true, but they did not tell me, what I found out afterwards, that the whole village had performed a three days' fast, in order to save money enough to buy back their precious book from the robbers. 218

Henry Algernon George Percy [Lord Warkworth]—1871–1909

Notes from a Diary in Asiatic Turkey.

Edward Arnold, London, 1898

A.D 1896

60 . . . As a last chance, one of our party rode back to Trebizond to see if anything could be done to overcome the scruples of the governor, while the others spent the remainder of the day, which was unusually hot, in a futile endeavor to beguile the trout, shadowed all the time by the zaptiehs, who evidently regarded the whole thing as a transparent device to cover another escapade.

But in the end we gained our point. At first the Vali refused to see any one, on the ground that twenty female relatives of his had just arrived with his son, who was ill, and consequently the only person who could be allowed access to him was the cook! A second application was more successful. The dragoman of the consulate was admitted; the story of our attempt to evade the authorities at Jevizlik was detailed to him, and he was informed that the Vali could not consent to revise his decision. It appears that a spy of the Palace, who heard that we had landed without an order from the Sultan, and that the governor had notwithstanding given us one on his own responsibility, at once reported the matter by telegram to Constantinople. The Vali, being warned of this, immediately wired to the mudir at Jevizlik and the Mutessarif
61 at Gumush Khane, that notwithstanding his previous written sanction, they were to arrest and detain us whenever we arrived and, if possible, persuade us to return. At the same time he telegraphed to the Porte that “three English lords” had arrived and gone for an excursion up country, but that, pending instructions from the capital, he had warned them not to cross the boundaries of his own vilayet. Here it seemed was an absolute deadlock, for the only chance of our being able to enter Armenia lay in the possibility of our evading the vigilance of the officials, who had shown themselves hostile from the outset to our making the journey. But luckily the Vali’s mind was distracted quite as much by the fear of incurring blame for his discourtesy in detaining us, as by the fear that he would be punished for allowing us to proceed. The result was that after much agitation he devised an ingenious compromise, which in either alternative would leave him a colorable excuse for his action. He consented to cancel his orders to the authorities at Jevizlik and Gumush Khane, and to do nothing to interfere with our movements during the four or five days which must elapse before a despatch could arrive from Constantinople. Meanwhile, of course, we should go where we chose, even to Sumela, on condition that we afterwards return to the chaussée . . .

74 At last the telegram authorizing us to proceed arrived from Sir Philip Currie; and on the afternoon of the second day after our departure we reached the interesting ruins of Varzahan, situated in the center of a large plain a ten miles from Baiburt. The remains of two Armenian churches, and of what appears to have been originally a baptistery, are beautiful examples of twelfth century architecture. The smaller church has a pretty archway roofed with a shell design like that of the mihrab in the mosque at Cordova. The larger, and more perfect, is of

octagonal shape, its columns representing a group of slender stems tied by love-knots for capitals. The interior is peculiar, the two sides presenting an appearance which, if pleasing, is altogether destitute of symmetry. A pillar on the south stands clear of the wall, whereas the corresponding one on the north, which is carved with an almost identical design, is left undetached. An exquisite little triple window, not ten feet from the ground, and which has no counterpart opposite, is adorned with an intricate and delicate rose-pattern of twisted tracery. 75

The best idea of most Eastern towns is gained by mounting to the roofs of the buildings which command an almost uninterrupted view in every direction. The general features vary very little, but the charm of Erzerum does not lie in the sea of flat mud housetops, broken here and there by a dome or minaret, but in the broad expanse of plain which it overlooks, surrounded on every side by an unbroken chain of hills crowned with numerous forts. To the east is a long reach of swampy ground, a hotbed of malaria, and the resort of wildfowl of every description. A few old streets of picturesque houses, with projecting wooden balconies, still remain, but the majority are uninteresting, excessively dirty and, during the cold season, often choked with the snow which is thrown from the roofs and allowed to lie until the thaw sets in. A large proportion of the population is perennially absorbed in the manufacture of tezek or animal-fuel—(that of asses is especially prized)—which they collect from the stables, bake 80 carefully in the sun, and then stack for winter consumption. In addition to the Turkish community, the town contains a large number of Kurds and Armenians; and the School of San Saurian <Sanasarian>,²⁶ founded for the latter by one of their co-religionists, is an important and flourishing institution. Besides a large dormitory and class-rooms it contains a natural history museum, and a good workshop in which instruction in turning and carpentering is given. It provides accommodation for one hundred and fifty scholars, and the education, conducted on the German plan, comprises in its curriculum, among other subjects, the teaching of French, German, Turkish, and Armenian, ancient and modern. 81

Close by is a park in which we were shown the broad trench dug to receive the corpses of the four hundred Armenian victims of the recent massacre; but there is no inscription, not even a rude cross, as at Trebizond, to mark the spot. The place is chiefly frequented by the Christian women of the town, and near it stands the church surrounded by tombstones and crosses, which in design and tracery bear a strong resemblance to the Celtic art of Ireland and Iona. In a crevice of the exterior wall by the door, the faithful deposit a unique form of votive offering in the shape of their own teeth. The side chapel contains a few liturgies and bibles 82 bound in old covers of chased silver.

But San Saurian is not the only educational establishment of which Erzerum can boast. An equal number of children, many of them lately orphaned, are boarded and educated in the American school, over which Mr. Chambers, the missionary, presides. Almost all the scholars are Armenians, drawn from different and often distant districts, but the school is open to every denomination . . .

Ardern George Hulme-Beaman—1857–1929

Twenty Years in the Near East.

Methuen & Co., London, 1898

A.D. 1880s and 1890s

- 302 The second foe <of the sultan, after the Young Turks> is the Armenian. But the events of the last few years have inspired the Sultan with considerable confidence respecting the Armenians.
- 303 In the first place, they are Christians, and in dealing with them he has the general sympathy and support of every class of his Moslem subjects. It is a fundamental tenet of the faith that any Giaour who rebels against Islam or stirs up discord is to be destroyed. The Armenians have not ceased from provoking the Sultan in the most objectionable of all forms. If they had simply risen by themselves, the rising would probably have been put down in the usual way on the spot, and nothing more would have been heard of it. But the Armenians worked in a different fashion. They formed Committees abroad, interested foreign missionaries and politicians, complained to Consuls and Embassies, and left no stone unturned to bring about the active intervention of Europe in their favor. They had always been laboring under the common disabilities of Christian *rayahs* of the Porte—in exactly the same degree (and, I deliberately state my conviction, in no greater one)—as Bulgars, Greeks, and other *rayahs*, until they began agitating amongst foreign circles. It was then that the Sultan was told that the Armenians were plotting for the dismemberment of the empire—that they were striving to induce Russia or England, or all the Powers, to coerce Turkey—as they were—and that they were a danger to Islam. The Sultan lent a complaisant ear to these whispers, and decided to punish the offenders. The Sassoun massacres were by no means the beginning of the story, but they first opened the eyes of Europe. As has always happened when Europe has tried to operate upon the Sultan in Concert, the Powers commenced by conferences and joint notes and threats Innumerable. His Majesty only grew more angry at this result of the Armenian intrigues, which was exactly what had been foretold by the fanatical Moslems. They urged that the wretched Armenians must be wiped out, in order to give a lesson to the infidels, and the work began. As for the Powers in Concert, Abdul Hamid never cared one jot for such a combination. The Concert, in his eyes, is an instrument for the perpetuation of his rule, as
- 304 mutual jealousies prevent any one of its members from taking him to task. The break-up of the Concert is his only fear—an independent action of Russia or England or some other Western nation has greater terrors for him than all the far-off thunder of the Concert. In the matter of the Armenians, events are too recent to need recapitulation. An absurd Reform Scheme was framed with a flourish of trumpets after several thousand Armenians had been sacrificed to the blatant Committees, and when it had been delegated to the wastepaper basket, where it now reposes, a few thousand more were murdered, just to show the Sultan's contempt for European interference.

The Committees, every member of which in my humble opinion ought to be hanged, nevertheless continued to work and threaten in safety from European capitals, leaving their unfortunate compatriots to bear the consequences in Turkey. At last the Armenian

Patriarchate came into direct communication with the Sultan, and temporarily induced the Committees to keep quiet. The result was immediately seen in a relaxation of several of the strictest and most oppressive measures in force, and in the holding out of some hope for the future.

I am the last man to justify in any sense the barbarous and ruthless massacres of the innocents, but I maintain that the responsibility for them rests divided between the cowardly Committees abroad and the braggart and ineffectual intervention of Europe. The Committees brought about the intervention, and the intervention provoked the Sultan, and brought about the massacres. Either there ought to have been no intervention, or it ought to have been thorough. Intervention by the Concert, though, can never be thorough, and the net result of the whole miserable business was the loss of scores of thousands of innocent lives, the desolation of fruitful provinces, and the absolute wreckage of the whole Armenian national wealth and prosperity, whilst not one single murderer was ever shot or hanged, and the power and prestige of the Sultan was consequently, through his capacity for defying Europe, thus proved, enormously increased.

It is all very well to call him the "Great Assassin," but from a Moslem point of view he was 305 very fairly justified in killing any number of rebellious infidels who were being supported by combined Europe in what he and every Turk considered as a plot against the realm. The Turks retorted on England especially, that we used to blow Moslems from the muzzles of our guns and burn whole villages and mosques in India for an insult offered to one of our officials, and were they not to make an example of these Armenian dogs?

George Washburn—1833–1915

Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College.

Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909

A.D. 1880s and 1890s

xxv The Sultan took his religious rank as Caliph of the Mohammedan world more seriously than his immediate ancestors did, and in this he seems to have been encouraged by the palace camarilla. How far his motives were religious and how far political, it is impossible to say. One of his intimates assured a friend of mine that the Sultan was an agnostic, with no faith in any religion; but he certainly did his best to rouse the militant spirit of Mohammedanism, not only in Turkey but all over the Moslem world, and also to break down the influence of his own Christian subjects. He would have taken away all their established rights, if Russia and other Christian powers had not intervened in their behalf.

xxvi The treaty of Berlin had a special article in the interest of the Armenians, but the Turks soon discovered that England was the only power interested in enforcing it, and nothing was done. The more loudly the Armenians appealed to Europe, the heavier was the hand of the Sultan; until finally, in 1894, the work of extermination was commenced in ancient Armenia. In 1895 there was a massacre of about a thousand in Constantinople, and as the powers tolerated this, the massacres went on for a year all over Asiatic Turkey, culminating in the great massacre in Constantinople in 1896, when some ten thousand were slaughtered in the streets
l of the city, which literally ran with blood. Even worse than the killing of so many was the tireless plunder and persecution that went on from 1880 to 1908. It was only the palace camarilla and its agents that profited by this. It was through its influence that the Sultan approved it, while the better, more enlightened class of Turks felt that this plunder and massacre of the Christians was a political blunder and a great moral wrong, whatever provocation had been given by the Armenian revolutionists in their attempts to attract the attention and secure the support of Europe.

200 <In 1888> The condition of the Armenians had grown steadily worse since the Berlin Congress, especially in the interior. The policy of England was largely responsible for this. She had undertaken to defend their rights and secure reforms in the Turkish administration and had encouraged them to look forward to the establishment of an autonomous province of Armenia, partly out of sympathy for this Christian race and still more in her own interest, as
201 she believed that an autonomous Armenia would be l a barrier against the farther advance of Russia. It was not an anti-Turkish policy, for England had no desire to acquire any of her Asiatic territory, and believed that the Turkish government would be strengthened by such changes. She utterly failed to convince the Sultan of this, and could not induce him to do anything to ameliorate the condition of his Christian subjects. Unhappily a certain number of Armenians conceived the idea that it would be possible to force the hand of England in the same way that the Russian government had been forced by popular excitement over the massacre of the Bulgarians to declare war against Turkey; and they organized secret

revolutionary societies with the object of bringing about a crisis, which would result in such atrocities on the part of the Turks as had taken place in Bulgaria, but, as they believed, would force England and Europe generally to intervene in their behalf, and create an independent Armenia. I did not personally know any of these revolutionists, but I used whatever influence I had with the Armenians whom I knew to make them see that they had everything to lose and nothing to gain by such movements—that there was no similarity between the situation of the Armenians and the Bulgarians, and no hope of any European intervention to make them independent. So far as I know they got the same advice from all the embassies here, and the sober minded among them saw the truth of it; but the revolutionists would listen to no one. What would have happened if these societies had not been formed I do not know, but their activities have been the excuse put forward by the Turks for all the massacres and persecutions of the last twenty five years . . . In 1888–1889 the most serious troubles were in Armenia, where the Kurds were encouraged to harry the Armenian population without mercy. England succeeded at this time in getting one of the principal Kurdish chiefs, Moussa Bey, brought to Constantinople for trial. The atrocities which he had committed were innumerable and unspeakable; incidentally he had very nearly killed an American missionary, but his trial was a farce and changed nothing in Armenia. Here and throughout the country the hostility of the government, the imprisonment of great numbers on suspicion, and the agitation of the revolutionists excited a feeling of terror and general unrest. The number of our Armenian students was reduced more than fifty per cent. 202

<In 1890> There was no change for the better in the affairs of the Armenians. The agitators were not numerous, but they were active in stirring up discontent in the country and in appealing to public opinion in Europe. The Turkish government did nothing in the way of reform and was increasingly active in measures of repression. The old friendly feeling between the Turks and Armenians, who had always been regarded with more favor than the other Christian nationalities and who seemed to understand each other better, had given place to distrust and fear. It seemed as though the government was doing what it could to develop this mutual distrust, and desired to bring about a conflict, and was thus playing into the hands of the revolutionists who believed that such a conflict would bring about a European intervention. The sober-minded Armenians had no sympathy with the revolutionists, and I saw plainly that the hope of their people scattered all over the country was not in rebellion, but in the peaceful progress of enlightenment. It was this feeling which had led so many to send their sons to Robert College. The event proved that the Sultan had a much more accurate knowledge of European politics than the revolutionists and their friends in Europe. We saw many European statesmen in Constantinople in those days who came here as to a storm center to see more clearly what was to be expected. The most interesting among those whom I saw was Mr. Chamberlain, who at that time appeared to have sacrificed his own career to his loyalty to the unity of Great Britain and Ireland. I had seen him in the House of Commons, where I saw no other who was his equal in debate, and I found him one of the most intelligent and interesting investigators of the Eastern question. England suffered a great loss at this time in the sudden death of Sir William White in Berlin, where he had gone to spend Christmas. If the time ever comes when the government allows the publication of his private papers, which it took possession of after his death, it will be the most interesting of 219 220

books . . . In regard to the Asiatic provinces of Turkey, what she aimed at was not the destruction or the weakening of the Turkish power, but the strengthening of it by good government and the fair, just and equal treatment of all the Christian subjects of the Sultan, especially of the Armenians. In securing this she did not wish to act alone but in concert with the other Powers . . .

- 232 It was during this year <1894> that the Armenian troubles took an acute form in the massacres in the Sassoun district in Armenia and were followed by a European intervention. The Christians in that part of the empire had long been a prey to the Kurdish tribes, unprotected by the Turkish government; but in this case the Turkish troops, under orders from Constantinople, took part in the massacre and plunder of the Armenians, and the work of their extermination was officially commenced. England called upon the Powers which had signed the treaty of Berlin and guaranteed the good treatment of the people of Armenia to intervene. England, France and Russia took the lead in demanding redress for what had been done and such changes and reforms as would secure the lives, property and rights of the Armenians in those provinces where they constituted an important part of the population.
- 233 The Turks soon discovered that England was the | only Power to be feared in this question and that the “Concert of Europe” would not tolerate any independent action on her part.

Schemes of reform were devised by the ambassadors and discussed with the Turks, who refused to accept any kind of foreign control of the reforms demanded, but professed all manner of good intentions. So the negotiations went on month after month, while the political excitement in the country steadily increased and the condition of the Christians grew worse, until the climax was reached in the great massacre of 1895–1896.

- 237 <In 1894–1895> The Turkish government was indiscriminate in its arrest and imprisonment of all Armenians coming from Europe or America . . .

- 238 This is not the place to enter into any details of the events of these two years, and I have not the | satisfaction of feeling that any influence of mine modified the action of the Turkish government or did the Armenians any good. I can only claim that it never did them any harm. I had influence in London and here and used it in efforts to put a stop to the extermination of the Armenians, but the real defender of Turkey through all these horrors was Russia. No doubt the Russian government looked upon the massacre of Armenians in Turkey as it has since looked upon the massacre of the Jews at home, as a matter of little consequence, with which the outside world had no concern. She made it a question of the peace of Europe that there should be no armed intervention here; and while she joined England and France in demanding reforms, it was apparently with the purpose of playing into the hands of the Turks.

After the Sassoon massacres and the official investigation of them, which had no practical result except to turn a stream of charity into the country . . . the negotiations here went on while the sufferings of the Armenians steadily increased. In the autumn of 1895 the embassies encouraged the Armenians here to break the deadlock in their negotiations by presenting a petition to the Grand Vizier. They asked permission and received it, but it was revoked at the last minute, when troops were sent to prevent the presentation. A collision resulted between troops and petitioners, which was followed by a cold-blooded massacre of some eight hundred Armenians in the streets, most of whom had nothing to do with the petition.

As such things never happen in Constantinople | without the knowledge and approval of 239
the government, it is generally believed that this first massacre of Armenians here was a bold
and carefully devised plan to test the spirit of the European Powers, before entering upon a
general slaughter throughout the empire. If it proved that such things could be done with
impunity, in face of Europe, under the very eyes of the ambassadors, it would be safe to go
on without fear of intervention.

In the summer of 1896 everything in Constantinople seemed to be quiet . . . I went to 245
Austria . . . and returned to Constantinople on Saturday, August 22. The following
Wednesday I went up the Bosphorus to call at the English Embassy and to lunch with Mr.
Dimitroff at Buyukdere. I returned about 4 o'clock, and, soon after, someone came in great
excitement to say that the Turkish army had revolted, plundered the Ottoman Bank and were
slaughtering people in the streets. I at once took all possible precautions for the protection of
the College and the families. It turned out that the news which I had received was incorrect,
but that something equally terrible was going on in town. It had been a beautiful day, and
several of our lady friends had been in town and found it very difficult to get back through
streets which were already running with blood.

What had happened was this. About noon a band | of Armenians, most of them from 246
Russia, entered the Ottoman Bank, with arms and dynamite, took the employees prisoners
and barricaded themselves in the building, with the threat that, unless the ambassadors at
once secured a pledge from the Sultan of certain reforms, they would blow up the bank with
dynamite. To finish with this part of the story, soldiers soon surrounded the bank, and
negotiations began with the captors which in the evening resulted in their being permitted to
leave the bank, go on board the yacht of the chief manager and leave the country unmolested.

Who originated this plot I do not know, but it is certain that the Turkish government
knew all about it many days before, even to the exact time when the bank was to be entered;
and the Minister of Police had made elaborate arrangements, not to arrest these men or
prevent the attack on the bank, but to facilitate it and make it the occasion of a massacre of
the Armenian population of the city. This was to be the crown of all the massacres of the year,
one worthy of the capitol and the seat of the Sultan, a final defiance to the Christian world.
Not many minutes after the attack on the bank the bands of Turks, who had been organized
by the Minister of Police in Stamboul and Galata, commenced the work of killing every
Armenian they could find, protected by large bodies of troops, who in some cases took part
in the slaughter. Through Wednesday, Wednesday night, Thursday and Thursday night the
massacre went on unchecked. An open telegram was sent by the ambassadors to the Sultan
Thursday night, which perhaps influenced him to | give orders to stop the massacre, and not 247
many were murdered on Friday. I do not care to enter at all into the horrible details of this
massacre of some ten thousand Armenians. Very few of them were able to make any serious
resistance. Very few women or children were killed, and these only in certain quarters where
the houses were attacked and looted. Many Turks looked upon the whole thing with horror
and protected the Armenians in their own houses. An American negro sailor, stranded here,
whom the Turks took to be a Mohammedan, saved one house full of refugees. We had a
number of Armenian servants in the College, and a few others took refuge there. Thursday
night there was a massacre of Armenians just below us at Bebec and another opposite us at

Candilli. The British gun boat came and took off the British residents and offered to take us, which we declined. Ruffians gathered at Hissar to massacre and plunder the Armenians here, but the leading Turks drove them off in the early evening. We had five Montenegrans at the College, and about midnight I left them to patrol and guard the grounds, with orders to wake me if any attack was made on us. We had already buried what we could of our valuables.

Not long after we retired, the gate-keeper came to say that a company of Turkish soldiers was at the gate and demanded admission, saying that they were sent by order of the Sultan to protect us. It seemed wise to assume that this was true and admit them to the grounds, while the Montenegrans still guarded Hamlin Hall, where all our Armenians had taken refuge. The colonel who came with them I went away, and the captain left in command told the gate-keeper that they had come because they knew the College was full of Armenian revolutionists whom they expected to capture. Which of these statements was true I do not know, but it was a very anxious morning for us, as we and our Armenian servants were at the mercy of these soldiers, of whose real mission we were in doubt. The next day these men were replaced by twenty other soldiers under the charge of a captain whose family lived in Hissar. The government claimed that they were necessary for the protection of the College, and I furnished them with quarters in the back part of the study hall building. We were not expected to do anything else for them. They were of the regular army, genuine Turkish peasants from Asia Minor, quiet and good natured; and the four months they remained there was a continuous holiday for them, as the captain did not trouble himself to drill them. They never made any disturbance or gave us any trouble of any account; but after the College opened in September they were a source of constant anxiety, and we had to watch our students with untiring vigilance to see that they did not get into conflict with the soldiers, especially as we had a number of new Turkish students along with some sixty Armenians.

The massacre of the Armenians came to an end on Friday, the day after the soldiers came to the College; but the persecution of them which went on for months was worse than the massacre. Their business was destroyed, they were plundered and blackmailed without mercy, they were hunted like wild beasts, they were imprisoned, tortured, killed, deported, fled the country, until the Armenian population of the city was reduced by some seventy-five thousand, mostly men, including those massacred. They were replaced by Kurds and men of other wild tribes. Since that time it is very difficult for an Armenian to get permission to come to Constantinople from the interior. The poverty and distress of those left alive in Constantinople was often heartrending, and many women and children died of slow starvation. That this persecution still continues in a milder form is undoubtedly due to the criminal agitation kept up by a few revolutionists in Europe and the United States, whose chief business is the blackmailing and murder of their own people.

Sir Michael Herbert, the British *chargé d'affaires*, and some of the ambassadors did what they could to stop the massacre of the Armenians, and some of the consuls aided the Armenians to escape from the country after the massacres; but the "Concert of Europe" did nothing. It accepted the situation. The Emperor of Germany went farther. He sent a special embassy to present to the Sultan a portrait of his family as a token of his esteem.

Edwin Pears—1835–1919

Forty Years in Constantinople—the Recollections of Sir Edwin Pears 1873–1915

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A.D. 1890s

. . . There was no one amongst us who hated the Turk as a private man. We all recognized 60 that he had traits of kindliness, simplicity, and generosity which made him lovable. It was only when he was acting as one in authority, and when the damnable spirit of fanaticism took possession of him, that he became a savage beast. Even when such spirit was rampant it was well under control by the Government. The massacres took place in Bulgaria as they did subsequently in Armenia, in Thrace, in Cilicia and in Aidin, by order. Even after Mr. Schuyler and Mr. Baring had issued their terrible reports confirming the statements which I had made, the great cry among the governing classes was to punish all who had given information to either of those two gentlemen or to me, or who were suspected of having done so.

To the eternal honor of the British and French colonies in 1825, when the massacre <of 63 Scio> took place, and on many subsequent occasions down to the Armenian massacres of 1895–96, it should be remembered that they have rarely let an opportunity pass of attempting to redeem slaves and to protect the victims of Turkish tyranny from their oppressors.

Mr. Disraeli's Government recognized that something must be done to amend the system 76 of government under which the Christians, and especially the Armenians, suffered, and accordingly a scheme of reforms was drawn up by Sir Henry Layard and submitted to the Government. It was specially concerned with Armenia. At such time Sir Henry was full of hope, and believed that the Turk would accept anything at his hands. Weeks passed, point after point was discussed, modified or refused, and finally the whole project was rejected. It was a terrible disappointment to Sir Henry. At last something was prepared which was the mere simulacrum of what had been originally proposed. Sir Henry told me what it was, expressed his disappointment at the stubbornness of the Porte, but added, "If I can get this through it will always be something gained." I agreed with him. It was submitted and again modified. His failure had become manifest. I do not hesitate to say that in the first weeks of my visit I found him so strong an advocate of everything Turkish that I was constantly opposed to his views, but as the weeks drew on I found myself, to my surprise, defending the Turks against his charges. An incident occurred during his ambassadorship which was not without importance. A Turkish subject of Constantinople, known to me, wrote to Mr. Gallstone in Greek. In reply he received a letter from Mr. Gallstone, also in Greek, of which the latter had not taken a copy. Unfortunately the recipient I showed the letter to the 77 correspondent of a London paper, who gave what proved to be an incorrect version. The correspondent could not read Greek written characters, and probably this may account for the blunder. Sir Henry reported the incident in England from the correspondent's version, and a violent Press attack upon Mr. Gallstone followed. He denied that he had given utterance to

the sentiments attributed to him, and Sir Henry, unfortunately for himself, practically gave him the lie. When at last the letter was produced and examined, it was seen that Sir Henry was wrong and Mr. Gallstone right.

When the General Election took place in England, in April, 1880, the Liberal Party came into power, and an outcry was made for the recall of Sir Henry Layard. There had then been published a dispatch from Sir Henry pointing out that the Turks would not consent to make reforms and had refused every suggestion, though made in their interests. The dispatch was taken by English public opinion to be a bid for popular favor. When it appeared I wrote defending Sir Henry Layard, stating that I had seen the change come over his opinions gradually, and that he had been driven by the force of facts to recognize that no reforms could be extracted from the then Sultan Abdul Hamid. I think, however, that the apparent *volte face* which the Ambassador had made might have been forgiven in view of his changed opinions, but the Liberal Party would not forgive the imputation of falsehood to Mr. Gallstone, and accordingly he ceased to be Ambassador in the summer of 1878.

144 Sir H. Drummond Wolfe's mission was a special one, and Sir William White, during the same year, was also on a special mission. This had reference to the affairs of Egypt. In October, 1886, Sir William White returned to Constantinople as Special Ambassador, and three or four months afterwards as Ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. During the next four years, and until his death, he continued to act with great ability, and earned the respect, not merely of the Porte, but of the heads of the Orthodox and Armenian Churches. When he had a point to make, either at the Porte or at the palace, he submitted it in a plain and straightforward manner, so that there could be no mistake as to what he meant.

145 He was physically a big man, had naturally a loud voice! and when he became excited used it to such effect that, as I have said, the Turks spoke of him as "the Bosphorus Bull." Though many of the officials disliked him it was not because of his manner or his voice, but on account of his persistency. The Turkish, and indeed the Eastern, mind generally has a tendency to intrigue, and, comparing our experiences together, Sir William and I were in accord that the successful diplomats were those who avoided anything of that kind, or of doing their business in an indirect fashion. The Eastern can usually beat an Englishman if he tries that game. "Make up your mind," said he, "what you want. State it clearly and you will beat the Eastern who ties the roundabout method of accomplishing his object." The conversation recalled General Ignatieff's declaration that he deceived the Turks by always telling him the truth.

It was during Sir William's time in Constantinople that Sultan Abdul Hamid fully developed his powers of intrigue. He had got the Press entirely under his control. He had suppressed every form of public meeting. He had established a system of espionage so complete that the common expression in Constantinople was that if three Turkish subjects met together one at least would be a spy. It was then that Abdul began the game at which he considered himself adept of playing off one Embassy against another. Without any real knowledge of the world he was largely at the mercy of his army of spies, and the stories which were current in Constantinople of the importance that he attached to their reports confirmed this belief.

149 On January 1, 1894, Sir Philip W. Currie became Ambassador. He had never been

stationed in Constantinople before, but he came to the city with a full knowledge of Turkish politics. As far back as the Conference in 1876–7 he had been Secretary to Lord Salisbury in Constantinople, and afterwards at the Berlin Congress. Subsequently he was Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He was a fine specimen of an English well-trained diplomat, and a worthy successor to Sir William White. Clear-sighted and intelligent, he soon gained the local knowledge which is always useful to an ambassador. He was a hard worker and, like Sir William White, took interest not merely in the more or less technical matters with which an ambassador has to deal and in commercial matters, but in the great human movements which are never absent from Turkey. It was during his time (from January 1, 1894, to April 1, 1898) that we had the full development of Abdul Hamid's malignity, especially towards the Armenians.

The story of the massacre of the Armenians requires little explanation here. Travelers have recognized for centuries that the Armenian population of Turkey, numbering about two millions, is a most valuable element in the country. The people, like ourselves, belong to the Indo-European race. A large portion of them occupy a mountainous country, and the men are usually stalwart and industrious. Their country was civilized and prosperous in the time of Christ, and I cannot doubt that the general average intelligence of Armenians is due to the fact that they are the descendants of parents who have been civilized for centuries, and possibly even millenniums. Armenia was the first country to establish Christianity as the religion of the State . . .

The Armenians furnished regiments and statesmen to the Greek Empire until its 150 destruction. Even under Turkish rule, right down to the accession of Abdul Hamid, they supplied as many Ministers and officials in the Turkish department as did the Greeks. During several generations the leading Armenians saw the importance of education. The honor of first establishing schools amongst them belongs to the Roman Catholics, whose first missions to them date back to about 1720. Naturally these missions had as an object to detach Armenians from their national Church, or, as the Catholics called it, the Gregorian Church, to that of Rome, and in the cities and towns of the Empire this endeavor met with considerable success. Several congregations were formed; a separate religious community was officially recognized, whose members were correctly spoken of as Armenian Catholics, as distinguished from Roman Catholics. They are of course in union with Rome.

The Armenians at the time of our Protestant reformation in the West were greatly interested in it, a fact which I mention to show that their general interest in religious movements is not of recent growth. Two religious "communities" were established outside Turkey, mostly, I believe, by the efforts and with the money of one Armenian, the first in 151 Vienna and the second in Venice, and both known after their founder as Mekitarists. Probably many of my readers have visited the island of San Lazzaro in Venice, where there is a community of Armenian monks, with an interesting library and collection of pictures. Lord Byron went there, and the monks show his exercises in the Armenian language. In writing on the subject, Byron suggests that his mind is getting flabby, and that he has taken up with Armenian as a stiff study. The monks there, too, are proud of the testimony in their visitors' book given by John Ruskin, and, unless my memory is at fault, by Mr. Gladstone. It is interesting to see their collection of pictures, because I have often remarked on the absence of

artistic talent amongst the Greeks as compared with the Armenians. It is rare to visit the house of an Armenian in a fairly prosperous condition where there is not evidence of artistic and musical taste: pictures or a piano, or other musical instruments.

Stimulated by the example of the Roman Catholic missions, which were followed up afterwards by American Protestant missions, a zeal for education became widespread through the race. The first year I spent in Turkey I was taken on a Sunday morning to a large Armenian church, and saw a number of hamals, men of the porter class, who were struggling hard with the mystery of pot-hooks and elementary lessons in reading and writing. It was a pleasant and pathetic sight. None of them, I fancy, needed the stimulus which the schoolmaster in *Adam Bede* had to apply to his scholars. Their heart was in the business.

A community with the desire for education is not likely to sit quietly under Turkish or other misrule, and in a very real sense it may be said that the fomenters of political agitation in Armenia, as in Bulgaria, were the schoolmasters and the missions, Catholic or Protestant. The Turks, amongst whom the Armenians are generally dispersed, resented this desire for instruction and closed the schools. It did not occur to them for many years to open Turkish schools, even in districts where the Armenians spoke only Turkish. I had learned that such
152 districts were not uncommon through having to work up a case regarding an alleged Armenian estate dating back to about 1780. A large number of undoubtedly genuine Armenian letters of that date had been preserved in a monastery and had to be translated. I then saw not only that the Armenians were bitterly persecuted, but that they were forbidden to speak their own language, under penalty of having the tongue cut out if they did so.

To this hour, indeed, there are many Armenian villages where Turkish is the only language understood. Even in Constantinople for some years after my arrival there were published three newspapers in the Turkish language, but printed in Armenian characters. I may mention incidentally that the Armenian script is purely phonetic, so that once the learner has acquired a knowledge of its thirty-seven characters he can read with the same facility with which a man can read in Italian or German once he has learned his letters. During the last forty years the Armenian community has made splendid and generally successful efforts to improve the teaching in its schools, and with the result that the language is now better known than it was a century ago. But, as I have said, all this interest in education was looked on with the utmost suspicion by the Turks, and the Armenian question had already become a European one when the Congress of Berlin met in 1878. An effort was there made to improve the conditions of the Armenians. The Treaty provided for the drafting of reforms to be submitted by the Porte to the Powers, who were to be notified also of their execution.

Accordingly, when Sir Henry Layard succeeded Sir Henry Elliot he was instructed, as I have already stated, to endeavor to persuade the Porte to adopt a scheme of reforms which should secure better protection of life and property in the provinces inhabited by Armenians. Even in the days of his comparative youth, when he was making a reputation by his discoveries at Nineveh, Layard had seen the oppression of the Armenians. Yet in spite of the story that Palmerston said he would forgive Layard for discovering Nineveh but could not
153 forgive Nineveh for discovering Layard, there are indications in his narrative that his sturdy English sense revolted at the Turkish treatment of both Arabs and Christians. Some of his best coadjutors even were Armenians. He made a lamentable failure, as also has been said. The only shadow of a reform which he succeeded in obtaining was that the sub-governors in the

provinces where there were Armenians should belong to that race. They were appointed, and of course were men chosen for their subserviency, and soon received the nickname of "Yes Sirs" (Effet Effendim), because they were believed invariably to acquiesce in what their chief proposed.

The condition of disorder in Armenia had gradually become worse instead of better. Then Abdul Hamid seems to have determined to try his own hand at statesmanship. Men were arrested on the slightest pretext and thrown into prison. I remember one instance, simple but typical, which Sir Philip Currie told me of at the time it occurred. A Turk had been murdered in a large village in Armenia. Had it been a Christian no one except perhaps members of his own family would have taken any notice of the occurrence. The majority of the inhabitants were Armenians and every man was immediately thrown into prison. Many of them were subjected to torture of the most hideous kind, one of the commonest forms indeed being such as I cannot describe. Our Consul made a representation of the facts to Sir Philip and he immediately determined to do what he could to save the miserable victims. I saw him the day after he had made a visit on the subject to the Sultan. He told me how he had described the tortures. His Majesty answered, "But a Moslem has been killed," leaving the impression on Sir Philip that of course in such case the authorities were justified in arresting all the Armenians in order to find out who was the culprit.

Sir Philip explained that in England the police would have set to work to find out who it was and the man would have been punished in due course of law. But all to no effect. The Sultan promised that he would enquire into the matter, but Sir Philip subsequently told me that the persecution of the Armenians in that village had not ceased, and that the torturers had not been punished. Armenia being a long distance from Constantinople, with practically no means of communication, the roads being hideously bad and the telegraph being exclusively in the hands of the Turks, it was only when letters came by the long sea-route under consular seal that the truth could be learned. In such letters, especially from those of American and Catholic missionaries, the stories of cruelty that were told were ghastly, nor were they confined to the persecution of Armenians. Notwithstanding that many years earlier the great Ambassador Canning had obtained the "Hatti-houmayoun," which was described at the time as the Magna Carta of religious liberty in Turkey, a really great triumph justly put down to the credit of our country, religious liberty did not exist, even among the Moslems. 154

Let me give one of the stories about Armenia in Sir Philip's time which is well founded. A number of Moslems, headed by the Ulema of the village, had somehow arrived at the conviction that Christianity was a divine revelation, and that its teaching rather than that of the Koran ought to be their guide. They had held various secret meetings without the intervention, so far as could be learned, of priest or missionary, and concluded that it was their duty to profess Christianity. They knew, however, that to do so would mean death, for to suppose that any Moslem in the interior of Asia Minor could be permitted to change his faith was unthinkable. About thirty of them determined therefore to leave the country, and to emigrate to America, where they were informed they might profess any religion they liked. They were simple-minded peasants, and applied to their Christian neighbors as to the means of getting to America. They had sufficient money to pay their passages. They started in a body for Constantinople, but they never arrived there. They disappeared by the way. An American missionary, who was interested in this remarkable spontaneous movement on the part of his

neighbors, managed to get his letters sent through to Constantinople to some of his
 155 colleagues, with a suggestion that they should be aided on their arrival. It was difficult to follow their course towards the capital, but traces of them were obtained in different places. The general belief was and is that they were all murdered on the way.

Readers will recognize that with such a spirit of hostility towards everything Christian the Armenians continued to have a bad time. The inevitable result followed. The ardent spirits among them joined their brethren the Russian Armenians across the border and made futile attempts to raise a rebellion. Such attempts were repeated and invariably led to the slaughter of innocent persons. Some Armenians had reached Paris and England and naturally endeavored to arouse sympathy with those who were in open rebellion against Turks. I refused to praise the rebels. In one of the papers published in Paris by the hot-heads among them, I was personally denounced for not supporting these Armenian revolts. The charge against me was justified by my silence on the subject. Russia at the time was hostile to the Armenians, and was endeavoring to force those who were in Russia to abandon their ancient Church and to join the Orthodox Church of Russia.

Under such circumstances the revolt of a handful of Armenians had not a chance of success and was therefore unjustifiable. As a friend to the Armenians, revolt seemed to me purely mischievous. Some of the extremists declared that while they recognized that hundreds of innocent persons suffered from each of these attempts, they could provoke a big massacre which would bring in foreign intervention. Such intervention was useless so long as Russia was hostile. Lord Salisbury had publicly declared that as he could not get a fleet over the Taurus he did not see how England could help the Armenians, much as she sympathized with them.

The result of the failure of these attempts at revolt was that Abdul Hamid determined once and for all to make revolt impossible. It was commonly said that he had made up his mind to exterminate the Armenian population. It may well be doubted whether he deliberately
 156 contemplated a step so difficult. But he and some of his creatures organized a series of massacres such as had not been seen in any European country for upwards of a century. In making his preparations he took all steps he could devise to prevent the truth becoming known. Every letter sent to or coming from Asia Minor was opened, and when delivered was intentionally left open. Foreigners as well as Turkish subjects were forbidden to go into the provinces where Armenians abounded. The system of local passports had already become so strict that no person was allowed to travel in the country, even from one village to another, without possessing one. The regulations, of course applying both to Turkish subjects and foreigners, disorganized business throughout the country.

As to how they worked, let me give an illustration from my own experience. I was then a director of a company for the manufacture of cotton yarn, which women of the country weave into cloth. Our travellers, some of whom were Armenians, were chosen for their business ability irrespective of their race or religion. But the Armenian travellers were useless, for no Armenian was permitted to have a local passport. One of our customers, whom I may give as an illustration, took a considerable quantity of our goods and sold them to many persons in neighboring towns and villages and even in Constantinople. He had paid regularly. He applied to us to employ our influence to obtain the *teskeri*, or local passport, in order that he might collect the money due to him. No one doubted after reading the particulars which

he gave of his creditors that his statement was true. But though these facts were laid before the palace, even by Turkish members of our board, and although it was pointed out that the man in question had never been engaged in political intrigue, the permission was refused.

When all arrangements had been made for preventing news coming from Armenia, Abdul Hamid set about the task which he called giving the Armenians a lesson. Emissaries were sent into the provinces. The Moslems were invited to assemble in the mosques, were informed of the Sultan's plan, and told that they were at liberty to take their neighbors' goods and to kill them if any resistance was made. 157

In one or two cases—lamentably rare, I am afraid—the emissary was opposed in the mosque by the man who would correspond to the parish priest. One brave fellow rose to speak after the emissary had proclaimed his mission and boldly stated that he did not believe that the Padishah had sent any such orders, but if he had done so he would still oppose their execution. "You know me," said the venerable old man, "as a good Moslem. The teaching of Islam is that we are not permitted to kill unbelievers unless they are in rebellion. There is not a man among you who dare say that the Armenians in this town are rebels. Therefore, if even the order come from the Padishah, I say that I will not be party to their execution, and that in the day of judgment I will accuse anyone who kills his Armenian neighbor, and let it be known that it was done after my warning that it was unlawful to do so." Nevertheless a great massacre took place in that city next day.

The precautions that Abdul Hamid had taken to prevent news being transmitted of his devilish work were largely successful. Very few private letters were smuggled into Constantinople from the area of the massacre, the fullest account of the early stages having been sent by way of Russia to the *Daily Telegraph*. The lowest serious estimate that has been made of the victims killed is 100,000. Sir William Ramsay's estimate of a quarter of a million of victims is probably not too high, if to the number of those actually killed are added those who died of starvation and other consequential causes. Gradually the news came through of atrocities and of forced conversions to Mahometanism. I read the letter received by a servant from his wife, of which I regret I did not take a copy. Substantially it was to the following effect: "I pray that you and God will pardon me for changing my religion, but I had to do it. Several Turks came to me and my sister and said, 'You must become Moslems or we shall kill you.' Our three children I were with me. One of them seized little Andoon (six years old) and held a big knife to his throat, threatening to kill him at once unless I changed. You know, my dear husband, how we both love that boy, and, God forgive me, I became a Moslem. The others also turned. They tell us that after two or three years we shall forget that we have been Christians and be contented to be Turks." 158

I collected and published at the time a number of cases which I had obtained from American missionaries and from Consuls, British and others. Let it be remembered that in all these cases of massacre the victim could have saved his or herself if he had lifted up his hand and pronounced the "esh-had" or confession of faith. They are all therefore entitled to be classed as martyrs, and the collection of stories which I made and sent to the *Daily News* appeared under the heading, "The noble army of martyrs praise Thee."

Meantime no official or full account of the massacres had been given to the world. Among the first to go over the ground was a young American who was then in my chambers, who

spoke Turkish well, and who accompanied a newspaper correspondent, the two travelling as an engineer (and making fictitious drawings of the country) and his interpreter. Then a great outcry arose in England, America, and other civilized countries about the massacres in question, their extent and their cruelty. Private letters began to get through, mostly by way of Russia.

Abdul Hamid was informed that some account, official or otherwise, ought to be published. Then a happy thought occurred to him. Mr. Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald* arrived in Constantinople, and as he represented a country which had no political interest in Turkey it appeared to the Sultan that he would serve as a useful tool for his purposes. Abdul Hamid was never a good judge of men, and he never made a greater mistake than in supposing that he could hoodwink Mr. Bennett. What the *New York Herald* wanted was news, honest news, not Turkish lies. What the Sultan wanted was that someone should
 159 be sent into Armenia who would paint the Armenians very black and | the Sultan as the father who loved all his children equally, to employ a favorite expression of Abdul Hamid in reference to his subjects.

Now there happened to be at that time in Constantinople a writer of great intelligence and industry. I believe that he had already received a high decoration from the Sultan, but if not then he received a little later the highest the Sultan bestows outside reigning families. I believe that his visit regarded some perfectly legitimate concession from His Majesty. But it was believed that his interests were bound with the necessity of keeping on good terms with His Majesty, and when it was known that in accordance with the Sultan's suggestion this writer was to be sent by Mr. Bennett to make a report on the doings in Armenia, something like consternation fell over all persons who wished the truth to be known.

Dr. Washburn, who was the most distinguished American in Turkey (and now that he has joined the majority I may mention that I am aware that the post of Ambassador to the Porte was offered to him) had always befriended the Armenians. He and I and a few others felt that a great disaster was imminent if an American newspaper having the circulation and influence of the *New York Herald* were to give a one-sided account of the doings in Armenia. Dr. Washburn agreed to see Mr. Bennett. He recounted to me the interview he had with him. He found, as might have been expected, that that gentleman was not a partisan, and recognized that a report by the person approved by him on the recommendation of the Sultan might not give a correct version of the facts. They consulted together, with the result that on behalf of the *New York Herald* Mr. Hepworth should accompany the original nominee. His report* was published in England and is of great value. Mr. Hepworth, in the preface to his book, tells us that from the first he intended to be impartial. He kept his promise, and his book indicates
 160 clear insight and the determination to resist | all temptation to pervert truth. It is the work of a high-minded and trustworthy man. His narrative shows that instructions had been given to the Turks who accompanied him to let him only see the Turkish side of the question.

I do not propose to write at any length about the Armenian massacres—the foulest crime which can justly be laid to the charge of Abdul Hamid. I refer readers who wish to see more about them to my book *Turkey and its People*. Those for whom the summary of evidence there given is not sufficient will find abundance of trustworthy information in Mr. Hepworth's

* *Through Armenia on Horseback*. Isbister and Co., 1898.

book, and still more in a report of Mr. George Fitzmaurice, now the First Embassy Dragoman at Constantinople, published in a Blue Book, *Turkey* No. 5, 1896.

I have already spoken of the ability and trustworthiness of Mr. Fitzmaurice. I am not aware that he and Mr. Hepworth ever met, but there is substantial harmony between their reports. Both relate that the victims could have saved their lives if they had been willing to accept Islam. In one town, Birajek, the Turkish officer had asked the Christians to surrender their arms, because then he could and would protect them but not otherwise. They trusted in the Moslem's word, gave up their arms; but the officer in charge of the troops refused to protect them. Every Armenian house, whether Gregorian, Catholic, or Protestant, was pillaged and destroyed. Here, as happened in several places, a kindly Moslem tried to protect the Christians. In Birajek such a request was refused. In other places Christians were sheltered by good Moslems, who afterwards were exposed to the vengeance of the Turkish authorities for having done so. In Birajek a woman ascended the roof of a house in which a great number of Christians had taken refuge, and waving a white flag, declared that all had become Moslems. As Mr. Fitzmaurice says, "they had accepted Islam to save their lives, to save themselves from certain death." A great many conversions to the Moslem faith had been made, and the Government had the impudence to declare that they were voluntary conversions. One of the 161 objects of Mr. Fitzmaurice's visit was to learn whether this statement was true or false. He found it false. Even when he was there the fanatics were determined to kill any convert who renounced Islam. The most cruel outrage in the Armenian massacres took place in the Armenian cathedral at Urfa, on Sunday, December 29, 1896. The Christians had been deceived by a Moslem mob into believing that they would be unmolested in the great church; and, on the Sunday morning, at least 3,000 persons had there assembled. When Mr. Fitzmaurice saw it he was able to read on one of the pillars of the church a record by the priest that he had administered last communion to 1,800 members of his flock. These, with other Armenians, were intentionally burnt to death in the cathedral.

When the mob broke in with a rush they killed all who were on the ground floor, these being nearly all men, the women and children being in the gallery. They mockingly called on Christ to prove that He was a greater prophet than Mahomet. In the meantime, while revolver and other shots were being discharged against the occupants of the gallery, native mattresses, yorghans or duvets, the straw matting which covered the floor, and other combustibles were piled up for a big fire. Thirty cans of petroleum were poured over them and fire set to the mass.

Abdul Hamid had avenged himself, and a deed of devilry had been done, worse in its extent than even the slaughter of Batak in Bulgaria in 1876.

Abdul Hamid became emboldened by the success of his own savagery. In England, France, and America notices of these massacres appeared shortly after they took place. But the news trickled through in such small quantity that it did not create anything like the same effect as the news of the Moslem atrocities in Bulgaria. The outrages had been confined to the Eastern portion of Asia Minor.

In 1897, however, Abdul Hamid tried a bolder move in Constantinople itself. Once more the forces of disorder were carefully organized to attack the Armenians. Once more the slaughter was to be indiscriminate. The word was passed that if the Armenian guardians of 162 shops and offices, together with the hamals or porters, could be killed off, their places could

be taken by Turks and Kurds from the interior. In preparation for the massacre, sticks or clubs were prepared, largely fitted with a piece of "angle iron," and at a given signal Moslem mobs with zaptiehs, or policemen, accompanying them paraded Stambul, Galata, and Pera, with the object of killing every Armenian they could find. No European was molested. My son was out in the streets of Galata and told me he saw an old man get one heavy knock on the head and fall dead. Immediately beneath my own chambers was a small but quite respectable cafe, much frequented by Armenians. The Moslem mob burst in and killed six persons. One managed to escape from the back door and climbed up, in a way that I should have thought impossible, to a window which belonged to a back room of my chambers. He was, of course, allowed to enter.

Meantime Europeans who had Armenians in their employ closed and barricaded their doors, which are usually of iron in the best part of Galata, and awaited events. My son, curious to know what was going on in the immediate neighborhood, put his head out of the window, and immediately saw a Turkish soldier level his rifle against him. He withdrew in time. The streets of Galata and of Stambul were full of fugitive Armenians, followed by the Moslem dregs of the population armed with the sticks and clubs I have mentioned, and hence called *sopajis*. One of my Armenian hamals had been sent upon an errand when the outbreak took place. He saw his fellow countrymen being killed and took shelter amid the intricacies of the substructure of old Galata Bridge. There during the rest of the day and the whole of the night he remained in wild alarm. On the next day he ventured to get on board a neighboring steamer going to Kadikewi and took refuge in my son's house, but the adventures through which he had passed had turned his brain, and he was never the same man again.

The Armenians generally behaved well in Constantinople. One story told me by a
 163 colleague is worth mentioning. He was working at the powder factory at Macrikewi, was an old man, a skilled and steady workman, and had proved himself such during forty years. He was liked by his Moslem companions. When the mob came to kill all the Armenians in and about the factory, an old fellow-worker, who had an army revolver with six shots, gave it to him with the remark that he could not protect him, but that he might take the revolver and do for some of his enemies. The old fellow took it at first gladly. Ten minutes after he brought it back to his friend, thanked him and said, "You and I have always been good friends, but I have never soiled my hands with a man's blood. I am sure to be killed and do not wish to appear in the presence of Allah with the life of a man on my conscience."

I must tell the story of a noble-minded Quakeress, Miss Burgess, much respected by all the British community. She had established an orphanage in the Armenian quarter of Kum Kapou in Stambul. I have often been at the institution and, like many others, have wondered at and admired her great humanitarian work. She had already upwards of a hundred Armenian girls who attended her school. She had other useful agencies in connection with her institution giving employment to Armenian women, who are generally skilled in embroidery and other forms of needlework. When the attack upon the Armenians commenced this quarter was one of the first aimed at. Hundreds of Armenians in the neighborhood were killed. Miss Burgess closed her doors for the protection of those confided to her care, and was soon visited by the mob. She had already sent a message to the British Consul, a distance of about two miles, who replied urging her strongly to leave the place and

come over to Galata. Those who know Miss Burgess would know the indignation which she put into her reply that she was not going to leave her Armenian girls unprotected. She would share their fate. Thereupon the Consul pressed her to hoist the British flag.

Sir Philip Currie acted well in regard to the massacres, and induced most of his colleagues 165 to join him in representations to the Sultan. Appointed in January, 1894, he was absent in leave for a short time in the early part of November, 1895, and it was then the first massacre in Constantinople occurred. During his absence Mr. Michael Herbert, not then knighted, was Charge d'Affaires. At that time the Embassy was still at its country residence at Therapia, and even there several Armenians were killed, and one victim lay dead in front of the Embassy. Mr. Herbert saw his colleagues, and after a good deal of persuasion obtained their consent to send an open telegram to the Sultan at the palace, which I quote from memory, to the effect that "this things must cease immediately or there would be danger to the throne and to the dynasty." The sting was in the last word. The open message had its immediate effect, orders being at once sent to put an end to the massacre. They stopped with the same precision as they had commenced. Nothing could have been better, and indeed Mr. Herbert then, and in every thing he did in Constantinople, proved himself a worthy representative of his country.

When Sir Philip returned he took up the same strong line which Mr. Herbert had initiated, and did not hesitate to express his opinion of Abdul Hamid's conduct with the utmost freedom. Hence he became hated by the Sultan. Then Abdul Hamid tried one of the mean tricks to which he was addicted. He appointed a commission to enquire into the origin of the massacre in Constantinople and named 1 men who dared not express any opinion of 166 their own, and who were certain to make a report throwing the onus of the disturbance upon the Armenians. But to give the appearance of wishing to have an honest report, he placed upon the commission my dear old friend General Blunt. Blunt was the last remaining gendarmerie officer who had been brought out by Baker Pasha, when Sir Henry Layard had persuaded him that if he would name a number of English officers who should be employed in the organization of gendarmerie, this would have a great influence on English public opinion. As a matter of fact Blunt was an honest English gentleman incapable of lying or of doing a dishonorable act as any man I ever met with. It was thought, however, by the Sultan and his gang that he could not afford to risk his salary from the Sultan and would sell his soul for the Padishah's pay.

The commission set to work, and inasmuch as the killing of the six Armenians in the quarter near my chambers already mentioned was notorious, the members came to collect evidence. One of the points in particular which they proposed to establish was that no soldier or gendarme had accompanied the murderers, or countenanced them. My son told his story, and the stupid commissioners tried to persuade him that he had been mistaken. It was more than they could do. When they had written their report, in Turkish of course, they wished him to sign it without having it translated to him. When they refused he declined to sign it, and made a report of what he had done to Sir Philip. The Ambassador told me that he had heard of similar conduct in connection with other people, and that the whole report was sure to be so ridiculous that he, with some of his colleagues, had refused to take any notice of it. I believe that, as a matter of fact, it never saw the light.

While the outrages were going on, we in Constantinople constantly heard of instances of

Englishmen and Frenchmen protecting individual Armenians from the brutality of Abdul
 167 Hamid's agents. It is not too much to say that most | decent-minded people, but especially
 those of England and France, were engaged in a tacit conspiracy to defeat the Sultan's designs
 against the Armenians. They acted in conformity with their traditions in the East, because, as
 I have elsewhere said, during the massacre of Chios the British and French inhabitants of
 Smyrna and elsewhere were always ready to assist the desolate and oppressed, even at
 considerable risk to their own lives and property.

Let me mention two such cases which occurred in Constantinople during the worst period
 of the persecution of the Armenians in the capital. By virtue of the capitulations, under which
 life under Turkish rule was possible, no right was better established than that a British or
 French ship was foreign territory upon which no Turkish police officer could enter, except by
 the permission of the authority, British or French, to which she belonged. The indignation
 amongst French sailors was a fine, honest sentiment, and to hear a French captain or one of
 his crew denouncing the brutalities which they heard of as being perpetrated on shore did one
 good and improved one's knowledge of *argot*. An Armenian fugitive took refuge on board a
 Messagerie steamer. Spies were always on the lookout in the harbor for fugitives. Half an hour
 afterwards a Turkish police-boat came alongside the Messagerie, and the officer in full
 uniform mounted the ladder. At the top there stood a sturdy French boatswain on duty to see
 that no unauthorized person went on board. When the Turkish officer reached the deck the
 boatswain respectfully asked him what he wanted, to which the reply was:

"Don't you see that I am a Turkish officer? That is all I have to say to you."

"No," said the French boatswain, "you can't come here without a permit."

168 "But I am coming," said he, and began to draw his sword.

The boatswain seized him, pinned him by the arms, and called for assistance, which was
 very willingly given. The Turk spoke French, struggled hard, and claimed that he had | the
 right to search the ship. Thereupon the boatswain and others tied him to the mast and took
 his sword from him. They then signalled to the French Dispatch boat or the *Stationnaire*,
 which at once sent a boat's crew, who carried him off to the *Stationnaire*. Thereupon the
 captain wrote to the Turkish head of the water police to say that he had a Turkish officer on
 board who had been trespassing on French territory, and that they were prepared to give him
 up for punishment . . .

A still more striking instance occurred at Ismidt, the ancient Nicomedia. There was and is
 in that city an Armenian Catholic monastery which was under French protection. The
 Governor, knowing that such an act could be agreeable to his imperial master, pulled down
 the French flag and expelled the monks. The matter was at once reported to the French
 Ambassador, who determined to teach the Turk to respect the national flag. He let it be
 known that next day his ship would proceed to Ismidt and that he would publicly reinstall
 the monks with the French flag floating over them. Spies brought word of the intended action
 to the palace. Abdul Hamid was in a great flurry and excitement. He would apologize and was
 ready to make any terms, provided that this public defiance of what was apparently done
 under his authority were waived. But the French Ambassador and captain were obdurate. Of
 course His Majesty would apologize, but as the insult was public the reparation must also be
 public. Nothing that could be said and nothing that was said could induce them to vary their
 purpose. The ship went to Ismidt, the men were landed with fixed bayonets, the French flag

flew aloft at the head of their procession through the streets of the ancient city, and the monks were reinstalled in the monastery, over which the French flag again flew.

The incidents are mentioned as illustrating the healthy tone of British and French opinion in Constantinople. I would gladly add illustrations of a similar spirit amongst the Germans, 169 but I do not know of any. Englishmen and Frenchmen insist upon expressing their opinion on such matters. Germans do not. I know many Germans in Turkey for whom I have great respect, and some of whom, notwithstanding this hideous war, I hope to count as my friends as long as I live, but at that time in Turkey they seem to have been possessed by the idea that it was in the interest of their country that they should do nothing to lose the favor of Abdul Hamid. Privately they expressed their loathing at what he did, and, as I shall have occasion to mention later on, their painstaking and singularly able Ambassador, Marschall von Bieberstein, could put his foot down very effectually when the interests of his country or even of private German citizens were concerned, and certainly never gave me the impression that he regarded the Sultan with more respect than he deserved.

While on the subject of Turkish sentiment, partly racial and partly religious, such as that 177 to which I have alluded of protecting a refugee, I may tell a story which is generally believed, and *se non e vero* is certainly *ben trovato*, by which I mean that it is plausible and may have been true. A well known family of Armenians in Constantinople is called Allaverdi, and the traditional explanation of the name is the following. Towards the end of the eighteenth century there were three brothers whose surname does not matter, because even to this hour outside Constantinople and other cities a surname is usually unknown. The three in question had become rich, and therefore excited the cupidity of the reigning Sultan. All such men, being Christians, were squeezed. The three were accordingly sent for to the palace. The eldest was asked how he had obtained his money. He replied truly enough that it was by commerce. This was at once declared to be impossible, and his property was confiscated. The second was brought in and asked the same question. He said that he was a banker, whereupon he was informed that money-lending was contrary to religion, and when it was mentioned that he had lent money to a Believer and charged interest upon it, he was ordered to be executed, and his property seized. The third brother was then brought into the room. "How did you acquire your property? I suppose in the same way as one of your brothers."

"No, your Majesty, I did not. Allah verdi. God gave it to me," and thereupon the Sultan remained silent, and the man was allowed to keep the property so acquired.

George Hughes Hepworth—1833–1902

Through Armenia on Horseback.

New York, E. P. Dutton & Company, 1898

A.D. 1897

- 1 When Mr. Bennett asked by cable if I would like to go to Anatolia, I was as much surprised as I should have been by an order to pack my gripsack and take the first aerial express to Mars to find out what those signals mean which the inhabitants of that planet are supposed to be making to the Earth. Would I like to go? An old fellow like me, who had reached a point somewhat beyond the sixtieth degree of life's latitude, trust my self to the tender mercies of Lazi and Kurdish brigands, or run the risk of being quietly buried under the snow of some wild mountain pass? These possibilities were not exactly attractive.
- 2 It was to be my duty to take a bird's-eye view of the Armenian region, where so many horrible massacres have taken place, and to discover, so far as possible, the present condition and future prospects of this nearly exterminated race. It occurred to me that such an expedition might be merely a dream of the night which would be forgotten in the morning, a mere flash of journalistic genius, and so I begged for mercy. When I afterwards learned that the matter was seriously regarded by him, that, since the rumors from Armenia during the last few years have been not only vague but contradictory, the purpose was to get at the truth and the whole truth, I saw that the opportunity was a providential one and ought not to be rejected. I wrote to him accordingly, and with his usual promptitude he answered, "Take the next steamer and meet me in Paris." So I packed my trunk . . .

- It seems that Mr. Bennett had entertained this plan for a long time. In a protracted interview with the Sultan at Constantinople the subject had been discussed, and it became clear
- 3 to Mr. Bennett that His Majesty, whether I rightly or wrongly, was under a strong conviction that the reports from the Armenian district contained more fiction than fact. If you say that this declaration on his part was probably a matter of diplomatic *finess*, that he must have been perfectly acquainted with the condition of affairs, but wished to conceal it, then I must aver that it was a great mistake to consent to my taking part in the enterprise. He was told frankly that I was a clergyman, and that my sympathies were with the Armenians. When, however, he was assured that I could be impartial, that I had rather a keen appetite for facts whether they backed my prejudices or opposed them, he withdrew all opposition and assured Mr. Bennett that in such case he was not only eager to have me go, but would give orders that I should have every opportunity for as thorough an investigation as the time . . . would permit.

- He made only one condition, namely, that I was to be accompanied by Mr. Sidney Whitman, with whom he had personal relations, and in whom he had great confidence. In token of his earnestness he offered to send three or four of his *aides de camp* as a kind of
- 4 bodyguard and half-a-dozen sergeants for purposes I of protection in case of danger from the brigands who infest that region. Our little company, therefore, consisted of Sirry Bey, Colonel Tewfik Bey, Lieut. Colonel Rushdi Bey, Khaled Bey, secretary of the expedition, Mr. Whitman, and myself.

When I have mentioned the names of these gentlemen, I see the criticism that at once arises in your mind. You say, and nobody can blame you for saying, that I was hedged about by Turks and a Turkophile, and that it would be impossible to get at the truth. Under like circumstances, I should make the same comment; and if at this stage you shrug your shoulders or even ridicule the expedition, my only answer is that at the first blush you are quite right. I felt the weight of that possibility, and for awhile was somewhat oppressed by it. A thousand times I asked myself as I looked out of my window in the Pera Palace Hotel if I was shrewd enough to detect any attempt to influence me, and, when detected, if I was strong-willed enough to resist it. In a word, I looked on the matter just as you do, and was more than half inclined to retreat. I recalled Mr. Bennett's parting injunction, to lift my hat and politely say "Good-morning" if I saw that any pressure was being brought to bear | to interfere with entire 5 freedom of action and investigation, and wondered if it might not be well to take that step, and so have done with the whole affair.

Then two facts occurred to me—you see I am in the confessional and laying my heart bare to you. First, this was the only way in which it would be possible to go from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean and so through Armenia from north to south. The Sultan has never allowed any representative of the press to take such a journey. This may be a mistake on his part, and I am inclined to think it is, because the refusal distinctly implies that there is something hidden which must not be disclosed; but still that has always been his policy. Many travelers have gone along parts of the route which we were to take, but so far as I know, not one has made the whole journey. Here was an invitation to travel where we chose, as long and as far as we chose, and could I afford to neglect it?

In order to put the declaration of freedom to a test, I took the best map of Asia Minor that could be found, and marked with red ink all the salient points which I thought it necessary to visit, that is to say, the points at which the massacres had occurred. I wanted to get | as far 6 into the interior as possible, and as close to the Russian and Persian frontiers as I could, and so drew a line from Trebizond to Erzerum, thence to Van, thence along the lake shore to Bitlis, thence to Diarbekir, and thence to Alexandretta, by way of Aintab. This would give me a chance to pass through the Sassoon district, to see the Kurds, now being organized into Hamidieh regiments,—called Hamidieh in honor of His Majesty Abdul Hamid—and to get a glimpse of the stalwart Circassians. Mr. Whitman assisted me in laying out this route, and we both agreed that it would furnish us with more facts and opportunities for observation than any other. That map was submitted to the Sultan, and I awaited the result with some anxiety. If my plan were accepted, it would prove that the Sultan really meant that the investigation should be without let or hindrance on his part. If it were rejected, and another suggested, it would show that I was to work under cover of surveillance, in which case it would be mere folly to engage in the enterprise. You may judge of my surprise and delight therefore, when I received word from Yildiz that the Sultan was pleased with the route we had chosen, and that we might take our departure as soon as the proper | preparations could be 7 made. My mind was at once set at ease, and I felt sure that I could enter upon my work without any hampering limitations.

The second fact which gave me hope was equally important in its bearings. It has been my conviction that no good can result from dwelling in detail on the horrors which have taken place. They make a lurid picture, and one which, as I afterwards discovered, even the Turks

speaking in whispers as though they appreciated the infamy of their bloody deeds. I have noticed on many occasions that when I talk to an official about the commercial interests of Turkey, or discuss her relations to the European Powers, he is entirely frank and his voice is natural and clear, but when I change the conversation and speak of these dreadful massacres, his whole bearing is different. He instinctively looks around to see if anyone is within hearing distance, draws his chair up closer to mine and speaks in suppressed tones. It is an unwelcome subject, and no one feels free to say what he thinks. I am very sure that the whole nation is conscious of its guilt, and blushes with shame whenever the subject is alluded to.

- 8 If we could call back the many dead, then it would be worth our while to talk about the massacres, but since that is impossible, we must need treat them as a frightful nightmare, and concentrate our attention on the remnant of the nation which has suffered untold persecution, and do what we can to relieve their present distress. Let the dead past bury its dead, while we look to the future of the survivors and give them the good cheer of a helping hand.

In an interview with the Sultan, Mr. Whitman mentioned this fact, but His Majesty would not listen to it. He declared that it was his wish to have the massacres investigated, for it was his opinion that the stories which had reached the western world were gross exaggerations. He insisted, therefore, that this matter should not be neglected, and assured us that we should find his statements to be true.

- Let me add another incident, which occurred when we were well on our way, and which proves rather conclusively that the Sultan was willing that my determination to investigate fairly and critically should in no way be interfered with. We reached Erzerum after many days of exceedingly hard travel. We had put two dangerous mountain passes behind us and
9 were pretty well worn out. The constant nervous strain had told on us all, and one of our party had fallen so seriously ill that the constant attendance of a skilled physician was required. We fully expected to leave him and push on without him. He was very brave and plucky, though, and assured us that when we were ready to start he would go with us. When I tried to dissuade him, telling him frankly that I considered his life in peril, he still persisted. And so the matter rested for a few days.

- Suddenly I learned that our route was to be changed, and my suspicions were aroused. Instead of going to Bitlis, one of the sections where the massacres had been most tragical, and where they were accompanied with horrors at which the whole world shuddered, we were to go to Erzingen, thence to Sivas, thence round the mountains rather than across them to Kharpoot, and so to the South and the Mediterranean. This would interfere with me very greatly, for I wanted to get into the interior and among the Kurds as speedily as possible. The other route had been taken by others, while the one I chose was through the midst of the worst things that had happened. All my arguments, however, were of no avail. I was told that
10 the roads were blocked, that no caravan had been able to get through, and that even the mail ponies, who face almost any kind of weather, had been at a standstill for five days. Matters looked rather blue for awhile, and on thinking the subject over I concluded that there were just two things for me to do, either to go back to Trebizond and so home with the consciousness of failure, or else to push on alone with the help of a few zaptiehs, or mounted policemen, for protection. I discussed the subject with Mr. Whitman from every possible standpoint. I showed him plainly that to leave out the Kurds and Bitlis was to surrender the

most important factor in the problem. He insisted that it was not the Sultan's wish to evade any examination that I might wish to make, that the objection to the Bitlis route probably arose from the fact that one of the party was ill and did not care to venture on the more dangerous route. I refused to accept that statement and admit candidly that I had a strong feeling that my preliminary letters had given offense, and that under some plausible excuse the whole affair was to be brought to an end. When I talked with those who were best acquainted with the subject they said, without a single exception, "Bitlis of course—any other route would be a suspicious compromise." One of them added | significantly, "If you wish to 11 get at the kernel of the nut, go to Bitlis; if you do not, go to Erzingen."

Then I said to Mr. Whitman, "Let us have this matter settled at headquarters. Write a telegram which will reach the Sultan, and then we shall know where we are." The telegram was written and sent, and I assure you, the next forty-eight hours were fraught with great solicitude. At the end of that time a clean cut answer came back to the effect that if I had chosen the Bitlis route, we were to go that way and no other. The matter was settled, and settled my way, and settled by the proper authority.

I say, therefore, without any hesitation that the Sultan was entirely honest in his desire to give me free scope. It is no doubt true that he does not agree with many of the conclusions I have reached, for in my judgment the subject has been misrepresented in the Palace. Still neither he nor anybody else would respect me, and in fact I should not respect myself—which is perhaps the most important thing—unless I told the truth as I understood it, and told it without any fear or the hope of favor. I do not say that I am right in my deductions, but I do say that the Sultan agreed to give me the | use of a perfectly free and independent pen, that 12 he kept his agreement, and that I have used it to the best of my ability.

The Sultan honestly believes that the facts of the case have been misstated to Europe and America, and this was his chief motive in allowing our investigation. I am bound to say this because I believe it to be true. Of course my friends will not agree with me in this matter, and equally of course I shall be accused, with more or less plausibility, of being one of the Sultan's apologists. I cannot help it however. My business is not to tell what other people believe, or to corroborate their statements, but to describe the situation as I saw it with my own eyes, regardless of what either friend or foe may think. I do not say that my opinion is the correct one, I only say that it is my opinion.

But while I think the Sultan is honest in his belief, I also think he has been misinformed. Neither he nor anyone else knows how many were killed during these massacres, for accuracy is impossible. The Armenians cannot be safely trusted because their terror makes multiplication easy. The Turkish officials cannot be trusted, for since all Europe was infuriated their business was to minimize the affair. The | documents sent to the Palace, the only means 13 of information which the Sultan could command, were a tissue of falsehoods. They threw all the blame on the Armenians, they exaggerated the number of Turks who were killed, represented the call to arms on the part of a few revolutionists as the uprising of a whole people, and denied that any villages had been given up to plunder. I speak with all the more emphasis of this matter because I have seen some of these documents, have had them translated, and therefore feel sure of my ground. Shrewd as the Sultan is, and no one will deny that he is the ablest sovereign that Turkey has had in more than a century, he is perfectly powerless when he calls for exact facts. He must need trust somebody, and if it is for the

interest of those whom he trusts to conceal the truth, they can do so successfully and with impunity.

He is the most unenviable man on the planet. Not only uneasy, but insecure, lies the head that wears the crown of Turkey. The Sultan is not only in danger from without, but most of all in danger from within. He leads the narrowest life of any monarch in Europe, is practically an imperial prisoner.

- 39 An isthmus is a strip of land uniting two large territories. The Bosphorus is an aqueous isthmus uniting the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora. It is not more than eighteen miles long, but they are eighteen miles of as exquisite scenery as can be found in any part of the globe. The word Bosphorus is of classic origin, and in the Greek means "oxford," so called from the fact that when she had the good or bad fortune to be transformed into a heifer swam across it. At its widest it is only one and a half miles, and at its narrowest something less than half a mile.

- 40 It was a drizzly day when we steamed northward from Constantinople, but neither drizzle nor chill air could restrain my enthusiasm. On either side are fine residences, the summer resort of thousands who pant during the heated term for a breath of fresh air. They dot the plains and the hillsides, and make one wish that he had several lives that he might spend one of them there.

I met an Armenian on deck and had a long and confidential chat with him. He was a young fellow, who had escaped the massacre in the city, and evidently had very little love to spare for the Turk. His picture of those awful days when at least four thousand of his countrymen were clubbed to death in the streets was so vivid, that I had a queer feeling as of something crawling up my spinal column. I was warned not to hold converse with him as it might create suspicion, and so hamper my movements, but as my sole purpose in visiting the East was to talk with just such men and to hear what they had to say, I did not regard the injunction as imperative.

"Look!" he said, pointing to Robert College on a high prominence, "that is the noblest institution in all Turkey, and its president, Dr. Washburn, is doing more to make the country what it ought to be than any other living man."

- 41 And I think he told the simple truth. Robert College is in splendid isolation—a light house in a land of darkness. The Sultan has organized a great many schools in his Empire, for which due credit should be accorded him, but Robert College has set him a stint which even he with all his resources can hardly perform. It has shaped the careers of thousands of young men, and furnished them with the opportunity of a livelihood, if not of professional fame. Go where you will, through any of the Balkan States or into the interior of Turkey, and if you see a man who is superior to his surroundings, and who serves as an encouragement to his neighbors, you will probably discover that he is a graduate from this college.

Then I began to speak of the massacres, but he looked at me so sharply that I saw he was wondering whether I belonged to the detective service.

"I am an American," I said quietly.

Then we understood each other. The word "American" was like Aladdin's open sesame.

. . . "Those were bitter days," he said with mingled sorrow and indignation. "Our people were sacrificed to the passions of the mob."

"And the number of the murdered?" I asked.

"No one can tell. It is mostly guess-work. | There were quite enough however. They lay in 42 the streets, by the dozens, by the score. Cold, stark bodies, men who had committed no crime, suffering for the folly and stupidity of the few hotheads."

"How was the work done?"

"Generally with clubs," he answered. "There was no noise, no riot, no shouting, but my people fell like wheat before a scythe. It was a day of doom, and the heavens seemed to suddenly grow black. And after it all Europe was dumb. She said nothing and did nothing. The Powers have condoned the offense. The Turk enjoys immunity when he wants to murder a few thousand Armenians."

He was very bitter, and spoke in suppressed tones.

"If you had been armed?" I asked.

"Ah, in that case," he replied, "history would have had a different story to tell. What sublime courage, to kill men who have no means of defense!"

Samsoun, our next stopping-place, reminded me of the Bay of Naples. Again we went 44 ashore, and with the Armenian question in mind, I asked if there had been any serious trouble in the town.

"There are Armenians here?" I asked.

"Yes, and many Greeks also."

"Well, during the massacres what happened?"

"Nothing," was the reply. "There was a good deal of anxiety, but nobody suffered."

"How was that?"

"Well, our governor has a good head on his shoulders. He sent word to all the roughs who had gathered with the hope of a chance to loot Armenian houses, that they would be much safer out in the country than in the town. He told them plainly that they were not wanted 45 here, and the sooner they got | away the better it would be for them. They took the hint, and the place was not disturbed. It was a narrow escape, but it shows what one man can do when he wants to do it."

I may be permitted to say, now that my journey is at an end, that if other governors had been equally wise, thousands of able-bodied Armenians would be paying taxes to-day, who are sleeping in the churchyards of Anatolia. A vast deal of the responsibility for wholesale murder rests on the shoulders of the officials who fomented trouble and gained great personal benefit therefrom. This is not the place in which to discuss that subject, but I shall devote myself to it later on and show that many of the horrors at which we tremble might have been averted if the servants of the Government had done their plain and simple duty. They were barbarous enough to make capital, political capital out of carnage, and in many instances they have blood on their hands, as Macbeth did, which no water will wash out.

Samsoun was once, in the far-away past, a flourishing Greek settlement.

A few days before we arrived <Trebizond>, Chakir Pacha reached the city on his way to 53 the West, with a considerable retinue of officials. His special purpose in visiting different parts of the country was to find where the reforms to which the Sultan had given his approval could be instituted. His people occupied three of the five rooms in the hotel, and our party were

consequently compelled to double up. They were very genial gentlemen, and withal thoroughly conversant with the condition of Armenia, as viewed from a wholly Turkish
 54 standpoint. I talked with them quite freely, and found them willing to admit that there was ample room for improvement in the methods of government.

"But," said one of them, "why is it that Europe demands reforms for the Armenians, but no reforms for the poor Turk? It seems strange to us that when Turks and Armenians are alike suffering from abuses, the Powers should discriminate in favor of one class and not have a word to say for all the rest."

"Europe," I answered, "asks that the Armenians shall have freedom of worship. Is there any injustice in that, or any discrimination against the Turk?"

"But," he replied, "the fundamental law of the land provides that every subject of his Majesty shall worship as he pleases without let or hindrance."

"Yes, I am aware of that," I said. "There is no fault to be found with your laws. The difficulty is that they are a dead letter. You kill an Armenian because he is a Christian."

"Oh, no," he replied, "that is a mistake which all Western people have made, but the statement does us great injustice. No Armenian has ever suffered on account of his religion. Ask the Armenians themselves and they will tell you that this is true."

55 "What then was the cause of the disasters?" I asked.

"Politics," he replied, with emphasis.

"Nothing else?"

"Absolutely nothing, and if you look the subject full in the face, you will find that what I say is true."

Then he added: "I am in the service of the government, and you will naturally think me prejudiced. But there are good Turks, although Europeans cannot believe it, and Turks who would not shrink from criticizing existing methods if there were any reason to do so. I do not say that we are entirely without fault. Are the people of any nation perfect? But I do say that Turkey has had great provocation, and it is not strange that she has been restless under it. And, moreover, I assert that the Armenians have brought the calamity on themselves by their ambition for autonomy."

It was a very interesting interview, and I was glad to have the Turkish side of the question from the lips of a man who had been connected with public affairs for many years. Now that I have investigated the subject for myself, I am forced to say, that while there was some truth in what my friend stated, there was also a good deal to which I cannot subscribe. The
 56 Armenians have suffered as a nation, but they have not sinned as a nation. They have been crippled almost beyond the possibility of recovery. A more hopeless people it has never been my lot to behold. The number of those who have lost all, and must begin life anew is beyond the reach of computation. At every missionary station in the country you will find orphans by the score, made orphans by as base a crime as ever stained the page of history. I have looked into their sad faces, and seen so many widows, that I wonder why the thunderbolts of God have not been hurled at the offenders. To punish the guilty is one thing, but to punish the innocent is an act which ought to rouse the avenging anger of the civilized world. The hills and valleys of Armenia echo with the cries of the tortured who never lifted a hand against the government, who were as loyal as any Turk in the Empire. That is why Turkey is hated. Why should we not tell her that she is hated, and that she will be hated so long as such cruelties

are permitted? The deliberate attempt to exterminate a race is not sanctioned by the spirit of this century. That attempt has been made, and unless all signs fail it will be made again when Europe shall so far forget the past as to render immunity probable.

I have great respect for the gentlemen who I was privileged to meet in Trebizond, but after 57 as careful and thorough a search for facts, as time and circumstances permitted, and with no other wish than to be just to both parties, I find it impossible to accept their conclusions. I do not blame them for defending the policy of the government of which they are a component part, and they must not blame me if I tell the truth as I see it, rather than as they see it.

. . . One of my first visits of course, was to our | American Missionary, Reverend Mr. 58 Parmelee, who like all the other missionaries I have met, had that expression of suppressed anxiety which is so pathetic. For a score and a half of years he has been a resident of Asia Minor, a gentle gentleman, a thoughtful scholar, a careful critic, and an honest workman in a field in which there are many discouragements. So many discouragements! As I looked into his sad face, I couldn't help thinking that he and such as he ought to have a good time in the next life, for they have certainly had a very hard time in this. I can conceive of the heroism which drives a man into the midst of such horrible surroundings, but am painfully conscious that I myself should not be equal to the work. I suppose everybody has his allotted field, and I am a thousand times grateful that my days' stint is not to be done in that belated antediluvian country. It moves so slowly and has fallen so far in the rear of human progress that we should have to stand still a couple of thousand years if we wanted it to catch up with us.

This reverend gentlemen was thoroughly conversant with the events of the massacre period, and he spoke of them with a degree of judicial impartiality which surprised me. If I | 59 had been through such scenes, had witnessed the bloodshed of those days, I certainly should be incapable of speaking with calmness of the perpetrators, but he spoke quietly and conclusively, not hotly against the Turk, as I expected, but blaming the Armenian revolutionists for giving occasion for bloodshed. There are two sides to every question, even when that question relates to massacre, and my missionary friend, who had carefully studied Turk as well as Armenian, could do justice to both.

I would like to refer to an interview which I had with a gentleman in Trebizond who was 60 present during the massacre there, and who was thoroughly posted on all the details of the affair. I shall not give his name because I neglected to get his permission to do so, and for other reasons which need not be mentioned. Let it suffice that he was not a Turk, that he was perfectly fair-minded and that he was so constituted mentally that he could treat the Armenian and the Moslem with equal justice.

Moreover, I refer to this interview because it showed me that though the Turk was inexpressibly cruel in his methods, he nevertheless had great provocation. While in America, my sympathies were unreservedly with the Armenians. I imagined that they were the victims of religious fanaticism, that they had done absolutely nothing to bring on | themselves this 61 frightful attempt at extermination. When I got my first glimpse of the actual facts in Trebizond, my opinions were somewhat modified.

I sat for two hours with this gentleman, and we discussed the question from every possible standpoint.

"Where did the fault lie?" I asked. "Was it with the Turks or with the Armenians?"

He hesitated for a moment. "Do you mean," he queried, at length, "do you mean in this particular locality, or shall I speak generally?"

"As to other places," I answered, "I shall visit them in the course of the winter, and prefer to make my investigations on the spot, rather than at arm's length. You were here, you saw the dead in the streets, you have lived here many years, and know the peculiarities of the people. Pardon me, therefore, if I say I prefer to have you speak of that which took place under your own eyes than to anything that comes in the way of hearsay."

"Well then, let me tell the story of what I myself saw," he responded. "You know some thing of Bahri Pacha?"

"Yes," I answered, "something. He was very unpopular, was he not?"

62 "Deservedly so," he said with emphasis, "but that is no excuse for what occurred. One day when he was walking along the main street of Trebizond, a couple of young men, probably members of the revolutionary committee, fired upon him, their purpose being assassination."

"You know that to be true?" I asked.

"The fact is as I state it," he replied. "Now if these fellows had been caught and executed, as would have been perfectly proper under the circumstances, the massacre would not have taken place. They fled, however, and the authorities naturally came to the conclusion that the Armenians were in sympathy with them, and knew their hiding-place. The people were in a furious state of excitement."

"And what then?" I asked.

"The Turkish officials, urged by this vehement clamor of the populace, called upon the Armenian community to deliver up the miscreants, and added that unless they did so it would be impossible to answer for the consequences. The assassination of an official, whatever may be his character, is an act of rebellion."

"And what were the consequences?" I asked.

"That five hundred men were killed."

"The number was no larger than that?" I queried

63 "That is a somewhat conservative estimate, but after careful investigation I think it about the fair figure. They were frightful times and the worst passions and fears were aroused. Business was at a standstill, and we were all paralyzed. As many Armenians as could find a way of escape fled, most of them to the Russian border."

"And the women and children?" I asked.

"There were strict orders not to harm either the one or the other, and those orders were willingly obeyed by the soldiers. Only two or three women and children suffered, and they by accident not by design."

"But why," I asked, "did the authorities punish the innocent as well as the guilty? That seems to me the strangest thing of all, and as an American I can't understand it."

"It was the effect of generalization," he answered. "The Turk has not yet adopted the methods of our century. He may do so by and by, but not for many generations. It was the Armenians who made the attempt at assassination, and it was the Armenians who must pay the penalty."

87/8 We passed Gumush-Khaneh, a town filled | with hospitable Greeks, and once famous for its silver mines, and the little village of Tekke, built on a hillside and reminding me of pictures

of Hebrew towns which I used, as a boy, to find in the old-fashioned family Bible, and Varzahan, with its two medieval ruins—the people are all Armenians and these ruins date back as far as the twelfth century—and then came to Baiburt, the only important town between Trebizond and Erzeroom.

Baiburt, we found to be an interesting old place with about seventeen thousand inhabitants. Of course it is also built on a hillside, as were most of the cities of earlier days, because they were more easily defended. And, of course, also, there is a castle on the brow of the hill. This particular castle was built by the Armenians, how long ago no one knows. And, by the way, there are to be seen everywhere many reminders that there was once an Armenian kingdom, with good old-fashioned robber barons, whose strongholds, in almost inaccessible positions, make, in their ivy-covered age, a picturesque spectacle.

What surprised me most was to learn that in all Baiburt there is not a single physician.

I had a long talk during the evening with some of our visitors, and of course elbowed my way by slow degrees through the peculiarities of the country, physical and social, to the Armenian question. I began by telling them that the true buffalo is to be found in Anatolia, while in America we had, once on a time, large numbers of the bison variety—now no more, *requiescat in pace*—and then discoursed of the crops, the various races represented in the district, and so at last stood face to face with the Armenian. But I made little progress, for the Turks suddenly grew reticent. At last, just a bit nettled, I said frankly:

“You know, perhaps, that the purpose of my visit is to look into that matter, and that I do so not only with the consent and approval of the Sultan, but also at his request.”

At that they unbent slightly and talked in glittering generalities. The discussion was unsatisfactory, however. I had in mind some facts, but nearly all of my statements were stoutly but courteously denied. The Turks were quite ready to live on amicable terms with the Armenians, they said, but that had been found to be impossible. There had been, it was true, what the outside world, which had no knowledge of the subject, had called a massacre, but the Armenians had brought the trouble on themselves, and the story told of the numbers killed had been vastly exaggerated. I very soon discovered that it was utterly impossible to get any accurate information from Turkish sources and relapsed into silence—a silence, by the way, which they regarded as suspicious. So I inwardly determined to visit some representative Armenians, and remarking that I was rather worn with the day’s journey, bade them good-night, and retired to my room, where I puffed away at my bad cigar until I became drowsy, and then went to bed.

“What is that long black line on the horizon?” I asked.

“Why, that is the city of Erzeroom,” was the reply.

There it was, the city we had been looking forward to for ten days, only eight days of actual travel, however, for we had been detained forty-eight hours at a Khan on account of the illness of one of the party.

Back of it, in front of it, and on both sides of it were mountains; not baby mountains, but full-grown, stalwart fellows, and the city itself was at an elevation of more than six thousand feet. To say that we were rendered hilarious at having reached this point in our journey is but feebly to express our feelings . . .

107 Erzerroom, from a distance, looks like a strip of black velvet on a white sheet. It was close upon sundown when we passed through the gate of the large earthworks by which it is surrounded. Tired as we were we recalled the fact that the city is simply a fortress, that it was once a stronghold of the Byzantine Empire, and that it has been the center of many a battle-field. It was one of the chief points which I longed to visit, for it is the capital of a large villayet, and has over forty thousand inhabitants, one quarter of which aggregate are Armenians. As it is on the caravan route from Bagdad to Trebizond, there are close upon two thousand resident Persians there, but for some reason or other, only a few Jews. It is so close to the Russian border that it is thought prudent to station within its limits a garrison of four or five full regiments of infantry, which fact keeps the air resonant with the echoes of the bugle-call and of the military band.

One branch of the Euphrates, called in Turkish the Kara Su, pours its muddy torrent through the plain not far away, and near its banks the Russians and the Turks have met in deadly array. We passed the scene of conflict, and by dint of rubbing up our memories, each one of the company adding a fact or two, got a pretty fair idea of the historic value of the place.

108 But it is cold in Erzerroom; we found it so. Its altitude insures purity of air, and also its penetrating and freezing quality. The mercury at times drops to twenty degrees below zero, Fahrenheit, and the poor wretches who come over the mountain passes near by—Palan-token Dagh, for instance, or Deve-Boyan—must be on the lookout, or they may be overtaken by the dreaded Tipi, the outer edge of which we encountered on the top of Kop Dagh—a snow-storm combined with a vicious gale which benumbs the traveler and quickly changes him into an icicle.

When I saw the minarets piercing the sky, and the dome of the beautiful Armenian church, and the spire of the Catholic church, and the tall roof of the Greek church, I said to myself, "Yes, this will be an interesting place to spend a few days in. There is the distant past to be looked at through a glass dimly, the recent past with shot and shell, and the present with its struggles to recover from the massacres of yesterday." In Erzerroom I was no longer on the outskirts of the Armenian question, but in its center, and mingled emotions of pity and gladness, of grief and hopefulness chased each other through my soul.

109 By the time we had unpacked our panniers and done what little we could to increase the comfort of our stay there, we received visits from the Vali, Rauff Pacha, and the English, French, and American Consuls. The visit of the Vali was returned the next day, and I found him a courteous gentleman and quite willing to discuss the matters in which I was most interested. He spoke French fluently, and so we dispensed with the intervention of our dragoman. I had no sooner sipped the hospitable cup of coffee and lighted the equally hospitable cigarette, than I found myself asking all sorts of questions concerning the Armenians. I will tell the story just as he told it to me, and afterwards perhaps make some comments on it. He sent for official documents and quoted from them, so the account he gave was the one which had been sent to the Palace.

That the scenes enacted in Erzerroom were too terrible to contemplate without the sternest criticism of the central government must be admitted. I do not know how many were killed, and no one will ever know, for nothing in Turkey is more illusive than figures. An immense amount of property was destroyed, and the looting went on for hours without interruption.

At the end of it all, hundreds of families were beggared, and the number of widows and orphans was beyond computation. These facts are not to be denied, and if the official reports do not verify the statement, so much the worse for the official reports. The imagination fails to realize that tragedy of demolition which began—so I was told by those who were calm observers—with a bugle-call, and ended in the same way. It is no more than fair to say that this is denied, stoutly denied by those in authority, but I have good reason to believe that it is true nevertheless. 110

I give special prominence to this story for two reasons. First, because it is the kind of story that is told by every Turkish official throughout Anatolia, and if we hope to arrive at an impartial judgment of the case, we ought to be willing to listen with equal patience to the evidence of both sides. Second, and more important, because it brings to the front the undisputed fact that there were revolutionists among the Armenians, that they were a reckless, dare-devil set of fellows, and that they should be held in part responsible for the events which have taken place. The story told by the Vali runs as follows:

An Armenian belonging to a secret society met another Armenian, a member of a rival society, in Erzeroom, and an altercation ensued, in which the second man was killed. The murderer fled, but was captured after a week's hunt and on his person an implicating and important paper was found. It looked like a commercial letter; indeed, the first page was on a purely mercantile subject, a commercial letter, all the other pages being apparently blank. Suspicion was aroused, a well-known chemical was applied, and handwriting was developed. I have seen the original in Armenian, I have a certified translation in French, and from that I take my facts. It is headed, "General Session of the Armenian Revolution Committee," and then follows a record of the proceedings. The meeting was held in London on "the 26 October 1896" and there were other meetings, twenty-two in all, which continued until "Jany. 13, 1897." 111

The names of the delegates present were given, but they are not necessary here. At the beginning of the session one member "eulogized the dead agitators during the recent occurrences at Constantinople and Van and the mountain in the vicinity of Van." The Council "recorded its sincere admiration for Garo, Rotsi, Leon, and their companions who conducted themselves in heroic fashion and made the sacrifice of their lives."

The first question considered was "Preliminary Preparations in Time of Peace." One member declared that the Armenians had made *des sacrifices enormes* and that their present situation "did not permit them to continue the revolution." He advocated letting all agitation rest "for ten years" in order to recover themselves. This man seems to have been the Girondist of the occasion; but the Jacobins were in the majority. The Council rejected the proposition and "decided to continue the agitation in the future as in the past," declaring that it was necessary "to send arms and munitions of war" and to excite agitation, for the reason that if a period of tranquillity continued for ten years "the sympathy of European nations would not retain its intensity." The "unique object" of the revolutionists was "to produce a continuous agitation and to force the Great Powers" to settle the Eastern Question. 112

Another proposition was "to let the matter rest in Anatolia" and send the band of revolutionists "into Bulgaria and Servia," but this also was rejected. It was necessary that "the population, that is, the Armenians, should show their discontent, and in that way produce embarrassment in the country." By such means, "Europe would be forced to solve the 113

Armenian question at the earliest possible moment.” Then is added this declaration, which I believe every observer will admit to be true: “As long as the present state of things continues,” that is to say, the lack of reforms, “the revolution cannot cease”; but it is also true beyond a doubt that the reforms which are demanded by the Armenians are in an almost equal degree needed by the Turks themselves. One of the difficulties of this problem is that Europe has demanded reforms for one class of the Sultan’s subjects and seems not to care a rush how the rest of the population may suffer. This discrimination seems so invidious to the thoughtful Turk, that when speaking of it he becomes exasperated. “Europe” he says disdainfully, “has great affection for some of us, but hasn’t a word to say for others. What a queer position for statesmen to take! Five hundred thousand of the great aggregate have the sympathy of Europe, but the other millions may go to the devil for ought it cares.”

The document continues: “As to arresting the revolutionary movement, it is not to be thought of. This would be tantamount to condemning the nation whose fate, whose future, 114 and whose happiness are in our hands.” | Then is added this significant sentence: “In consequence of these facts, the Council has unanimously voted the continuance of the revolution in the country districts and also in Constantinople.” I quote again: “The question of the continuation of the revolution having been decided,” it was voted “to form a number of small bands who shall operate in the country and thus cause embarrassment to the government. These bands shall murder [*executeroni*] the Musselman population, shall occupy mountains and highroads, and attack most carriers and travelers, and so provoke disorder.”

“Herein,” said the Vali, “you will find the sole cause of the trouble in this city. The Armenian began it, the Turk ended it. There was hot rebellion here, and it was the business of the government to put it down at any cost, which it at once proceeded to do.”

So much for the one side. Now for the other. When I spoke of these facts to a gentleman, whose name need not be mentioned, the reply was prompt.

“If Rauff Pacha tells you that story, he believes it to be true. He is a thoroughly honest man, and would not stoop to deception. I know him intimately, and will say frankly that he 115 is one of the most honorable officials in | Asia Minor. In this matter, however, I am sure that he is mistaken. The responsibility for the massacre does not rest with the Armenians but with the government. What you state may have been the excuse for the massacres, but certainly not their cause. The city was not in danger, and there was no revolutionary movement on foot. The Armenians were not members of any secret society. If you wish to be perfectly fair in your judgment of the situation you must seek elsewhere for the real cause of these troubles.”

“I am told,” I said, “that a soldier was shot by an Armenian in the courtyard of the government building, and that the populace at once became frantic, that all sorts of rumors were afloat, and the massacre followed as a logical consequence.”

“Yes,” was the reply, “I have heard that on several occasions.”

“Well, were you in a position to get at the facts?”

“I think so.”

“Do you believe that the trouble originated in that way?”

“I do not.”

“Tell me, then, what, in your opinion was the origin of the affair.”

116 “We are near the Russian border,” he replied, “and that accounts for a good deal. If these Armenians were located in the South, on the shore of the Mediterranean for example, there

would be no dread of anything they might do. They are, however, close to an enemy's country. They are restless. They would like to form themselves into an independent state, a sort of Bulgaria. Under the circumstances it is a stupid ambition, because it can never be realized, but still the ambition exists to a greater or less extent. Turkey knows it, and is suspicious. Russia knows it, and laughs in her sleeve, because Armenians are playing into Russia's hands. If the Armenians could be so crippled as to be powerless, why, don't you see that the Turkish situation would be improved?"

"But," I persisted, "why does not Turkey pursue a policy of conciliation rather than one of exasperation?"

"You must ask a wiser man than I am," he replied.

"The Armenians do not like Russia?" I asked.

"They hate it."

"They are not as free there as here?"

"By no means. Besides, why should not a man be permitted to live in his native land? 117 Those who fled in fear, are slowly coming back."

"Would it be possible to conciliate the Armenians?"

"Certainly; why not? They are a peace loving people, a race of traders, and if security of life and property were insured, they would be the best of subjects, and the most loyal."

"You think so?"

"I know so."

This conversation seemed to me rather important. You can put it side by side with the statements previously made, and then you will have about all the evidence there is. It is contradictory, to be sure, but that is inevitable.

The Turk always becomes either nervous or reticent, as I have already remarked, when you 128 broach the subject of the massacres, and at once tries to change the conversation. He knows that they constitute a national disgrace, that the civilized world regards him with contempt, that he has been guilty of deeds which are equally infamous and cowardly, and that the position he pretends to assume regarding them is utterly indefensible. I have talked with Valis, with Kaimakams, with military officers, with priests, and with small tradesmen, and have found everywhere the same reluctance.

The topic is an extremely painful one, especially to a man who has wandered through districts where scores of villages have been destroyed, and where the very mountain torrents seem to shriek out their horror of the scenes they have witnessed. Even the sunshine was 129 robbed of its brightness and the clouds looked mournful when we saw the victims of this persecution and heard their pitiful story of poverty and hopeless bereavement. It is one thing to read about the tragedy, the stupid, blundering tragedy, when you are seated in your easy-chair thousands of miles away, but a very different thing to look into the wan and wrinkled faces of women whose homes have been broken up, and who were compelled to fly to the mountains amid the snows of winter, in order to save themselves and their children, while their husbands and fathers lay dead under the deserted roof.

I don't think I shall ever forget an experience we had as we approached the town of Delibaba on our way to Bitlis. It was a bitterly cold day, but at a point which we must need pass, stood six forlorn women clothed in rags. As we came near, they lifted up their hands

implored us to stop. The appeal was too pathetic to be disregarded, and when we came to a standstill they kissed our hands and even the rugs which protected us from the blast. They begged for some bit of writing that might enable their husbands to return to their families.

130 When the massacre was on, | their men folks had fled beyond the Russian border, and were still there. No word had come from them; there was nothing in the house to eat, and the plunderers had stolen all their cattle—their only capital—representing their hard-earned savings. The spring would soon be at hand, but who was to plough their few acres and sow their crops? It was a touching spectacle, one of many which I have witnessed, and do what I would, I could not keep back the tears. We gave them money, told them that an amnesty had been proclaimed and that their husbands might return without fear of further danger, and then drove on. My day was spoiled, however, and the beauties of the defile which we entered were lost on me. I could see nothing but those six faces, could think of nothing but the wretchedness into which that part of Anatolia has been plunged. Mr. Whitman did what he could to cheer me up, but the incident haunted me until I fell asleep that night.

Why did the Turks commit acts so unprofitable to themselves? No satisfactory answer has yet been given to that question. It will remain more or less a mystery. I remember that during
131 our Civil War, when I was on the staff of General Banks in Louisiana, I was | detailed to look after the interests of the colored people south of New Orleans. On one occasion I entered the house of a rich planter who had three hundred people at work, and asked for a night's lodging and some supper. He was an old fellow, close upon seventy, and a secessionist of the most rabid kind. It was for his interest to receive me, but his cordiality was like the heat in an icicle. During the evening, under the soothing influence of a good cigar, he thawed out and talked rather freely about the divine institution of slavery. When I casually referred to the matter of corporal punishment, he grew almost eloquent, and assured me that it was never allowed on his plantation, that his slaves were like members of his own family. They were well fed, well clothed, and well housed. "Corporal punishment!" he broke out, rising from his chair and assuming the attitude of an orator. "Corporal punishment would not only hurt my feelings, but injure my property. There is a logic in that fact which you people of the North do not understand. Suppose I have a slave, an able-bodied boy worth fifteen hundred dollars, a bright-eyed, clean-limbed darkey. He is a part of my capital in trade, he is a financial
132 investment. Now tell me, am I likely to do | anything which will lower his market price? If I have him whipped, I may take away his spirit and make him sullen. Or worse than that, the lash of my overseer may injure him physically. Do you think I am going to reduce his value by two or three hundred dollars with a cat-o'-nine-tails?"

The argument seemed to me to be conclusive, in spite of the fact that I had been saturated with abolition doctrines from my youth up. I was under thirty, and wondered if my father and mother were all wrong. The next morning, I bade the old wretch a kindly good by, leaped into the saddle, and was off. Before I reached the gate I heard a cry, a pitiful cry. In another half-minute it was repeated. I turned back and soon reached the door of an outhouse from behind which the cry came. I was robust in those days and something of a dare-devil. I made a rush for the door, hit it with my whole weight, and it gave way. Then I saw a spectacle which even after this lapse of time is painfully vivid. A stalwart boy, stripped to the waist, was tied by the thumbs to a post overhead, and the overseer was cutting his flesh with a long lash until the blood flowed.

What I did under the circumstances is of no consequence. I only want to say that the old planter had lied to me; that a man will reduce the value of his property even when it is against his interest to do so, and that the logic to which I listened the night before proved itself to be inconclusive. 133

Now, if you can tell me why that planter was willing to sacrifice three hundred dollars, or to run the risk of sacrificing that sum for the pleasure of whipping his slave, I will tell you why the Turks have engaged in a wholesale massacre of the Armenians. It is one of those mysteries which have their root in the depravity of human nature, and that is as near to a solution of the problem as anyone can get.

Of course, there were causes which led up to the massacres, and made them possible. If the Turks had been on friendly terms with the Armenians, had not been suspicious of them, and had not envied their prosperity, there would have been no murders. But in very truth, the two races exasperate each other, not because of religious differences but because of their personal characteristics. The only wonder to me is that they have got along together as well as they have done. Why the Armenians do not emigrate to some spot on the globe where their environment would be less dangerous, is a puzzle that I cannot guess. 134

When I wandered through Switzerland some years ago and saw that an avalanche had swept away half a village on the mountain-side, and that the survivors were rebuilding on the same site, I asked a like question: "Why do they rebuild when they know perfectly well that an other avalanche may already be loosening its hold to duplicate the destruction of the past?" I confess I do not know. Whether it is that men prefer danger to safety, or whether they convince themselves that a disaster of that kind will never occur again, is beyond my ken. There they are, however, and there they will stay with the chances all against them.

There are only five thousand Armenians in America to hundreds of thousands of all other nationalities, and yet there is room enough for the whole population of Armenia. There is hardly a spot in Europe where they would not be entirely safe, and have ample opportunity to ply their trades, but they choose to remain in a land which has been conquered by the Turk, and under a government which hates them, which oppresses them by unjust laws, which imprisons them, tortures them, and in an hour of desperation murders them.

Let me tell you why, in my judgment, there will always be friction between the Turks—and that word must include the Kurds—and the Armenians. So far as the ability to protect himself is concerned, the Armenian belongs to a degenerate race. Time was when he had military prowess, and when a wholesome fear restrained his enemies from making an attack. He had the prestige which belongs to a warrior people. He not only knew how to fight, but how to conquer. He had a kingdom, and a race of sovereigns of whom he had a right to be proud; strongholds or castles in impregnable positions; swords which he had himself forged, and brave hearts and strong to wield them. His history goes back to a period just this side of the Ark and of Ararat, which lifted its hoary head within sight of his home. Even the Roman Emperor, Pompey, thought it no mean task to defeat the Armenians in a pitched battle, and no slight honor to have an Armenian queen in his triumphal procession. 135

There was heroism in those days, but since that time the Armenian has lost all his skill and all his courage. He has been conquered and reconquered, bruised, broken, crushed between the upper and lower millstones of adverse fate. He may be proud of his ancestors, but they can scarcely be proud of him. 136

Let me tell you about our cook, Migirditch, in order to illustrate this statement. From Trebizond to Erzerum and during our stay in the latter city we lived on food cooked after the Turkish manner. It soon became evident, however, that neither Mr. Whitman nor I could stand it. It was so differently prepared from what we had been accustomed to that our digestive organs rebelled and threatened to make havoc. The Turk delights in dishes which I abominate. He cannot make a dinner without a quantity of sweets, generally honey. He brings his fried eggs on the table in a sea of melted grease, and his pillaf is rice boiled in mutton-fat. Then, too, he disdains the use of knives, and pulls the turkey apart with his fingers. If there is soup, the tureen is placed in the middle and each one, armed with spoon, helps himself. After six people have dipped six spoons for the sixth time into the tureen, my appetite fails me, and I want no more dinner. One can starve very comfortably for a while, but when he is riding ten hours a day over rough roads he feels the need of nourishing food and plenty of it.

137 So when I find myself growing thinner day by day, and my vitality getting down to a pretty low ebb, I think I may be excused if I insist on a reform in the culinary department.

This we made very successfully, and after some delay engaged an Armenian cook, who proved very skillful. Now Migirditch was being paid just four times as much as he had been receiving, but he couldn't help making extra demands. With the shrewdness of his race he wouldn't let an opportunity to get more slip by unused. Then I became wroth and used a plain language in defining my position. He was soundly berated, metaphorically of course, but he made no reply, accepting our execrations with a resignation that was appalling. A Kurd would have had his dagger out and applied it to its proper use, but Migirditch was as dumb as the grave, and it seemed not to enter his head that he had any rights in the case, or that it would do the least good to defend his actions. He was so cowed that it was pitiful; cowed by my simple, though somewhat emphatic, fault-finding, and he went back to his pots and pans without a murmur, a veritable non-resistant, not on principle, but by inheritance.

138 Naturally gifted, however, the broken-down Armenian of earlier days turned his talents in a different direction. He became a trader, a money-maker, and after a few generations was the shrewdest man at a bargain on the planet. It is said that a Jew can cheat the world, that a Greek is sharper than two Jews, and that an Armenian is more than a match for two Greeks. The instinct of trade is abnormally developed and you must be careful when you do business with him. Of course, all this is a generalization. I am talking about racial characteristics. There are Armenians, and it has been my privilege to meet some of them, whose integrity is beyond reproach, and whose honor is as sensitive as that of the noblest merchant in Europe.

139 The Armenian has been remarkably successful in making money because he is endowed with an unusual amount of brains. If you meet on your way a long line of pack-horses carrying goods to market, the chances are ten to one that both the owner of the goods and of the pack-horses belong to the Armenians, while the drivers are pretty sure to be Turks. If you go on a shooting expedition, and want either a guide or a man to look after your horses, you will take a Turk, for he loves the horse and knows every inch of the country. But if you want any skilled work done, no matter of what kind, you will always find that the man to do it is a Greek or an Armenian. When we were in Baiburt, I saw a beautiful dagger in an exquisite scabbard. A Turk owned it, and was proud of it; but no Turk could make it. I said: "That is the work of a Greek," and he was indignant, but on questioning him I found that I had guessed the truth. If you put an Armenian and a Turk side by side in a village, it will hardly

be twelve months before the Turk will retire impoverished because the Armenian has absorbed the business. The Turk has conquered the Armenian by force of arms, but the Armenian has the better of the Turk by force of brains. Up to the time of the recent massacres the Turk was continually losing money, while the Armenian grew richer every day.

The main difficulty with the Turk is that he is a magnificent horseman and a good soldier, but nothing else.

The departments of government in Turkey are, even today, in spite of the massacres, in the hands of men who are not Mohammedans. The finances of the Empire are administered by Armenians and a few Greeks. If public funds are to be invested, the transaction is not given in charge of a Turk, for he knows nothing about finance. Look over the civil list in Constantinople, and you will be surprised to find names which have no Turkish termination. It may be a bold thing to say, and yet I venture the assertion that Turkey would fall into endless embarrassment and confusion were it not for those servitors who have Armenian blood in their veins, and who look after things with Armenian shrewdness. 143

The Sultan has tried to change all this, and one of his highest hopes is to render himself independent of this un-Mohammedan aid, and to put only pure Turks into office. A large number of the Armenians have been dismissed during the last two years, but the experiment has had doubtful results. The facts are kept as nearly *sub rosa* as possible, but many of the most important positions are still occupied by Armenians.

Is a railroad to be built?—the contract is taken by a foreigner, and the Turk steps to the rear. Frenchmen and Germans come to the front, and pocket all the profits of the enterprise. Are naval vessels to be acquired?—the Golden Horn is lined with rotten and rotting hulks. There is not a business house in Turkey that can repair them, and fit them for active service. The Turkish war-vessels are the most pitiful sight on the globe. They cost vast sums of money, and the poor Turk has been bled until he has become disheartened; but his battle-ships are not worth their weight as old junk. The great Ottoman Bank is in the hands of foreign capitalists, and even the Turkish army must need be drilled by German officers. The troops went forth to do battle with the Greeks, carrying with them cannon made by Krupp, and Mauser and Winchester rifles. Turkey has no power to meet its own needs, but for years has simply been an orange sucked by men of brains from other nations. It is so utterly helpless that if you were to withdraw the foreign element, that is, the non-Mohammedan element, Turkey could not hold together for a decade. The Turk recognizes this fact, and is chagrined and in despair. 144

I have drawn this contrast between the Turk and the Armenian for a purpose, and the long details into which I have entered are necessary to that purpose. I am not ready to say that you can find therein the full cause of the massacres, but I think it is evident that they slowly led up to a condition of affairs that made massacre possible if not even probable. The Armenian has been getting into his own hands a controlling interest in the trade of Eastern and Central Anatolia. The Turk had not the ability to compete with him, and was a constant loser, much to his disappointment and indignation. He has had a grudge against his successful rival for many years, but was powerless to avenge himself. If he went into court, the judges could be easily bribed, and while he had no money to purchase a decision, the thrifty Armenian had 145

plenty. The Armenians acquired more and more influence, and were to a certain extent backed in their demands by the Great Powers of Europe. The Turk had sense enough to see that he was gradually coming to be of no account even in his own country; that his property—through his own thriftlessness, to be sure, and that made him still more exasperated—was gradually diminishing, and he was in a very unhappy frame of mind. A class
 146 of men | who did not profess his religion, and who were loyal to the government for revenue only, were silently and steadily getting the better of him. Where would it all end, and by what means could he recover his lost prestige?

How could these two nations, so different in temperament, and in their way of looking at life, get on comfortably together? How would it be possible to avoid friction? If you tell me that before the massacres they did live in amity, my answer is that this is only partly true. Human nature is human nature, and never yet did a man who has traded himself into a fortune either at the real or supposed expense of another, live in wholly amicable relations with that other. This may be the case in the millennium, but not till then. This feeling of enmity between the Turk and the Armenian has been fermenting for a long while, and it only needed a proper occasion to give itself vent. Long before any massacres were dreamed of it was plain to me that the two races were like flint and powder, and during my travels in Armenia I have been more and more deeply convinced that the future of the Armenians is extremely clouded. It may be that the hand of the Turk will be held back through fear of Europe, but I
 147 am sure that the | object of the Turk is extermination, and that he will pursue that end if the opportunity offers. He has already come very near to its accomplishment, for the Armenians of today are an impoverished people, hopeless and in despair.

148 Now let us look at this matter from a different standpoint, namely: the work that has been done by the revolutionists.

Before I left Constantinople, the Sultan assured me through Mr. Whitman that the real cause of the trouble would not be found in religion but in politics. I had grave doubts on the subject, and not even the positive statement of a Sultan had any weight. He had been told very frankly by Mr. Bennett that I was not only an American, but also a clergyman, and I rather imagine that the combination—republicanism and theology—was somewhat distasteful to His Majesty. I could not have been, under the circumstances, a *persona grata*, and was not surprised that he had serious suspicions that I had already prejudged the case,
 149 and that I might end the journey with a wholesale arraignment of the Turk. This | suspicion was greatly emphasized when Mr. Bennett added that I certainly did sympathize with the Armenians, though he remarked that in spite of that fact I was capable of telling the truth as I saw it. The Sultan was in a measure pacified by this assurance, and even said that he cared nothing for my sympathies or my prejudices if only I was a man to investigate impartially, and bold enough to state my conclusions whether they accorded with the prevailing view of the subject in Europe or not. In that case he would be glad to have me go to Anatolia and would afford me every possible opportunity for investigation.

He enjoined upon me, however, to give special attention to the religious aspect of the massacres, declaring in very emphatic words that there was unrestricted religious liberty throughout the Empire, and that recent events had no relation to Mohammedism or Christianity—in a word, that religion was not a factor in the grave problem.

And it is but fair to say that in my judgment the Sultan was in the right. I have found it necessary, on many occasions, to take open issue with high Turkish officials when discussing other phases of the question, but in this one respect I soon found myself in almost entire agreement with them. In very truth, it was a surprise to me to discover that the average Turk has no large amount of religion anyway. He has great reverence for the Koran as the word of God, and as a revelation of the various duties he is expected to perform; but the Koran, which is written in Arabic, is a sealed book to him, only fragments of it being translated into Turkish, and, moreover, the great majority of the Turks being entirely ignorant of the art of reading. I am both logical, therefore, and truthful, when I say that while there are many devout Turks, and many who are even fanatical, the great majority allow their religion to sit lightly on their shoulders, but do not allow it to seriously interfere with what they wish to do. Perhaps in this respect they are not so very unlike the rest of the world, for I have known Christians who take the same view of the matter. 150

I do not say that in no instance did religion fan the flames of persecution, for that would be too extreme a statement, and one which could easily be contradicted. In Aintab, for instance, where, by the way, not more than five hundred were killed, the prime mover in the massacre was a howling dervish. On our arrival in the city, he was the first to offer us the hospitality of his house, which adjoins the mosque in which he worships. He was a generous host, placing himself and all his belongings at our disposal. When I first looked into his face I saw that he was a man of fiery passions, and in spite of his tall fez and his picturesque costume, he reminded me of our own Pilgrim Fathers—sedate, stern, and with a certain cruel expression in his eyes. At that time I did not know of the part he had played on that eventful day. It was only when we were on the point of leaving that the story was told to me. 151

Now this dancing dervish does not stand alone in Anatolia. Many examples of a like nature came to my notice, but a very much smaller number than I expected to find, and I sought diligently for them. My opinions on this phase of the tragedy have undergone a radical change. I was prepared, indeed I fully expected, to find a wild fanaticism everywhere. From what I have read of the Mohammedans, it seemed natural that I should find it, and it would be strange if I did not. I am convinced, however, that religion had very little to do with the massacres, and that if religious differences had been the only point at issue there would not have been a single massacre in all Anatolia. And I am sure that our own missionaries, whom I have visited at every opportunity, will bear me out in this statement. We must, therefore, dig deeper if we are to get at the main truth. 152

How many revolutionists there are on the frontier of Russia and Persia, I cannot say. That the number is considerable, and that they are mischief-makers, will not be denied. As I have shown in a previous chapter, their purpose is to cause an uprising which will force Europe to armed intervention. They do not expect the Armenians to win independence for themselves. It would be folly to regard that as even a remote possibility. But if the Armenians can be made to rebel it is clear that the government will set about to crush them, and will use the cruel methods which prevail everywhere in the East. If this persecution can be made to resemble a prairie fire which threatens to consume everything before it, then Europe will be compelled to take the part of the oppressed, and to hold a kind of protectorate over them; and that would very likely result, if not in actual autonomy, in something which would be akin to it.

Now I do not wonder that the Armenian who has emigrated should feel discontented at

153 the condition of his people under the misrule of Turkey. It cannot be otherwise. The man who recalls the past history of his country—its grandeur, its puissance, its literature, its soldierly qualities—and then sees it robbed of all these, persecuted, driven to despair, manhood sapped, womanhood outraged, must feel his blood gradually rising to the boiling-point.

If he has been a resident of Berlin, or Paris, or London, or New York, he is filled with modern ideas and has caught the spirit of modern civilization. From such a height he looks into the social and political depths, and sees his once proud people wallowing in the mire, deprived of all energizing opportunities, and his sword springs from its sheath before he is conscious of what he is doing.

All that I understand, and to that I give unstinted sympathy. It is an honor to any man to do what he can to uplift the nation to which he belongs, and to make great sacrifices to accomplish so glorious an end. He knows that the Armenians are being crowded into a corner, that they are under the iron heel of despotism, that fair play are words not to be found in the Turkish vocabulary. He knows also that they have the capacity, or would have it if
154 circumstances permitted, to rule themselves, and I to duplicate the deeds which once made them famous. Why should he not, therefore, urge them to throw off a galling yoke, and take their rightful place among the peoples of the earth?

So much may be truthfully said in favor of the revolutionist. But, on the other hand, it is bad policy to attempt what cannot be done, and especially to advocate methods which must logically end in disaster. No one can free Armenia from Turkish rule except combined Europe. That is so clear that to state the fact is to prove it. But it is not more clear than that Europe is not inclined to do anything of the kind, and has no intention of doing it. The opportunity has been repeatedly offered, and every time it has been avoided. For the present, at least, there is not the slightest reason to look for such intervention. Things may have a trend in that direction, but they are like a river which suddenly meets an obstacle and makes a turn.

Will not Christian nations, you ask, rebuke the oppressor and help the oppressed? Yes, when it is for their interest to do so,—when they can gain some advantage, but not otherwise.
155 There is no Christianity in national policy. Greed is the controlling principle. There I are Christian individuals, but not Christian nations. All international relations are based on pure selfishness. If the Armenians hope for European sympathy simply because they need it and deserve to have it, their hope will be disappointed. The man who stirs the Armenians to revolt in the expectation that the Powers will take up his quarrel, shows that he is a theorist rather than a statesman. The time may come when Europe will really help the Armenians, but only when the division of the spoils will pay for doing so. In the meanwhile the revolutionist who makes the Armenians restless, and calls down on their heads the cruel resentment of the Turkish government, is not only short-sighted, he is also a criminal.

This brings me to at least one of the causes which produced the massacres, and to a consideration of the condition of affairs which enables the Turk to excuse himself for wholesale murder.

I said to a scholarly Turk one day: "Does your religion allow you to murder people in this way?"

"That depends," was his prompt and candid answer.

"Ah, indeed," I replied; "depends on what?"

156 "The Koran," he said, "tells us explicitly, that when a people living in our midst and

professing a strange religion are peaceably inclined, and are loyal to our government, they are to be protected in all their rights equally with ourselves."

"Very well," I broke in; "does not that injunction apply to the Armenians?"

"But on the other hand," he continued, "when they engage in insurrection, and plot against the government, they are to be destroyed, root and branch, and their property confiscated. The Armenians have been guilty of that offense, and they deserve nothing but the traitor's doom. If you will look into the pages of your own Old Testament you will find the same injunction in almost the same identical words."

"But that was three thousand years ago," I suggested.

"True," he answered, "but God does not change in three thousand years, and what was right then must be right now."

His argument was unique and interesting to say the least.

These revolutionists, who try to curry favor with foreign nations and who have succeeded in exciting a maudlin sympathy in England, have been one of the prime causes of all the mischief that has been done, and of all the misery that has followed as a consequence. The so-called Christian Powers have either hypocritically or selfishly been their abettors. 157

England has assumed a sort of protectorate over the Armenians, but her protection is a sham and a shame. She can talk eloquently about oppression, and she can play the simple and easy game of bluff; but when deeds are to be done she retires from the field. She is more responsible for the cold-blooded murders which have come near to exterminating the Armenians than all other nations put together. She is bold with her lips but cowardly with her hands. If she had never known that there was such a people as the Armenians, I honestly believe the massacres would never have taken place.

As for Germany, she has no interest in the Armenian question, and doesn't care a penny whether the race is exterminated or not. She has won the favor of the Sultan and is working that favor to its utmost extent. Constantinople is being flooded with Germans. They have taken possession of the city, are selling their guns to Turkey and building her railroads and drilling her army. What are a few dead Armenians in comparison with the profits she is reaping? Turkey might repeat the massacres, and Germany would not lift her finger. The humanities count for nothing; but Turkish gold is worth having. The young War Lord is the nominal "guide, philosopher, and friend" of Turkey, but he charges a high price for his goodwill, and the Sultan is compelled to pay it. 158

And Russia? Well, Russia has killed too many of her own subjects to trouble about fifty or sixty thousand murders in Anatolia. She expects to annex Asia Minor some day, and merely awaits a fitting opportunity. The more embarrassments at Yildiz, the more hearty are the congratulations in St. Petersburg. Every disaster in Turkey which forces Europe to protest, brings the time nearer when Russia can find the occasion she seeks. As a consequence she has been all along tacitly aiding revolt in Anatolia. No one can cross her southern frontier without permission, and that permission is hard to get; but when, an Armenian fire-eater wants to cross with a box of guns, the police never see him.

That is the attitude of the Powers, and it is not only an obstacle in the way of law and order in Armenia, but it is a positive incitement to revolution. If these Powers cared for anything besides their own interest; if they really had a particle of the Christianity which they profess, they could make it as impossible for Turkey to repeat her misdeeds, as it is for water 159

to run up-hill. The Sultan, however, knows that he is quite at liberty to do as he pleases, and that the rival nations of the Continent will do nothing more than throw some parliamentary debate at his head, and then cry quits. There is barbarism in Turkey, plenty of it; but the barbarism of the Powers who promise protection, never intending to furnish it, is not far behind.

The crux of the problem lies just there. England has deliberately fostered the hope for autonomy among the Armenians, and led them to believe that she would assist them to its attainment. When we stopped for lunch one day among the high hills back of Alexandretta, the Mediterranean in sight, my attention was attracted by the picture of a man-of-war on the wall. Someone had written beneath it, "That is what England will send to help Armenia become a Bulgaria." The revolutionists are doing what they can to keep that illusion alive. Not
 160 in all cases, but in seven out of ten where massacres have occurred, you will find that | these rascals have been at work playing on the simple-minded folk and making them restive. At the present moment they have little or no influence, thank Heaven, for the people see that when they had their trouble nobody came to their assistance. I have been told by Armenians themselves that when one of these rebels makes his appearance the people fly to their houses and bolt their doors, for they have had horror enough from that source.

Autonomy in Anatolia is the wildest kind of wild dream. We Americans know how to sympathize with the love of liberty wherever cherished. We believe that it is worth any price which the circumstances may demand. But there is not a sensible American in all the land who would advise the Armenians to make a fight for it, especially if he has visited their country and taken note of their surroundings. There is no wisdom in doing battle when the day is lost before the battle begins. The most desperate courage, the most spendthrift expenditure of life, would avail nothing in a conflict of that kind.

There are half a million Armenians and a million and a half of Kurds in that section. These
 161 Armenians are not massed, they are scattered. If you take a run through | Kurdistan, you will find for every Armenian village a half-dozen or more Kurdish or Circassian villages. If these Armenians were in one quarter, they might perhaps build fortifications and make some show of resistance—at least they could fight for their liberty and die for its sake—but as matters are now, there isn't the slightest use in dying for liberty, for it is not to be had. The million and a half are fighting men, each one armed to the teeth; the half-million are not only unarmed, but unacquainted with the use of arms. I don't think I ever saw a Kurd who did not have a weapon of some kind, and that is a good deal to say after having traveled through three hundred miles of their territory. Along that same journey I met only one Armenian who had a gun, and he was hunting in company with a Turk.

And yet the stupid revolutionists cross the Persian frontier a few hours east of Van and make that city a dangerous place to live in. There may be only a few scores of them, but the Turk has unlimited powers of imagination, and magnifies not only their number but their influence. His peculiarity is that he gets easily scared, and is easily thrown into a panic. I
 162 hardly know how to account for this fact. If | the average Turk had any sense, he would see at the first glance, that since the half-million of unarmed Armenians are scattered among a million and a half of armed Kurds, he has really nothing to fear from insurrection. Instead of using his reason, however, he gives his imagination full swing, and accepts every wild rumor as historic fact. Being frightened out of his wits by a bugbear, he lets loose his hordes, and

they proceed to kill everybody who comes in their way. He really thought that the whole country was infested with rebels, and that unless the most heroic measures were taken, the government would be overthrown.

And here let me pay my tribute to the marvelous heroism of the Armenians in the heartrending ordeal through which they passed. From all parts of Anatolia, from Harpoot in the west to Van on the Persian border, come the same stories of moral courage with which they met their doom. The true and indomitable spirit of martyrdom prevailed throughout that region, and those poor victims of a very stupid persecution which was profitable to no one, were as noble in their death as they were faithful in their lives. They saw their houses looted and then burned; | they were driven into the mountains to perish with cold and 163 hunger; they lost all their cattle and fell from comfort to the direst poverty; and yet they accepted their fate with a resignation which excites not only our surprise but our admiration.

It is true that in exceptional instances, as, for example, at Biredjik, on the banks of the Euphrates, they renounced their religion to save their lives; but I for one am not inclined to criticize them for that. I cannot speak for others who may be more sturdy of heart than I, but if the dread alternative were thrust upon me, death or change of my form of religion—well, under such circumstances I could not answer for myself. Let those who think they would prefer to have their skulls broken with a club blame the people of Biredjik if they choose to do so—I can only say that I myself dare not do it.

But in the history of the massacres those who made an outward surrender of their faith were very few. The vast majority were strong enough to face the murderer, and let him sheathe his weapon in their quivering flesh. What degree of praise is due to such? Remember that they were mostly poor people, living in mud-huts and filth just as all their | neighbors did, 164 illiterate, uncultured, unrefined; and yet when the great crisis came, they bowed their heads and died for the sake of their religion. Think of women, living in the environment which I have described, holding their honor at such a price that they deliberately leaped from the banks of the Euphrates and sank beneath the raging torrent rather than submit to the lust of the Kurd. Can the old days of Roman persecution furnish nobler examples of self-sacrifice than these? I think not, and when I went along the borders of the region where these things took place, I more than once lifted my hat to the dead who had died rather than renounce their religion, and to the living who will do the same thing if the sword of the Moslem ever flies from its scabbard again.

From my room in the Pera Palace Hotel kept my windows open all the time—I could hear the dull thud of the watchman's bludgeon as he struck the pavement to prove that he was attending to his duty, and the sound always made my heart ache. During those frightful hours in August when several thousand Armenians were killed, the work was done with just such clubs as that. Not a word was uttered, everything was ominously quiet, there | was no rioting, 165 no noise, but silent murder. In this courtyard were a dozen bodies, along that narrow street were forty or fifty. The air was thick with sickening massacre. "But did not the Armenians make resistance?" I asked my companion who went with me and recalled the scenes of the tragedy, for he witnessed a large part of it. "No," he replied; "not in a single instance, so far as I know. I saw an Armenian come out of his house to see what was going on. A Turk caught sight of him, and raised his stick. The Armenian was perhaps dazed . . . but . . . stood still as a marble statue. The fatal blow was struck, and the poor fellow dropped to the ground."

Another instance. An Armenian was employed in one of the railroad stations. He was standing on the platform when the mob approached. A Turk, who knew the man to be a faithful servant, handed him a pistol, saying: "It is an outrage; take this and defend yourself; it is good for six of the rascals." The Armenian took the weapon, hesitated for a moment, and then handed it back with a groan. "I can't do it," he said. "I would rather die than commit
 166 murder." In less than ten minutes he was a bruised and bleeding corpse, and the fiends had started on the track of another victim.

I tell these stories, which I am able to vouch for, not because I wish to harrow your feelings and make each particular hair stand on end, for I am no tragedy-monger, but simply to prove that the Armenian has still a strain of the ancestral blood in him, which comes to the surface and makes a hero of him when he faces death.

But where is the sense, you ask, in murdering a multitude, because there happen to be a few revolutionists in the land? Why not capture the rogues and leave the innocent at peace? The only answer is, that that is not the Oriental way of doing things. There are only two isolated instances of that course being pursued in the whole of Anatolia, and I do not believe that they can be duplicated. Let me refer to one of them. We were spending the night at a little village not far from the upper end of Lake Van, and I had just ordered my blankets spread, for I was very tired, and we had a hard morrow ahead, when a gentleman was announced who was specially eager for an interview. I was not anxious to see him, for we had
 167 just got rid of a lot of village potentates to whom we were simply curiosities, but still I asked him to come in. It turned out that he was the Armenian Episcopos of Bayazid.

"I have traveled thirty-six hours," he said, "for the pleasure of this moment, and I shall begin my homeward journey at daylight tomorrow."

I could not withstand an appeal of that kind, and at once ordered coffee and cigarettes.

"Bayazid," I said half in soliloquy; "that is a bad region near the Russian border. Have you had much trouble?"

"We might have had," was his answer; "but it was avoided, and that is what I have come to talk to you about."

"Avoided it, did you? You were very fortunate. How did it happen?"

"The colonel of one of the Hamidieh regiments whom you met an hour ago," he answered, "is governor of the district. He has had a good deal of experience in administering affairs."

"And you, an Armenian, are on amicable terms with him, a Turk?" I asked.

"On the best of terms," was the reply. "The Armenian missionary in Van is on the same terms with the Vali of that Vilayet, and if this were the case everywhere much that has
 168 occurred might have been averted. The difficulty with us Armenians is that the Valis make political capital out of their hatred of us, or their assumed hatred, for it is not always genuine, though unfortunately it is always popular. The same holds good with the missionaries. They are never anything but suspects in the eye of the law, whereas in fact they help to preserve order."

"Well," I broke in, "tell me about Bayazid. You have revolutionists there?"

"We did have four or five, and they did their best to stir up my people. But the colonel got wind of their doings, watched them for a while, and then had them quietly arrested."

"And now?" I asked.

"And now they are safe in prison."

"Then your friend the colonel," I said, "saved the city from a massacre?"

"Precisely," he answered; "and that is what I came to tell you."

"In a word," I said, "the four or five guilty ones are behind the bars, and the thousands of innocent people are still alive. Now," I continued, "why hasn't that policy been pursued throughout Anatolia? Can you tell me that?"

"Because," he answered, with a shrug of the shoulders, as he puffed a whiff of smoke to the ceiling, "because we are Asiatics and not | Europeans. Massacre, wholesale massacre, is the habit of Asiatic nations." 169

As he rose to leave, I said: "If the Great Powers had a little more Christianity and a little less selfish interest that habit could be broken up in thirty days."

"Perhaps," was his rather sorrowful reply, as he bade me good-night; "but the word Christian is a misnomer when applied to the Great Powers."

I think his criticism was entirely just.

Now comes a question which to me seems very important. How great is the responsibility of the Sultan for these massacres? I know that many people believe he planned them all. Some of the foreigners in Anatolia, both lay and clerical, feel assured that this is the case. I have read in American papers that he is "the Great Assassin." It may be so, but from the facts which have come to my knowledge I cannot honestly believe it.

I am quite aware that I make myself liable to the charge of being an apologist for the man in Yildiz, but I see no reason for not telling the truth, as I understand it, in this as well as in other matters. Neither am I sorry to differ with most of my friends; for it is much more satisfactory to regard the Sultan as a ruler not | entirely cruel and bloodthirsty, than to execrate him for one of the blackest crimes of the age. 170

It is my conviction that he is ignorant of a great many matters with which he ought to be made acquainted. If he lived in America, where the press is entirely free, he would know every morning exactly what the people thought of his personal character and of his public measures. But instead of living in a free country he lives in a magnificent prison-house, and is practically the chief prisoner of the Empire, and the one most closely watched. He not only has reason to believe that everybody is suspicious of him, but has equally good reason to be suspicious of everybody. He can have no confidential friends, and there is not a man in Turkey who dares to tell him the whole truth. Everything he knows, about Anatolia for instance, or about any incident or event which occurs in the interior, is pruned and trimmed to suit the purposes which the Palace clique has in view. The sycophants—and they are all sycophants at that end of the city—tell him whatever they think it will please him to know, and nothing else. An hour's plain talk—good, frank, candid talk—would create more confusion than an explosion of dynamite. Every man's official position, and | his salary, and his hope of preferment, depend largely on his being a toady and concealing the fact. No sovereign who represents an unlimited despotism, as the Sultan of Turkey does, is anything more than the tool of shrewd manipulators, and a tool who knows only too well that his tenure of office may suddenly terminate whenever his enemies can trust each other enough to act in concert. 171

Let me illustrate from facts which have come from the best of sources. Politics are more of a trade in Turkey than they are in New York. Offices are obtained by intrigue—I speak now of Anatolia specially—and are held against the efforts of rivals by the discreet distribution of

the spoils. Money has a more telling effect there than in any of the so-called civilized countries. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to have what we call a pull on the appointing power. This is obtained in several ways, but I will speak of only one. A military or a civil official, as the case may be, hankers for preferment, or wants a gold medal for meritorious service, or feels that he is being undermined by someone who is on the still hunt for his place and for his authority to steal from the public crib. How is he to reach this consummation of
 172 his envious hopes? I suppose—since the Armenian question is the best means of getting up a scare—he hears that some rogue, perhaps a genuine revolutionist, has killed a Turkish soldier in a fight. He has all the material he wants for a dramatic display. A little judicious lying, by means of which the single Armenian is multiplied by twelve, and the number of soldiers killed multiplied by six, and he has the long-sought opportunity. Who knows whether he tells the truth or not? The general public cannot deny his statements, for they are densely ignorant and ready to be frightened out of their wits by any fake that may find its way into their ears. A lurid and hurried telegram is sent to the Palace, declaring that the Armenians have risen; that armed squads of them are parading through the streets; that there is imminent danger of an attack. Then is added the sly statement that the means of quelling them are at hand, and that he only awaits the orders of His Majesty to proceed at once.

This is always an effective bit of acting. Can the Sultan find out the falsehood of the story told? Who would have the courage to tell him that the whole affair is a tissue of lies, and that
 173 the perpetrator of the crime deserves to have his ears nailed to a post? Not a man in the Empire would do that, for he would at once be suspected of sympathy with rebels, and Heaven only knows what dire consequences would be visited upon him. The Sultan, therefore, sends instructions to this official villain to “put down the rebellion with such severity as may seem to be necessary.” Then secret orders are issued, and the next day, at the sound of the trumpet, a wholesale massacre begins; and when it ends a thousand or two thousand perfectly innocent men have been murdered.

What is the upshot of the affair? The official sends another telegram saying that forty or fifty Armenians were killed in a riot, but that the brave soldiers and the loyal people acted together and the rebellion was suppressed.

A medal or decoration of some kind comes back from the Palace as a reward for the courage and patriotism of a faithful servant.

I have no doubt that what I have stated is simple historic fact, but you will not find it in any of the public documents of Turkey. They are not written for truth's sake, but rather for the sake of hiding the truth.

I have taken only a cursory view of the massacres, but I think that my conclusions, so far as they go, will not be found to be wrong.

222 We found Bitlis a very peculiar and an uninteresting city. It occupies a strategical position, so far as military operations are concerned, and could be easily defended against attack. Occupying three hills, with the infant Tigris and another mountain torrent roaring through the valley, it could resist almost any hostile force. It is picturesque, with its houses climbing the hillsides, and inexpressibly dirty. It is probably the dirtiest city this side of Persian territory, so dirty that in the comparison Erzeroum seemed a veritable Paris. The streets are abominably paved, and so crooked that you lose yourself within ten minutes after leaving your lodgings.

There are about thirty-five thousand inhabitants, including a large garrison of soldiers, and neither a chemist's shop nor a doctor in the place. Nor is there a carriage or any wheeled vehicle to be seen, and he who wanders about must either go on foot or in the saddle. We spent only four days there, but saw nothing to occupy our attention. True, there is an old castle which legend says is on the site of a fortress made by Alexander the Great, and on its walls are a few Arabic inscriptions which seem to proclaim its origin, but with these exceptions there is very little to excite the curiosity of the traveler. 223

The American missionaries have founded a school for boys and girls, and are working for the good of the people against the odds of the government. The authorities are in deadly opposition to missionary work, which is hampered and restricted in every possible way. The Turks always insist that the missionary is at heart a revolutionist, and they are always in search of a peg on which to hang some charge.

How many Armenians there are in Bitlis, no one knows, and no one can guess, but that they are in a wretched condition, timorous, nervous, suspicious, on account of the attitude of the civil authorities, is seen at a glance. They have had a frightful experience: their houses have been plundered by the Kurds, they are impoverished and well-nigh hopeless. Why should they not be hopeless? When an Armenian has built up a business, acquired good stock in trade and won the good-will of many customers, it is not agreeable to be driven out by some ferocious Kurd who simply enters the door, weapon in hand, claims the whole property as his own, and thereafter does business on the basis of stolen goods. This I was told had happened more than once, and I have the utmost confidence in the statement. 224

The relation of the Armenians to their neighbors, or rather their victors, is worse in the region around Bitlis than in most other parts of the country. The reason is that they have no rights which any Kurd is bound to respect, and throughout the length and breadth of Kurdistan there is a hopelessness which drives the onlooker to despair.

Almost immediately after leaving Erzeroom, that is to say, when we got to the other side of the range of mountains on the south, we came upon and were welcomed by battalions, of the Hamidieh regiments, and I had somewhat large opportunities to make a study of them. My curiosity was vastly excited about them long before I started on the journey, and I was only too glad to look at the men and the problem with my own eyes. There are at present between fifty and sixty regiments of these Hamidiehs, and the number is likely to be increased, for the Kurds are very enthusiastic at the action of the Sultan, and more than proud to wear a uniform. 225

It was in 1891, I think, that the movement took shape. It was a shrewd bit of finesse on the part of his Majesty, but it was not unattended with danger. Whether he knew it or not, he forged a two-edged sword, and no one can tell which edge may be used, the one for him or the other against him.

His object was dual. In the first place, he wanted to bring the whole Kurdish population into closer relations with Yildiz. They are an open-handed, dashing, daring folk, who have always found restraint irksome—an out-of-door folk, with a boundless love of adventure, happier on horseback, and more at home there, than anywhere else. They have never been loyal, have given the home government a good deal of trouble and anxiety, and on more than one occasion it has been necessary to send troops against them and to spill large quantities of blood. They are a devil-may-care race, with very little of the religious element in their natures,

226 and careless both of their own lives and the lives of others; a wild, untamed, | semisavage horde who know absolutely nothing about what we call civilization.

They could not be reached, nor could their attention be attracted by anything else than an appeal to their military instincts. They love a gun, a sword, a dagger, and are exceedingly reckless in the use of these weapons, especially when the victim is unarmed. They have none of the finer instincts of the soldier, but are filled to the chin with a kind of good-nature coupled with brutality. Murder has not been regarded as much of a crime, for they have inherited a bloodthirsty nature from their ancestors, who lived as robber barons and had strongholds on every hilltop. If the man in their way happened to be an Armenian, and especially if he had valuables on his person, they made quick work with him, and did not suffer from any compunctions whatever.

The Sultan approached them, therefore, on the side where they were weakest, and his promises inflamed them with enthusiasm. Representative Kurds visited Constantinople, and were graciously received by his Majesty. Numerous decorations were distributed, and then the plan, which is said to have originated with Sekki Pacha, was carefully explained.

227 They were invited to organize the | able-bodied men in the various villages into regiments of cavalry. In a word, they were to be uniformed, armed, and drilled, and thus become a component part of the grand Turkish army. One regiment every year would visit Constantinople as guardians of the city, which would give them prestige.

The proposition was eagerly accepted, and the work began at once, and has ever since been pursued with vigor. All at once dissatisfaction and discontent ceased from out the land, and a wild enthusiasm for the Sultan spread over hill and valley. Therefore they were merely guerrillas, defying all law; now they were to be regular soldiers. As one of them said to me: "The Sultan's friends are my friends, and his enemies are my enemies." That state of feeling exists at the present moment. There are no people in the Empire more loyal, apparently, than these Hamidieh regiments. I have sometimes thought that they were too loyal, that they protested too much, that such a hot flame cannot last, but in that matter my opinion has no weight.

The strategy of the Sultan was thus far successful. He had done his work with incomparable tact and skill. He had shown himself as able a statesman in dealing with an |
228 exceedingly difficult internal problem as Europe acknowledges him to be in manipulating the Powers. He saw at a glance the right thing to do, and he did it at once.

Now again. The Sultan has grave cause for fearing the encroachments of Russia. Russia is his bitterest and most implacable enemy, not that Russia hates the Turk as an individual, but as a property owner. The land of the Turk is coveted by Russia, and both the Czar and the Sultan know that the fates have decided in favor of Russia and that when the time is ripe, Russian troops will occupy the shores of the Sea of Marmora and of the Mediterranean. Nothing is lacking for the accomplishment of that fixed purpose except the opportunity, and that may make itself manifest at any moment. When it does come, it will not be allowed to slip from the grasp of the Bear.

Kurdistan is not far from the Russian border. One must keep a sharp eye on his frontier in these days. When a giant is striding your way, and wants what you possess, you must either be prepared to meet him, or surrender will be inevitable. But how can he be met? A large
229 dependence can be placed on the European Powers, but that is not enough. | So long as these

Powers can be kept in suspicious mood—suspicious of each other—all will go well. If they should come to an agreement as to a division of the spoils, the crack of doom for Turkey would be heard.

In Southern Russia are the Cossacks with their spears—savages, it is true, but for that reason all the better soldiers. They fight best when they are filled with vodka, and vodka is plentiful in Russia. Bravely led, they do deeds of prowess, and so they constitute a very important arm of the military service. In case of trouble, they would pour over Kurdistan like a mountain torrent in spring, and carry destruction and victory throughout the land.

The Armenians might side with Russia, therefore they are better out of the way, or so crippled that their influence would not be felt. With sixty thousand Hamidieh soldiers properly equipped and the Armenians impoverished, the chances of war would have a brighter look. That fight is sure to come, but when, no man can tell. And when it comes Turkey will tremble in the balance.

The work of enlisting and drilling is still going on. All the Kurds are encouraged to enroll themselves, and they are doing so with | such eagerness that in many cases they provide their own arms and ammunition. They are in their element, are in favor at Yildiz and have full swing. 230

I have seen thousands of these soldiers. As many as five hundred of them have met us on our entrance into a town and accompanied us on our departure. They present a stirring spectacle as they ride at breakneck speed over the plains! brandishing their spears in mimic warfare, firing their guns in the most reckless fashion, and filling the air with bullets. They closely resemble our American Indians in their generally untamed appearance. That a majority of them are not yet real soldiers goes without saying; whether they can ever be whipped into shape as effective troops against a strong enemy remains to be seen.

Their commandant is Sekki Pacha, whose headquarters are at Erzingan. This man is more than popular, and can do with his regiments pretty much as he pleases. He keeps his influence by allowing them enormous privileges; by overlooking their peccadilloes and by not maintaining an irksome discipline. The Hamidieh soldier is practically monarch of all he surveys. He was aforesaid the | despot of the country, but since his enlistment he is doubly so, not even being amenable to the courts for offenses which deserve a sure and severe punishment. There is no law which this soldier is bound to respect. He has boundless license and does what he will with impunity. The theory is that either a civil or a military court holds him to account for his deeds, but the military court is more or less of a farce, and the civil court is entirely a farce. If he is arrested for theft, or even for murder, the long and strong arm of Sekki Pacha is stretched out for his protection, and the hocus-pocus of an acquittal is successfully invoked. If he steals from a Turk, the chances are against his being punished, and if he steals from an Armenian, he simply laughs in his sleeve when threatened with the law. He is petted, flattered, pampered. 231

I repeat that these Kurds have never been loyal for long. They are loyal now because it pays them in a variety of ways to be so. They are to all intents and purposes mercenaries, and they will retain their loyalty as long, and only as long, as they can reap advantage. They are by no means as reliable as the Turkish troops, and no one can safely predict that they will stand by the Sultan in an emergency. | They did well in the late war with Greece, there was no opportunity to show their mettle. 232

I give an opinion on this subject with a deal of diffidence because I am not at all learned in military science. But I had large opportunities for study and observation. I saw these troops day after day, and sometimes all day. I was rather well acquainted with the past history of the Kurds, and knew some thing of their temperament and the general plan of their lives. This gave me, as a lay man, or, if you like the word better, as a tourist, a fair vantage-ground from which to see the drift of things and to form conclusions.

My impression is that these Hamidieh regiments in their present environment are a very uncertain factor in the problem of Turkey's future. The dream of their lives has been realized, that is to say, they are equipped, armed, and in some small degree disciplined. At their head is a man in the favor of the Sultan. They follow him blindly, and in return he protects them against all comers, even against the punishment due to their crimes. He overrides the civil courts, and is as thorough an autocrat as can easily be found.

Suppose the old habit of disloyalty, of reckless indifference to the home government, of defiance to orders from headquarters should return. In such a country as Turkey anything is likely to happen, and this return to old ways is not merely a possibility but a probability. As long as they can have all they want, as long as they are the despots of that section by imperial authority they will naturally be content. But when the ardor of their enthusiasm cools, when they shall be required to do what they don't want to do, what then? That time is surely coming, and nobody can tell what incident or accident will bring that contingency to the front. They are naturally an independent, restive people, with very large ideas of their own rights, and very small ideas of the rights of others. There is nothing in any part of Turkey which corresponds to our definition of patriotism, and least of all among the Kurds.

Heretofore, when they have engaged in an outbreak, they have been a mere guerrilla band, not well armed and poorly drilled. But now, if they should become eruptive they would be fully equipped, and well led. It is not easy to conceive of a defection on the part of Sekki Pacha, for his position is one of great influence in the Empire, and if rumor speaks true, he has very rare opportunities to acquire wealth. If such defection should occur, however, from any cause whatever, he would have a very considerable army at his beck and call, men who have fought many times for the accomplishment of a private end, and who would be quite capable of doing the same thing again.

I do not see how I can be very far wrong, therefore, in saying that while it was a shrewd move to organize these discontented Kurds into regiments, the experiment may be looked at from two opposite standpoints. Today the experiment works well, but when you have to deal with the fickle Kurds, you cannot tell what may happen tomorrow.

Now let me address myself to another matter. While at Bitlis I took special pains to discover the condition of the Armenian population, which is large. I saw Turks, missionaries, consuls, Mohammedan priests, Kurdish officers, shopkeepers, and indeed everyone from whom information might be obtained. My conclusions were not very inspiring. A dense fog of depression had settled on the city. The aggressors did not care to talk on the subject, and the victims were too much frightened to say anything. The Armenians have been most abominably plundered, and they must begin life all over again, for there is clearly no redress in the courts, and if they make serious complaint, other hardships are likely to befall them. They are in bad case, for there is a garrison in the city, and a garrison always dominates public opinion where the people are ignorant. Public opinion is in a couchant attitude, ready at any

moment to spring on an Armenian, and to condone the offense when one of them is killed.

I never in my life had so much trouble as Bitlis gave me in sifting evidence. Of course I frankly referred to the massacres, and did not conceal the fact that I sought an opportunity to see things in the right light. If the Armenians were at fault in Bitlis, as I was convinced they were in Trebizond, and as I do not believe they were in Biredjik or Aintab or Oorfa, I wanted to know it. I said to my informants that the truth was the best for all of us, and the sooner we got at it the better. But I soon found myself in the midst of confusion worse confounded, and as a good illustration of the difficulties in the way of getting at any thing which is wholly reliable, I will give some details.

My first interview was with a Turk, an official, a man who was personally acquainted with all the facts of the case, who expressed a desire to converse about the massacres and who brought with him an armful of official documents. I will not give his name because I afterward saw many witnesses, and it would be embarrassing if it were known that they had talked with me in any confidential way. 236

When we were closeted with this official, certain leading questions were put to him in what I think was a tactful fashion; but he was on the alert for pitfalls, and did not stumble. He had his own story to tell, and though he undoubtedly knew a great many things which would conflict with that story, he very adroitly avoided them. It was as fine an instance of special pleading as I have ever listened to. He knew that he was not telling the whole truth, I knew that he was not telling it, and he knew that I knew that he was not telling it, but there were the documents from which he read extracts in answer to questions, and so what could be done?

When at last I discovered that he and I were merely fencing with each other, and that he was an expert in that business, I said to him:

"My dear sir, I would like to have you tell me how this trouble began."

"And that is precisely what I have come to do," was the courteous reply; for the Turk is always polite and seldom exhibits anything like impatience. As a general thing he is unruffled, calm, and deliberate under circumstances which would irritate a Western man, and bring the blood to his cheeks. 237

"You are acquainted with all the facts, undoubtedly?" I suggested.

"I think so," was the reply; "and I willingly place them at your service."

"You can tell me what kind of a report of the affair was sent to Constantinople?"

"Assuredly," he answered. "And that report" he added, "can be easily verified if you will take the trouble to do so. Our only purpose was to tell the plain truth, and to put the blame where it belongs."

"Precisely," I said, "and as I also would like to know whom to hold responsible, I regard it as a great privilege to hear the account from the lips of a man who has looked at the subject in an impartial and judicial way."

"It was on a Friday," he said, "and the mosque was full of worshippers. There had been no friction between the Armenians and the Mohammedans, and no reason to suspect an uprising. Everything was quiet and peaceful, so far as could be ascertained. During the solemn service, loud voices were heard on the outside, and it was evident that some thing alarming was on foot. Threats to kill the worshippers created a panic." 238

"And these threats?" I asked.

"Were made," he answered, "by a crowd of excited Armenians who had gathered at the mosque doors."

"But the Armenians do not carry arms," I suggested, "and men on the outside with nothing but their fists were not a match for men inside with deadly weapons in their belts."

"The worshippers were not armed," he asserted, "but the Armenians had in some mysterious way obtained pistols."

"That seems very odd," I remarked. "Those who always carry arms were without them, and those who never carry arms had pistols and guns."

"Yes," he replied, "it seems odd, perhaps, but it was nevertheless true on that occasion. We were in the midst of a revolt, and matters looked very serious."

"Well, that is exceedingly interesting," I said. "What was the upshot of the matter?"

"What it would naturally be under the circumstances," he replied. "The men in the mosque rushed out on hearing the noise and saw at once what it all meant."

239 "And what was that?" I asked.

"That the Armenians were bent on massacre."

"And then?"

"Well, the conflict began. The Mohammedans rushed on the Armenians in a hand to-hand fight, and wrested their pistols from them. During the so-called massacre which followed, a large number of Turks were killed and wounded."

"Do you know how many?" I asked.

"Certainly; the number is given here in this official document. There were thirty-nine Turks killed outright, and one hundred and fifty wounded. Those figures are correct."

"And how many Armenians?" I asked.

He looked at the official papers again, and replied, "One hundred and forty."

"How long did the massacre last?" I asked.

"Not longer than fifteen or twenty minutes," he replied.

"That did not give much time for the wholesale plundering of which we heard in America."

"So far as I can learn," he answered, "only one house in the city was plundered."

240 That is the account of the affair which was sent to Yildiz, and that story contains all that I the Sultan has any means of knowing about it. It is a most remarkable story, and the discrepancies are as thick as leaves in Valambrosa. On the face of it, it cannot be true, and before a jury it would have hardly any weight as evidence. It is extremely important, however, because it is probably a fair sample of the official representation of the occurrences of the last few years. That it is a misrepresentation, so much so that it can fairly be called a fabrication, becomes clear when you look at it a second time.

The Turks in the mosque had no weapons! Then it must have been the first time in their lives that they left them at home. The Armenians were fully armed! That is also very strange, too strange to be accepted without the strongest proof. It is a prison offense to carry a pistol without a permit, and no Armenian gets a permit. The unarmed Turks wrestled with men who had revolvers, secured the revolvers, and then turned and shot the Armenians! It is incredible that an Armenian who had the courage to engage in a rebellion, and who had armed himself with that purpose, should allow a Turk to get possession of his weapon when

he could easily have shot him instead. There is a strong odor of romance | about the whole 241
account, and yet it is from an official document which the future historian will read when he
wishes to compile the facts concerning those massacres. It seemed to me, from what I knew
of the situation, that a coach and six could be driven through these statements and I
determined to get more information.

I next interviewed a gentleman whose position gave him the right to know all about the
incident. He was neither a Turk nor an Armenian. Nor was he a missionary. I shall not
mention his name because I do not care to needlessly embarrass him. It may seem somewhat
strange to you that I am not entirely frank, but Turkey is a strange country, and those who
furnish evidence which reflects in any way upon the government, are likely to suffer in
somewhat of a large variety of ways. I am not reticent because I like to be, nor for the sake of
adding a bit of mystery to my story, but simply because I must be.

When I mentioned the name of the Turk whose story I have just related, his quick
response was:

"He is a thoroughly honest man. I like him personally very much, and I happen to know
that the missionaries also like him. On | any other subject except the massacres I should take 242
his word as final.

"But on that one question?" I asked.

"That depends," he answered. "Tell me what he said, and I will give you my opinion."

"The Armenians surrounded a mosque and threatened to kill the Moslems inside."

He shook his head.

"The trouble originated in that way," I continued.

A second time he shook his head.

"Thirty-nine Turks were killed; one hundred and fifty were wounded."

"That is impossible," he answered.

"One hundred and forty Armenians were killed during the whole affair."

"I saw more dead bodies than that myself, and counted them," he replied.

"The massacre lasted only fifteen or twenty minutes."

"That is a grave mistake. It lasted for hours."

"Only one house was looted."

"That figure is too small by several scores," said he.

"I don't care to talk at any length of that affair," he continued, "for the victims are in their
graves, and they cannot be called thence. | It is a closed incident, and though it was too 243
horrible for words, we had better let it rest where it is. My special interest is in the living. But
I must tell you that the matter was far more serious than you would suppose from those
official documents. They are faulty in many important respects, and cannot be trusted as the
basis of any fair and impartial statement of the case. How many were killed, no one will ever
know. That there were hundreds I am sure.

"What I am most of all anxious about, however, is the signs of the future. The Kurds are
an unruly and lawless folk, and when they were let loose they looted as many houses as the
time allowed, but all that is nothing. The important part of the problem is, how are these
Armenians to recover themselves, and, in what way can they be assisted to do so?"

There you have both sides of the shield. For myself, I accept the evidence given by the
party of the second part, but you must do as you choose.

At any rate, I have succeeded in showing that the obstacles in the way of getting at the truth with regard to these massacres are not only numerous but difficult to overcome.

248 Take a simple illustration,—the matter of carrying arms. During my earliest experiences I had a long talk with a Vali, a man as honest as Turkish official life allows anyone to be. That may not be high praise, but it is much higher than can generally be bestowed. He assured me that the law was of universal application, namely, that no one could carry arms unless he had a special permit in writing, and was vouched for by a responsible citizen. There was no discrimination whatever against any class.

“And an Armenian?” I asked.

“He is treated precisely as the Turk is,” was the answer.

So far as the law is concerned, the Vali stated the simple truth. There is no fault to be found with the statute. So far as the lack of discrimination is concerned, he was wholly wrong. I do not say that he told me a falsehood; it is enough for my purpose to say that he did not tell the truth. Possibly he may have been ignorant, for we cannot expect even Valis to know everything, but he impressed me as being a very well-informed man.

249 I kept my eyes open after that, and found that every Turk and every Kurd I met in the streets had either a pistol or a long dagger, but I do not remember a single instance in which an Armenian was armed in the same way. I asked myself whether the Armenians were so afraid of guns that they dared not use them. I suggested this to a black-amber worker when sitting on a bench examining his goods. He gave me such a peculiar smile that I left him to think the matter over.

Yes, the law seems to be entirely just, but the trouble is in its application. If a Kurd seeks a permit to carry an arsenal on his person—well, he doesn’t seek any such permit, he simply purchases a pistol and a sword, wears them openly, and neither the Vali nor the Zaptieh thinks of asking any question. The affair is taken as a matter of course, and it is so much so that if you meet a thousand Kurds on your way, not one of them will be without his weapon. Indeed, they take great pride in their swords, whether they are farmers, merchants, or men who live by their wits, and hold up a caravan when their coffers need refilling. They take it as a compliment if you notice these adornments, and they have shown me Damascus blades that
250 were worth many pounds, with a bit of the Koran engraved on them enjoining their use only in the cause of justice. A Kurd’s notion of justice, however, is somewhat elastic, and his sword could tell of many transactions of which the Prophet would not approve.

And the Armenian? you ask. That is quite another matter. The law allows him to ask for a permit, but it is extremely risky business to do so, so risky that no one does it. The argument runs thus: What can an Armenian want a gun for? He is not a soldier, he is not a hunter. To defend himself withal? Against whom, pray? Will he shoot one of his Majesty’s subjects? That, of course, is his purpose. He is a rebel by instinct and by aspiration, and if he wants weapons it must need be for revolutionary purposes. With that kind of public opinion he had better not go to the government house on any such errand as seeking the means of overturning the established *régime*. The Turk and the Kurd are presumed by officials to be all right, but the Armenian is not even allowed to prove himself to be so. He must need be wrong, and the very nature of his circumstances puts the matter beyond a doubt.

251 Now suppose some poor Armenian has a gun in his house, an old-fashioned flint-lock

musket that is as likely to kill at the butt as at the muzzle, something that serves no better purpose than to scare the wolves, what then? Why, the moment it is discovered, the entire village is in an uproar. The Turkish imagination works at high pressure, and no matter what incredible story is told, it is widely believed. That man is one of a band of conspirators; the revolutionists have held secret meetings in his hut; and they have arranged to descend on the harmless Kurds and murder every one of them. You can't place any limit to what the Turk will accept as gospel truth under such puerile circumstances. He doesn't use his reasoning powers, but flies off at a tangent and becomes frenzied with excitement.

The upshot is that the Armenian is arrested, and as no evidence can be gathered he stays in prison until somebody comes to his senses and releases him. Perhaps you will not call this discrimination in favor of one class and against another class, but it seems to me to look very much like it.

Then again, it is the law that everyone arrested for a crime shall within a reasonable time be made acquainted with the charge against him, and be tried at as early a date as possible. 252 That law is a just one, and you will find it in the statute-books of Turkey, but you will not find it anywhere else. It is something to show to strangers in order to prove that Turkey is not so black as her enemies paint her, but practically it is a dead letter. A prisoner has no rights whatever which the administrator of justice, so called, is bound to consider. A quick trial, and, I am inclined to add, an honest trial, that is, a trial on evidence which is not bought, is a very rare occurrence. If Chakir Pacha is really anxious to institute reforms, I can put him in the way of finding enough to occupy his thoughts for several years. I would like to call his attention to a political suspect at present in prison in Erzeroom, and this is January, 1898. This man is, of course, an Armenian. He was arrested a year and a half ago. He is in a cell so filthy that even a dog would languish and die in it. His neighbors, those who dare to talk on the subject, believe him to be an entirely innocent man. They declare that the charges were manufactured with a purpose, and that the authorities lack the audacity to present the evidence which they pretend to possess. Yes, the law is that a prisoner shall face the charge 253 against him within a reasonable time, and a year and a half is supposed in Turkey to be within that limit. The consuls are of the opinion that nothing can be proven against him. One of them told me that he had used all the influence of his official position to get that prisoner into court, and now he has given the matter up in despair. The man has been dragged from his home, his business has been destroyed, and his family is in the utmost sorrow. But he is an Armenian and a suspect, and the chances are that someone has made up his mind that he is guilty, and he is therefore denied the proper process of law.

If you study the statutes, you will not be able to find a single fault, but live for even two weeks in any of the cities of Anatolia with your eyes and ears open, and you will find that there is no justice whatever for a criminal, if he happens to be an Armenian. Europe reads the law, and is satisfied, but the traveler sees its application, and is not satisfied.

I am inclined to go still farther, and say that the courts are nearly all corrupt; that even-handed justice is a thing almost unknown in Turkey. When in Constantinople I heard a story, the truth of which is vouched for by an authority that does not admit of a doubt. 254 An old practitioner was asked how the courts of today compare with those of thirty years ago, and his reply was, "They are decidedly more corrupt, and they are growing more corrupt every day." The statement was questioned, when he related this incident: "Some time ago an

Englishman failed to collect a bill due him, and he came to this city and sued the debtor. The case was put into my hands. I took all the necessary measures, and was getting on famously, when all at once I discovered that the two judges had been bribed. Of course I had no chance to win under such circumstances, so I applied to the proper authorities, produced my evidence, and had the judges removed. I was getting on well a second time when I discovered that the defendant was at his old tricks again, and after a good deal of trouble I had the second two judges removed for cause. The defendant came to me soon after, and wanted to settle the matter, to which I, of course, agreed. Judge of my surprise, however, when he demanded that the settlement should be made on the basis of fifty per cent of the original bill. I would not consent to this, but was curious to know his reasons for asking such an enormous discount.

255 He told me then very frankly that it had cost him the other fifty per cent to buy those four judges, and that he wanted to settle because he could not afford to continue to buy judges indefinitely." The story has its humorous side, but as an illustration of the way in which what is called justice in Turkey is administered, it is somewhat appalling.

Then there is another matter of very serious importance if one wishes to get an inside view of Turkey. It has nothing to do with any treaty, and we may not, therefore, be supposed to have any interest in it, but the condition of affairs is so peculiar that it is quite worth our attention. I refer to the payment of official salaries throughout the Empire, or, more strictly, to their non-payment.

I have heard of Russian misdoings which not only illustrate my point, but also show that Turkey has successful competitors in this direction. Here is one instance out of many. The governor of a certain province had a salary of twenty-five hundred rubles, not large enough to allow him many luxuries. He had paid at least two years' income in the purchase of his position. Even we in America are not entirely unacquainted with that method of gratifying

256 one's ambition, and, therefore, I am not to be charged with throwing stones at this Russian governor. He was a thrifty fellow, and by dint of honest toil, and other means, managed to increase his revenue to about forty thousand rubles. That is called economy by some people, but by others who are more punctilious it is called roguery. He was endowed with a secretary, whose salary was small, but who took lessons from his superior and learned how to convert his annual revenue into a capital of one hundred thousand rubles, which enabled him to take his family to Italy every winter for their health, and for the waters which are said to produce wonderful cures.

The same thing happens very frequently in Turkey, and the Turk has a peculiar aptitude for making use of such opportunities which a kind providence places in his way. The one prominent and radical defect in her administration is that her official salaries are always in arrears. This is true of every part of the Empire, and there is scarcely an exception to the rule. If a Turk were paid promptly on the day his salary is due, he would probably have an apoplectic fit. Such a thing has hardly ever been heard of.

257 A quick observer said to me, "How can a man help cheating the government when it has not paid him a piastre in eighteen months?" To be behindhand in a matter of this kind is to put a premium on corruption. The Vali, the Kaimakam, the Zaptieh, never get their money till long after it is due. It is all "Jawasch!" which means—by-and-by.

Take the case of an ordinary Zaptieh or policeman. His wages are small enough at best, but if they are not paid, he is forced to steal or cheat in order to meet his bills, for he must

live. If he collects taxes, he adds some thing to the total amount for his personal purposes, and the people, who know how things are managed, grumblingly pay it. He inevitably acquires the habit of theft, and once acquired it is never broken. All over the East, you hear farmers complaining that they have to support not only the government but the tax-gatherer also. If the government paid its servants, it could require them to be honest, and punish the dishonest, but if it practically cheats its servants of their salaries, who can blame these fellows for following the example and cheating others? If a man raises two hundred bushels of wheat, the tax-gatherer measures it and declares that there are two hundred and fifty bushels. The tax on the extra fifty l bushels goes into his own pocket, and he eases his conscience by saying to 258 himself that he is collecting his own salary, nothing more. But it is rather hard on the farmer, and creates a degree of discontent which may come to some thing some day.

The same logic applies to officials of a higher grade, and if you go up step by step to the loftiest, you will find the same conditions. It is perfectly fair to conclude that a country which does not pay its servants will not, and cannot, be well served. And in speaking so frankly on this subject I must not be regarded as a fault-finder, for the sake of the pleasure which adverse and sharp criticism affords a crabbed nature. On the contrary, I desire to be entirely impartial, praising where praise is due, and telling the truth when I see that things have gone wrong. I wish to be looked upon in the same way in which you look upon a geologist who is examining the rocks in an unexplored country, and who says that this is granite and that is sandstone, simply because the one is granite and the other is sandstone. I am not pachydermatous in my prejudice against the Turk, for in many respects I prefer him to either a Greek or an Armenian; but of what use are eyes, unless they see all sides of a l question? And of what use 259 are lips, unless they tell with some degree of exactness, and a great degree of candor, what has been seen?

When it is evident that an official is surrounded by all the comforts and many of the luxuries of life—luxuries cost money in all parts of the world—and when I am told that a few years ago he was a poor man, that his present salary is inadequate to the requirements of his position, and that it has not been paid for nearly twice twelve months, it is apt to raise a slight suspicion in a man's mind, especially if he comes from New York, where a professional politician acquires a handsome fortune in an incredibly short time without the visible means of saving a penny. Either the Sultan does not know what is going on, or else he is powerless and winks at it; but that something is going on, and that the imperial revenue grows perceptibly smaller as it approaches Constantinople, is as clear to be seen as Mt. Ararat on a bright day. A régime in which officials fatten on the taxpayers, is so rotten that nothing but the most radical reforms can change it; and since reforms are practically impossible in Turkey, you can predict the ultimate result as well as I.

I have not found a man who in private l conversation did not deplore this condition of 260 things; not a man who believed there was any remedy for it. It has been the burden of my conversation on many occasions, but it is a dangerous subject to handle except in whispers.

Bribery and corruption have been so long the practice in Turkey that they have become an inherited tendency,—I had almost said an inherited passion. What everybody does, comes to be looked upon as the proper thing to do, and the Turks are so accustomed to being cheated that they would think the world was coming to an end if they were honestly dealt with. Mr. Ramsay in his delightful book, *Impressions of Turkey*, attributes many of the faults of the

officials to their ignorance, and asserts that “you will be told, as a matter worth note, that such and such an official can read any paper presented to him,” the inference being that most of them can neither read nor write. This may be true of the officials in Middle and Western Anatolia for aught I know—he is not the man to make a statement without due authority—and it may possibly be true of the lower grade of public servants everywhere, but it is not true
 261 of those whom I have met in the East. On the contrary, they have been mostly men with some education, many of them boasting that they are graduates of the school for the education of civil officers in Constantinople. Their susceptibility to a bribe does not originate in the fact that they are a poor, ignorant set of fellows who know no better than to pocket every thing within reach, but in the nature of their environment, and in the weakness of human nature. If the present condition of Turkey could be changed by putting men into office who could read and write, there would be some hope for the future; but the difficulty is that officials have a perfect understanding of their duties, but do not choose to perform them. Even a Zaptieh knows that when he swindles the taxpayer he is a traitor, but he wanted his office because it gave him an opportunity to do just that thing, and having secured the office shall he fail to profit by those opportunities?

Neither do I believe that the root of the trouble is to be found in the religion of the Turk. I am not squeamish about the kind of religion a man professes, but I would like to have him live up to the moral duties which his religion imposes. I prefer my Christianity because I think
 262 it the best thing the world has ever seen, or ever will see, and I would not exchange it for any or all other systems of religion put together. At the same time, I respect a good Moslem. When on board the *Daphne* in the Black Sea, a man with a fez on his head asked me to point towards the East. I took out my pocket-compass and gave him the required information. There was a drizzling rain at the time, but he spread his little rug on the wet deck and began his devotions. On another occasion while we were straggling across country with the mud more than fetlock deep, we saw another Moslem on the roadside so engaged in praying that he took no notice of us, though we presented rather an imposing spectacle with our eight or ten soldiers. In both cases I lifted my hat out of respect to men who were doing their duty as they understood it.

I heartily wish all Turkey were Christians, partly because I believe that Christianity would put new life into the people's veins, and teach them to build more schoolhouses, and apply sanitary laws to their houses, and lay out railroads, and emancipate the women of the Empire; but since they refuse to be good Christians, the next best thing that I can ask is that they shall
 263 be good Mohammedans. Mohammedanism does not teach its officials to be corrupt, and the Koran is very explicit on the subject of cheating. No devout Moslem takes a bribe; nor does a devout Christian. But Christians do take bribes in spite of the teachings of their religion, and so do Moslems. The reason in both cases is equally plain, namely, that a man's religion does not amount to much as a practical force, and is only a profession with a deal of hypocrisy and humbug behind it.

Perhaps I am very rash in making these assertions, but I remember what an old Quaker said to me in the days when I was young and enthusiastic: “George, thee must not expect to make all men perfect with thy preaching; if thee succeed in making a few of them half decent, thee ought to be satisfied.” So I say of the Turk, that if his Mohammedanism will make him “half decent” I will ask no more for the present.

Dishonesty in public officials is the prophecy of ultimate disaster. How long a government can hold together under such circumstances depends on chance. The law which brings ruin may work slowly and silently, but it never misses the result. I am afraid that the reforms which are needed in Turkey can never be instituted, and I am sure that that unhappy country would have gone to pieces long ago but for the practical foreign element which does its business for it and saps its revenue in payment for services rendered. Turkey governed by Turks alone is unthinkable. The Armenian, the Greek, the Jew, the German, the Englishman, administer her affairs for her, and without them she could not continue to exist. 264

I . . . had a long talk with another gentleman. 269

"Tell me," I asked, "is the peace which at present prevails, permanent?" 270

"That depends."

"On what?"

"On the commission of some act which may be regarded as revolutionary."

"And what is the likelihood of such an act?"

"Let me explain," he answered.

"The Armenian is constantly under suspicion. The Turk, especially the Kurd, is always conscious of the Armenian's larger aptitude for business, and is always envious of his success. He is also aware that the Armenian is a political enemy. The situation, therefore, is somewhat complex, and unless the Armenian is unusually prudent, he will find himself in difficulty before he knows it. Whatever he does will be misconstrued, and if it is possible to accuse him of disloyalty, it will be done, because it is for the interest of the government to prove to Europe that the Armenians are an intractable race, and wholly untrustworthy. So long as the Armenians keep in hiding, saying nothing—since saying anything will be twisted out of shape—they will be at peace. But the moment any imprudent act is done, or any rash word is spoken, the excuse for another onslaught will be found. When that excuse shall present itself, neither I, nor you, nor anyone else can tell." 271

"And there are hotheads among the Armenians?" I asked.

"Undoubtedly," was the answer. "They are largely responsible for what has taken place, because their purpose is revolt."

"And then?"

"Well, then the innocent suffer, and the guilty escape. The Oriental method is to kill indiscriminately."

"Then there is no peace?"

"None that I can see, unless the Armenian submits to being gagged, and to have his hands tied."

"The outlook is not encouraging?" I said.

. . . Let me say once more that the history of disaster in Anatolia will never be written. It is impossible for the traveler to get at any accurate statement of the facts, because the Turks themselves do not know what the facts are. They have no capacity for the compilation of statistics, and do not even know what the population of any of their cities is. They only guess at the number of people in Constantinople and in Erzerum and in Bitlis.

The Tigris flows close by Diarbekir, and although we might have crossed it on a bridge, 277

we mistook the path and were compelled to ford it again. The city is picturesque and full of interest for the traveler. We hired a large mansion surrounding a courtyard, owned by an Armenian, and were very comfortable. The first thing we did was to send our dragoman into the bazaar to buy a large earthen pitcher and basin, which enabled us to take a sponge bath. There are plenty of public baths scattered throughout the country, but a physician warned us against their use for various reasons. Hermann insisted on indulging himself, and as a
 278 consequence had an attack of erysipelas; so we left him in hospital at Alexandretta | and took ship to Constantinople without him.

Diarbekir is a very old city, its history running back to the beginning of the Christian era. It has been held by the Persians, and by the Arabs, and by the Romans; and if the tourist cares for relics he can find reminders of these three sorts of civilization.

It is a walled town, the walls being of black basalt, which give it a rather formidable appearance. The houses also are of basalt, and some of the streets—they are all frightfully crooked, by the way—are frequently so narrow that you can touch the houses on each side as you walk with outstretched hands. There are four gates, plenty of horses, but no carriages. You will find rare bits of architecture every where, very old, of course, and pointing to a civilization which underlies that of the present inhabitants, and clearly superior to it.

We remained there two days, during which it rained incessantly; but that did not prevent us from lunching with the British Consul, or visiting the bazaar, or looking up such relics of a past age as were easily reached.

“Don’t drink the water!” That was the imperative command of the doctor. It is apt to
 279 produce what is called “the Diarbekir boil,” | which resembles a carbuncle of the malignant sort, and leaves a scar that disfigures its victim. When I saw half a dozen men who had suffered in this way, my thirst was suddenly suppressed. As I dislike wine, and as whiskey gives me the rheumatism, I had a pretty hard time of it, for the tea made me nervous when taken in quantity, and the coffee, which was as thick as thin molasses, and almost as sweet, was unendurable.

The sun came out brilliantly the morning we left Diarbekir, and my muscles had become so hardened by my long ride that I greatly enjoyed my horse’s company. I had great respect for him; and as I gave him generous lumps of sugar I think he had a degree of affection for me. That rule, by the way, applies to some human beings as well as to all horses. Eight hours in the saddle, so far from being a hardship, was a delight; but when the eight were extended to ten, or to twelve, or, as in one or two instances, to thirteen and more, we were well tired out at nightfall, and glad of a chance to rest.

From Diarbekir to Biredjik was a long and tiresome stretch. We never once left the majestic presence of snow-capped mountains; and though we were assured at Bitlis that |
 280 when we got a bit farther to the south we should have spring weather and genial sunshine, we found our fur coats and wraps as necessary as ever. I supposed that the roads would improve as we moved westward, but I am compelled to assert that they grew worse and worse wherever it was possible for them to do so. I like to ride through a country where the scenery is attractive, and when I can devote myself to enjoyment of it; but if I am to watch every step my horse takes, and poise myself on the saddle with the care exercised by an athlete on the trapeze, the enjoyment is so mingled with anxiety that it is reduced to a minimum.

One instance of this remains vividly in my memory. There was a tremendous hill in front

of us, and the bridle-path wound through an appalling assemblage of rocks of all sizes and shapes. I was in a delightful mood, for the wind was crisp and stimulating, and I felt as though all my years, away back to my twenty-first birthday, had dropped from my shoulders. The sun glistened on the snow, and between me and the horizon-line was a valley dotted with villages and surrounded by peaks which made the heart ache, they were so beautiful. Suddenly my horse came to a standstill. The poor fellow was puzzled. His equine judgment gave way and he literally didn't know what to do. The angle of the path was as acute as that of the letter V, and it was necessary for him to curve his body into the shape of a crescent in order to get round the obstacle. He gave two or three grunts, as though to inform me that he was in a quandary, and then turned himself into a corkscrew, and slowly wound through the intricacies of the way. The situation was so ridiculous—for I had to balance myself with such skill as I could command—that I burst into a hearty laugh. In ten minutes we were out of the labyrinth, but when we reached the summit it was plain that there were others of the same kind, too numerous to mention. I made a few remarks—rather strong, I imagine—borrowed a cigar from Mr. Whitman, and gladly acknowledged that when a man is in such a fix as that, the introduction of nicotine into his system has a very beneficent effect. 281

We reached Biredjik on the afternoon of the last day of the year, and were so well bestowed through the courtesy of the kaimakam that we all had a good night's sleep. The house we occupied was directly on the bank of the Euphrates, so close to the historic river that a pebble dropped from my window would fall into the torrent. 282

I was very much interested in this town of about eight thousand inhabitants, for several reasons. It is exquisitely situated on three or four hills, and from a distance presents a picturesque appearance. It is approached through innumerable olive groves, whose dark green leaves are restful to the eye in a country where you have not seen a tree for weeks. Olive farms are the chief source of revenue in this region. They are not affected by the cold, and they yield abundantly. A man with a fair-sized olive grove and a hundred fig trees is financially in a fine position. The figs and olives find a ready market, and the boxes of olive-oil soap, another industry, find their way into all parts of the world.

The houses of Biredjik are built of blocks of light limestone, and they give an impression of cleanliness which is not fully corroborated by facts. The limestone quarries are apparently inexhaustible, and the stone is so soft that a khan with half a dozen rooms has been cut out of the solid rock, its ceiling supported by large pillars.

Then again, I was greatly interested in the people of the town. About one thousand Armenians live there, and when the massacres were on, a very curious thing happened. Whether the authorities had any conscientious scruples against wholesale murder, or whether they were prudent enough to recognize the distress and general derangement of business which would follow, neither I nor anyone else can say, as yet. At any rate, they gave these Armenians their choice between death and a renunciation of their religion. If they would adopt Mohammedanism, and turn their churches into mosques, they might be saved from extermination. 283

It was a dreadful alternative and ordeal. The conditions were arbitrary and uncompromising. There was no possible escape from them. Conferences were held, and the subject discussed. The poor fellows looked into the faces of their wives and children, whose fate depended on their decision. Perhaps no small factor in the problem was the persuasions of

their dear ones, who must have begged them not to court certain death. It was a tragic scene, and a tragic moment. Their souls were wrenched, while the tears of their families flowed. Should they stand firm and die as martyrs, or should they make the concession demanded?

284 Their brethren in other parts of Anatolia were being murdered by the hundreds. The cemeteries were glutted with victims. There was weeping and wailing, and I doubt not gnashing of teeth also, at the grim necessity which had overtaken them. Could they not apparently yield and still secretly retain their faith? The Turk might compel them to confess the Prophet with their lips, but no person on earth could eradicate their faith in the true God. They could say "Yes," and mean "No," and thus save themselves and their children from ruin. To call a Christian church a mosque did not make it a mosque, and to say they were Mohammedans would not make them Mohammedans. Was the sacrifice of life worth their while, and would God forgive them for their denial of Him in order to secure peace and prosperity? Well, the truth is they surrendered, and the sword of massacre went back into its sheath. This state of things continued for many months, but when we visited the place we found that a great pressure had been brought to bear on the government, and that these Armenians had obtained permission to go back to their old faith. It was a very odd condition of affairs, and I was greatly stirred while listening to the story.

285 On New Year's morning we crossed the Euphrates, less than a hundred feet wide at that season, but an eighth of a mile wide in spring, with Aintab in the far-away distance. We were ferried over in boats which were a cross between a canal-boat and a Roman trireme. There was antiquity in the shape of the things, and in every timber. However, we landed safely on the farther bank, and that fact disarmed all criticism.

Another long stretch over equally bad roads, and in good time we reached Aintab. That looked like home, and we dreamed sweet dreams of a reunion with dear ones, which made us feel that Aintab was almost in the suburbs of the New Jerusalem. The kaimakam offered us every courtesy, and we were entertained for the night in the house of a dervish whose hospitality seemed to be unbounded.

The city contains nearly fifty thousand inhabitants, one third of whom are Armenians. It is a flourishing city, characterized by something like enterprise—a very rare quality of character in Anatolia—and under ordinary circumstances the relation between Turks and Armenians is wholly amicable. The business of the city, as in all other sections, was under
286 the control of Armenians until the massacre threw things into confusion, and then the Armenians took to flight, leaving their shops in the hands of such friendly Turks as could be trusted. This seemed a very odd thing to do, and I made numerous inquiries concerning it. I naturally argued that if the Turks would not only kill the Armenians but plunder their houses, it would be an unsafe venture to throw their property into the hands of a Turk with the expectation that he would honestly render an account of his stewardship when it was demanded. I was assured, however, by men, Europeans, who have lived in Aintab many years, that it was customary for an Armenian and a Turk to be associated as partners. This was done for the purpose of protection.

"Yes," I said to my informant, "that is natural enough, and I do not doubt that it is a prudent and a wise thing to do. But what puzzles me is that the Turkish partner should carry on the business and not appropriate both capital and profits."

"That . . . is because you are not sufficiently acquainted with the character of the Turk."

"But the whole thing is an anomaly," I said.

"To a European, yes," he replied, "but to I a Turk, no. The Turk can murder when either 287
his religion or his politics prompt him to do so, and he will have no compunctions whatever. But in a case like this he will not only accept the responsibility, but will discharge his duty with surprising fidelity. There are, of course, instances of dishonesty, but in the great majority of cases, the income of the absentee is not in any way endangered."

I have said so much against the Turk that I am glad to give him his due in this respect.

The Armenians have quarters of their own, and there are strong gates between their quarters and those of the other citizens. On the morning of the massacre, the Armenians got wind of what was coming, and rushing into their own quarter, securely barred the gates. The mob wildly pounded against them, but they did not yield. The Armenians had no arms, but they were fortified, as it were, and were thus in temporary safety. The murders were, therefore, comparatively few in number. Still, there was a good deal of plundering, and I saw the ruins of a dozen houses which had been torn down, and holes in walls made by the impact of bullets. It was a rough, blizzard-like day—that of the massacre—but the I suffering was not 288
as wide-spread as that endured in other places.

I am more than half convinced that religion had something to do with what occurred in Aintab. In this respect I regard the city as an exception to the general rule. The two men who planned the massacre were a dervish and another fanatical Mohammedan. I saw them both. It was plain that they bore no love to a Christian, and would not tolerate the new religion unless compelled to do so. They went into the affair with enthusiasm, and egged the mob on to do all the injury that was possible. Their scheme was in great part frustrated, however, by the swift flight of the news that the massacre was on.

I should be glad to dwell on the work which is being done in Aintab by our American missionaries, but I shall elsewhere devote a whole chapter to that subject. The hospital, the girls' school, the college, and the orphanage are in high and healthy locations, and they give a certain picturesqueness to the spectacle as one views the city from the hilltop, half a dozen miles away. The men and women who have devoted their lives to a noble task need no eulogium from me. I could easily fall on my knees before them in an act of grateful worship.

It is exceedingly stupid in the Turkish government to hamper these institutions in any way, 289
though not more stupid than to kill the Armenians, who have paid the taxes which have oiled the wheels of authority in every vilayet. The Turk is an inconsequential creature, who simply follows the mood of the moment, and lets the morrow take care of itself. He cannot govern himself, and there is no reason why we should expect him to govern any one else. He was hungry, and killed the goose that laid the golden egg, never thinking what he would do for the next meal.

It was a twelve-hour trip from Aintab to Killis, where we were to take wagons for the short remainder of the journey. And a very rough twelve hours they were. From early morning until dark we were in the saddle; but what of that, since we were all well and happy! The scenery was not attractive during these last days, but terribly monotonous. We had descended from the highlands where the air was full of ozone, to the lowlands with more than one wide swamp to cross, where the air was full of malaria. True, there were still white-capped mountains, but they were far away on the horizon-line, and the wind that came from them cut like a knife. I hoped I that the villages would show some signs of modern civilization as 290

we approached the coast, but in this I was mistaken. The mud-huts appeared to be muddier than ever, and the people were less and less attractive.

321 During my journey I had many long talks with many Armenians. They never came to see me, for if they had done so they would have suffered as though they had been criminals. That fact is significant as a sign of the times, and constitutes a comment on the real relations between the Armenian and the Turk. He is always a suspect,—is always treated as such. No cat ever watched a mouse with greedier gaze than Turkish officials watch Armenians. The system of espionage is perfect, and it not infrequently happens that a slight and worthless incident is magnified into something of importance, and an arrest is the result. There is no reason why the Armenian should love the government, and yet he would be thoroughly loyal
322 if he could enjoy any degree of security for life and property. There is every reason why the Turk should grant these inalienable rights, for the Armenian pays the taxes which make government possible. So true is this, that in certain vilayets something like political chaos exists, and the government is handicapped because the taxpayers have been murdered, and there is, therefore, no money in the treasury.

Since the mountain could not come to Mahomet, it became necessary for Mahomet to go to the mountain. I had a mean feeling when I made an appointment to meet an Armenian in secret, and could not restrain a certain feeling of self-contempt because it would not be safe to act openly. Not that I need run any risk of my own safety, but that an open meeting would have seemed like a defiance, and the man who met me might have been driven out of the country. I know this is a hard statement to make, but I make it deliberately because I know it to be true. No, if an Armenian had called on me, and had spoken with anything like candor, he might have found himself in prison in less than twenty-four hours. I was bound to see him, however, for that was the chief purpose of my mission. It would have been very stupid to
323 listen to what the Turks had to say, and to regard that as conclusive without hearing the evidence on the other side. If I tell the Turk's story it is just and right that I should also tell the story of the Armenian, or rather let him tell it in his own way. This latter is not an easy task, but it has been accomplished nevertheless.

The interview which I now proceed to relate is a composition; that is to say, it does not contain the opinion of one man, and did not come from one source, but contains the opinions of half-a-dozen exceptionally intelligent Armenians, given to me on several occasions, and under varying circumstances. I have for the sake of unity and emphasis given it the form of an interview with a single individual. I have my reasons for this also. I have heard, since I left that country, that all Armenians who are known to have had relations with me, will be held responsible for what I say, and it is safer for them that I give no names and no hint of the localities where my information was obtained.

My first talk was with a man who is a scholar and a man of means. I found him in a perfectly calm frame of mind, not at all inclined to revolutionary sentiments, and deploring the futile and feeble and idiotic attempts to raise a revolt among his people. He was certainly
324 proud of the past history of what was once an Armenian nation; and for that no one can blame him.

He began the conversation in this way: "I want to say that in many instances the Turks have been more than kind and friendly to us. When the troubles were on, thousands of

Armenians were protected by their Turkish neighbors who knew they did not deserve to be killed, because they had committed no act against the government. When the storm raged, and the work of wholesale destruction of our people was being accomplished, they opened their houses and furnished an asylum to many fugitives. Less than this I ought not to say; and that much of gratitude I am ready and glad to express."

"Are the Armenians on an equality with the Turks?" I asked.

"Where?" he queried.

"Well, in the courts of law," I said. "If, for example, an Armenian is arrested, does he receive the same measure of justice as a Turk, or is there a discrimination in favor of the latter?"

"In theory," he answered, "the law applies to all alike, but in practice it does not. You know that our laws are based on the code of Napoleon, with such changes and modifications as are made necessary by climate and special conditions of life. That law is supposed to deal with all classes, without reference to nationality or religion, but." 325

"Well," I said.

"But it does not," he answered.

"Let us suppose a case," I continued. "An Armenian accuses a Turk of having stolen his property. What is the result?"

"Some years ago, when we were living in peace," he replied, "the Armenian would have had a perfectly fair chance to win his case, and recover his property."

"And now?" I asked.

"He would have no chance at all. The general feeling against him is so strong, that anything in the way of redress is impossible. He not only cannot recover, but is likely to suffer still further injury if he pushes the matter."

"But if the Armenian happens to be rich?" I queried.

A shrug of the shoulders. "Then the affair would take a different turn. There is no country where money has such influence as here. There are good judges, who cannot be bribed, but in a large majority of cases gold is easily converted into evidence for the man who is willing to spend it." 326

"So much for criminal offenses," I said. "How about political offenses?"

"There a man is in an absolutely hopeless condition," he replied. "If an Armenian is arrested on suspicion, he may or may not be guilty. The law says that he shall be made acquainted with the charge against him, and shall have full opportunity to defend himself. But in such cases the law is wholly ignored. I know instances in which persons thus arrested have been kept in prison for months. And in such prisons!"

"What do you mean?" I asked.

"Simply this: They are put into cells with perhaps six or eight others—mind you, they ought to be adjudged innocent until guilt is proved—and these cells are unfit for a human being to live in. They are compelled to perform all the offices of nature in those narrow quarters, and, of course, the most direful results follow. The air is unbearable, and to eat and sleep in a place of that kind is likely to entail disease to the endangerment of life. And then—" Here he hesitated.

"Tell me the whole story," I quickly said. "When the worst is known, the remedy may not be far off. Possibly the Sultan may not be aware of the abuses in these far-away districts." 327

"I believe that to be true," he replied. "The office-holders are all politicians. They want to stand well with the central government, and if they can give the impression that they have caught a revolutionist and forced him to confess, they may hope for a reward."

"Forced him?" I asked; "what do you mean by that?"

"Just what I say," he replied.

"In what way can he be forced?" I said.

"By various kinds of torture," was the answer.

"Physical torture?"

"Precisely."

"Do you mean that?"

"I mean exactly that. He is lashed on the bare back, in some instances, until he either faints, or, to escape further punishment, confesses anything, and signs any document which may be presented. There are also other means of torture, which would seem to you to be incredible. I am speaking by the book, and if you had time, you could easily verify my statements. Remember, please, that in such matters I refer only to political suspects, and not to ordinary criminals."

328 "Are Turks ever tortured?" I asked.

"Without doubt," he replied. "Whenever a Turk is supposed to have some information which the authorities ought to know, there is no hesitation in using the thumbscrew. But the instances of such proceedings are rare. They are not so in the case of suspected Armenians. I ought to add, however, in order to be perfectly fair, that the same thing occurs constantly in Russia, in Persia, in China, and in all other Oriental countries. I don't think the Turk is any worse than his neighbors, but being almost a European, why should he not be better?"

"But there are Armenians on the police force," I said.

"Yes, and they are worse than the Turks."

"Why?" I asked.

"Because the Armenian must prove his loyalty by his arrests, and in doing so he is more diabolical than the Turk. You see, he begins his official duties as a suspect, and must be over-zealous in order to prove that he is not partial to his countrymen. The worst men on the force are often Armenians, for this reason."

329 "I have heard also," I continued, "that you suffer from a rigid censorship. Is that true?"

"Yes . . . that is one of our great grievances, and a constant source of irritation. The Turks might easily relax their vigilance in this respect, and bring our people into a more amiable attitude towards them. Their severity does them no good, but does us a deal of injury."

"Tell me what you mean," I said.

"Well," he replied, "let me give you some instances. Our hymn-books have been confiscated because the word 'Armenia' appears in some of their songs. The Turk hates the word 'Armenia.' He says there is no such place. There is an Anatolia, but not an Armenia, and he prohibits any reference to it."

"But there has been an Armenia," I broke in, "and history is history. You have had a kingdom, and a past of which you need not be ashamed."

"True," he answered, "and I am glad to hear your words. But there is no Armenia today. We are a conquered people, and the word must be expunged even from our hymn books. Moreover, to sing a national song is to render one liable to arrest. But that is not all."

“Well, tell me the rest.”

“In a book of history used in the schools it is natural that a list of old-time Armenian kings should appear. Can you have a history of this country without mentioning the fact that in former days we were of such importance as a people that the Roman Emperor, Pompey, after a severe struggle, captured an Armenian queen and carried her to the Imperial City to grace his triumphal procession? But if that statement were made in a book used in our schools, all such books would be confiscated. It seems to me to be bad policy, for although we are prohibited from speaking of these facts, they are still facts, and not even the Turk can successfully deny them. The truth is the truth, and that ends the matter. It does not lessen our loyalty to know that centuries ago we were an independent people. We prefer to live in Turkey than to abide in any other country, for we have more freedom here, and if the Turk would be simply fair to us, there would be no trouble. We don’t want to emigrate. We have a strong affection for our home, and if allowed even a modicum of liberty, we would be prosperous and happy.”

“Then you are not looking forward,” I said “to converting yourselves into a Bulgaria?”

He smiled sadly. “A wild dream of folly, my friend. You have traversed this country, and can see that such a hope would be the dream of a fool. We do not live in a section by ourselves, we are not accustomed to the use of arms. If you have investigated the subject, you have found here and there Armenian villages, but surrounded on all sides by half-a-dozen Kurdish villages. In the majority of instances, there are in the Kurdish villages, ten, twenty, perhaps thirty Armenian families. What preparation is it possible to make for autonomy? The revolutionists may make their living out of agitation, but we poor creatures are made to suffer for their idiocy. Is that just? Should we be slaughtered wholesale because a few score of fools try to persuade us to do what we have no desire to do, what we have never intended to do? Why not punish these criminals, rather than involve the innocent? I assure you that no one fears the revolutionist as the average Armenian does.”

“Ah,” he continued, “we were a happy people once. We paid large taxes, we had large business interests, we were contented and prosperous. But the Treaty of Berlin! And the interference of England! If Europe would let us alone, we might still have a future, but as it is, we seem to be a doomed people. The poor, poor Armenians! Europe has intervened in our favor, and ruined us. She has roused the worst passions of the Turk against us, has excited his suspicions, and left us in the lurch, to die or live as God may will. Alas, my desolate country!”

And so ended the interview.

I ought to add that I showed the letter in which I gave this interview to the readers of the *Herald* to Sirry Bey. I did not care to do anything which was not above-board. He was almost furious, denied every important statement, declared the whole thing calumnious, and begged me not to send it, or if it had been sent, to recall it. We had a long conference on this subject, and a warm one, but I could not see my way clear to suppress the letter and so it was published. My own impression is that the position taken by the Armenians is correct, and that there is no exaggeration in the assertions made.

When I returned to Constantinople I spoke with a gentleman who is intimately acquainted with Turkish affairs.

“Is the censorship really severe?” I asked.

“Very,” was his reply.

333 “Are school-books ever confiscated for the 1 reasons mentioned in this interview, that is, simply because the word ‘Armenia’ occurs in them?”

“Without doubt,” he answered. “It has been done right here in this city, and not long ago.”

“You are sure of that fact?”

“Perfectly so.”

I give the story as it was given to me. You may accept or reject as you please, but as for myself I believe it to be essentially true.

339 Now to summarize. When I say that the Armenian massacres were caused by Armenian revolutionists, I tell a truth, and a very important truth, but it is not the whole truth. It would be more correct to say that the presence of the revolutionists gave occasion and excuse for the massacres. That the Turks were looking for an occasion and an excuse, no one can doubt who has traversed that country.

Way down in the bottom of his heart, the Turk hates the Armenian. He will swear to the contrary, but I am convinced that the statement is true nevertheless. The reasons for this are
340 abundant, as I have tried to show in other chapters of this book. The Turk is 1 extremely jealous of the Armenian, jealous of his mental superiority, of his thrift and business enterprise. He has, therefore, resorted to oppression, and his steady purpose has been and is now, to keep his victims poor. Equal opportunities for all are a delusion and a snare. They do not exist, and it is not intended that they shall exist. I know that such an assertion is not palatable, and will be received with a shrug of the shoulders by many, but that is my conviction, and I am forced to declare it. The Turk will do all he can to drive Armenians out of the country, and though there is, at the present moment, a lull in the storm, the storm is not over by any means. The hand of Turkey has been restrained for reasons of expediency, but it is the same hand, and it has not lost its cunning. If the Turk could have his own way, unhampered by the public opinion of Europe, there would neither be an Armenian nor a missionary in Anatolia at the end of twenty years, for both are equally obnoxious.

I do not believe that the end of the trouble has been reached. Sharp eyes are even now on the lookout for some incident which can be made the basis of a renewed attack, and when
341 that incident occurs the horrors of the past will be repeated. Tranquillity reigns at present? 1 I do not think so. In the Kurdish region no Armenian can travel without a guard. He is not allowed to protect himself, which he could easily do if he were permitted to bear arms, and no one is interested in protecting him; not the law certainly, and not the courts, and least of all the Kurds, who look on him as their natural prey. When the lapse of time brings inevitable forgetfulness of past horrors, when the Powers have too much business on hand to give attention to Turkish affairs, the sword will once again be unsheathed. I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but when an avalanche has started, and is stopped half way by some obstacle, it is logical to declare that the avalanche will continue its destructive journey whenever the obstacle is removed. The desire to destroy remains in the avalanche all the time, and our only hope, therefore, rests on the obstacle.

In the meantime, the revolutionists are doing what they can to make fresh outrages possible. That is their avowed purpose. They reason that if they can induce the Turks to kill more of the Armenians, themselves excepted, Europe will be forced to intervene, and then the
342 Armenian kingdom will re-establish itself. These short-sighted rogues, who 1 miscall

themselves patriots, are encouraged by both England and Russia. England has eulogized them, has incited them to new effort. They steal their way into a village under cover of night, stir up those who will listen, declaring that if the people engage in open revolt the Powers will rush to their assistance. England may justly be held responsible for great deal that has taken place, for she tells the Armenian to strike and then deserts him when he has followed her advice.

As for Russia, she cares neither a jot nor a tittle for the Armenians. All she seeks is additional territory. She has already encroached on Asia Minor, and is slowly working her way towards the Mediterranean. She laughs in her sleeve at the massacres, and is doing what she can secretly to encourage the revolutionists; and as a consequence there is another outbreak. Then she will pose in a maternal attitude, express a vast deal of sympathy, declare that this awful persecution of an inoffensive people must cease, and assume a protectorate over Armenia, which simply means perpetual occupation. She can guard her frontier with sedulous care when she wishes to do so, but when a revolutionist with a box of guns passes her border, she closes her eyes and lets him go. | It is her policy to see everything except what she does 343 not want to see.

I confess to a degree of solicitude about Van. It occupies a very dangerous position. On the other side of the Persian border, which is only a few hours away, a multitude of very troublesome mischief-makers, professional agitators, whose livelihood depends on an occasional uprising, or threatened uprising, are constantly at work. They cross the frontier, preach revolt, and then scurry back to a place of safety. The Van vilayet is the most difficult province in Asia Minor to govern, for it is on a volcano. At any moment a conflict between the restless Armenians and the civil or military authorities may take place, and when it does, it will be like a lighted match thrown on a hay-stack.

Turkey cannot treat crime as a European nation would treat it, because her inherited methods are all Asiatic, and she is in no mood to change them. She doesn't kill the criminal, but she kills someone else. If she had a respectable and honest police force, she would hang or imprison the guilty parties; but instead of that she lets loose her hordes—the mob consisting of both soldiers and citizens—tells them to begin at the sound of the trumpet and | keep killing until the trumpet sounds a second time. Europe may protest as much and as 344 loudly as she pleases, but her protests are a waste of breath.

It is true that the Armenians ought to see that they are so scattered, so few in number, and so helpless, so far as the importation of arms is concerned, that a successful revolt would be utterly out of the question. Most of them do see this, and they deprecate the action of the revolutionists. It is equally true that the Turks ought to see that for these same reasons the Armenians are not to be feared. If the Armenians can be accused of stupidity for dreaming of the impossible, the Turks are also stupid for murdering thousands of people, and then claiming that they have put down a rebellion which in reality never existed.

As to the present condition of these unfortunate folk, it is of the most desperate character. Look at a few facts, and you will see that it cannot be otherwise than hopeless. There were in Armenia half a million souls, more or less. The number may possibly reach as high as six hundred thousand. Now, it would be a moderate estimate to say that fifty thousand have been killed. These victims were mostly | men, heads of families. Very few women were murdered— 345 rumors to the contrary notwithstanding—and very few children. There were instances in

which both women and children suffered, but they were very rare exceptions. If orders were given to butcher the people, those orders specially excepted women and children. I cannot prove this, of course, for the evidence will never reach the eyes of the world, but I have made the most careful inquiries, and I believe the statement to be true.

These fifty thousand able-bodied men, the producers of the community, make a tremendous gap in the aggregate of half a million. If you further subtract from the grand total the number of women in the households, and the boys and girls, and the old and decrepit, you haven't many thousands left to carry on the enterprises of the country. And when, still further, you remember that a larger number than can be reckoned were driven from their homes to die of cold and starvation, as well as disease, you can understand that a mere working remnant of this once prosperous people remains, and that even this remnant is thoroughly disheartened if not impoverished. The only ray of hope comes from the fact that
 346 the Armenian is an optimist. He has great recuperative power, much more than the pure Turk or even the Kurd has. He is also a reproductive creature, and will have a family much larger than that of any Turk in the neighborhood. Give him twenty years of peace, and even a decent opportunity and he will recover from the stunning blow he has received. But who can guarantee the twenty years?

There is another fact with regard to the present condition of Turkey which has been forced upon me at every turn, namely: that a country which never builds roads has no commercial future, and will suffer in the sharp competition for the world's trade. I can speak on this subject with a good deal of authority, and without the fear of contradiction, because I speak from personal experience. We traveled from the Black Sea at Trebizond to the sea coast on the south. I reckon that the journey in miles will sum up very close to nine hundred. This journey was made in carriages and sledges during its first third, and for the last five hundred miles we took to the saddle, riding steadily from sunrise to sunset, with a short respite for breakfast at eleven. I think, therefore, that my opinion in the matter of roads may be regarded as a fairly good one.

347 I make the bold assertion that there are no roads in Eastern Asia Minor which in our country would be looked upon with anything short of disgust. There is on the extreme north one road which apologizes for itself every time a carriage attempts to pass over it, and the traveler is either very lucky or very lazy who does not walk a good part of the way. In nearly all the rest of the country there is nothing better than a bridle-path, not made by the government, but by the caravans. As all the spare stones in the universe seem to have found their way there, you can easily imagine the difficulties one meets with. The camel can go at the rate of three miles an hour, or very little more, and the man on horseback can make only four miles. Trotting is utterly out of the question; galloping would be considered an attempt at suicide, and therefore a horse that can walk fast is a desirable animal to possess. I am strictly within the limits of the truth when I say that there are scores on scores of miles of road so rocky that unless your beast is sure footed you are liable to break your neck. As my horse picked his way, grunting ever and anon when he came to a specially dangerous spot, I more
 348 than once wondered how it would be possible to get to the next station. None of my readers can possibly conceive of the condition of affairs. You see dead horses all along the route, with a flock of vultures hovering near, scared at your approach. These poor creatures have broken their legs, or have given out through sheer fatigue, and have been left to birds of prey . . .

Now Asia Minor is not only one of the most beautiful areas of the globe's surface, but its soil is rich, wonderfully rich, and its mountains abound in various ores. With a good railroad, which would make it possible to reach a profitable market, the people would be transformed in a single generation. There is plenty of mineral wealth, but no capital and no enterprise. The farmer plows his land with a sharpened iron-shod stick, gets a crop which supplies his own narrow wants and those of the villagers, is content to live in a mud-house, with his cattle under the same roof, and to dress in variegated rags. He has no ambition, but lives and dies in filth.

Over these bridle-paths great caravans of camels find their way to Trebizond from far off Bagdad laden with goods for Constantinople. With good roads, or even half-decent ones, the cost of transportation would be diminished and the profits of trade increased. But Turkey is sluggish, paralyzed, hopeless. It is not only the Armenian who has no future, but the Turk also. The Armenian has shown his ability to conquer circumstances, but the Anatolian Turk seems to have succumbed to them. He is almost pre-historic in his methods and in his mode of life. A dozen wealthy Yankees, such as I could name, would make Anatolia feel that it had been born again, had enjoyed the delights of reincarnation. But what can be hoped for a country, if when a bridge breaks down, it never enters an official's head that it can be mended, and it is left for years in its ruined condition, while travelers are forced to ford the stream which runs under it? The country is full of ruins which date back to the time of Alexander the Great, but among them all, poor Anatolia is itself the most complete and the saddest. It is thriftless and unprosperous, like a man in his decrepitude, and one could not prophesy anything like a brilliant future for it without laying himself open to the charge of dense prejudice or fathomless ignorance. I like the Turk in many respects, but that is no reason why I should shut my eyes to plain facts.

Moreover, it is clear to me that Turkey will never organize practical reforms. Not all the powers of Europe can force them on her. She doesn't know how to reform, is quite content to remain as she is, hates all innovations, even when they come in the shape of improvements.

There is another fact which I am prompted to mention. Somebody brought me, during our stay in Diarbekir, quite a number of photographs of bits of architecture.

"They are exquisite," I said, as I looked at them with a rather critical eye. "That fretwork was designed by a man of genius, and that courtyard, with a fountain in the center, is quaint, unique, and—"

"And very interesting, is it not?" broke in my friend.

"Yes, more than interesting," I replied. "It is evidence of a civilization in which art occupies a prominent place. It is thoroughly Oriental, too."

He smiled.

"Where did you get these pictures," I asked. "There is a Moorish touch to them. Have you lived in the far East?"

"They were taken right here in Diarbekir, and I can show you the originals whenever you have leisure."

"In this old-fashioned, decayed city?" I said in surprise. "Impossible!"

"Apparently impossible," he answered, "but really true. The city is full of bits like that. No one regards them as of any importance, and very few know of their existence; but I have a fancy for such things, and can give you a pleasant hour whenever you have leisure."

The present civilization of Anatolia is built on a previous civilization far better than itself. The people who live there now are satisfied with a lower order of things than their predecessors. You have this fact forced upon you at every step. The Turk of today has no love of art. His life is the dreariest monotony that can be conceived. Give him a shelter, no matter how poor it may be, and something to eat, little matter what, and he is satisfied. There is no divine afflatus in his soul. He is not simply unprogressive, but stupidly dull, either ignorant of the strides which the rest of the world is making, or sullenly indifferent to them.

Explorers of the far East have dug up a city from under another city on the same site. The new city is semi-barbaric; the old city was worth living in. There has been a decadence in the
 352 mode of living, in the habits and customs | of those who went before. This fact is illustrated in every part of Asia Minor. There are traces of great things, but they belong to the past, and in the comparison that which is modern is worthless. When you can truthfully say of a nation that it was semi-barbaric five centuries ago, and that it has remained ever since in the same moral, political, and religious condition, it is rather difficult to become enthusiastic over its future. And when you can say truthfully that the people who have been ousted to make room for the victors enjoyed a higher civilization than the newcomers, and that during these many generations they have neither adopted the superior ideas of the conquered, nor created any of their own, you are not rash if you declare that their case is hopeless. All this may be said of Turkey without fear of contradiction. Nothing is more clear than that it does not belong to the family of really civilized nations, and that its present position is an anomaly. Its manifest destiny is to retire to the East, not because it is incapable of progress, but because it regards progress as political heresy. It is still a nation of nomads, and the proximity of other nations has produced no change whatever. It is what it was, and it will be what it is.

353 Exactly what the degenerating influence is, wiser heads than mine must determine. But this influence pervades the whole country, and all classes. The Kurds were once a strong people with their castles and their fortresses. They were warlike, and they had a crude civilization. Under the proper tutelage they might recover their lost prestige, but as it is, they live the lives of barbarians, are without thrift or enterprise, have no ambition, not one of the elements of national strength, not even patriotism. They have fallen to the lowest level, and there they will remain until some mighty leader shall develop the latent qualities of character which have so long been invisible. Will that leader ever appear?

If you tell me it is the Koran which has produced this havoc, you remind me of a prejudice to the same effect which I myself once entertained. It is so easy to solve the problem in that way, and so difficult to solve it in any other way. But I confess to grave doubts. There must be something stronger than religion at work to debase them. The Armenians are Christians,
 354 and if Christianity can civilize men in spite of all adverse influences, why are not they brilliant examples of superiority? The fact is, they are as low in many respects | as either Turks or Kurds. Their houses are no better made, and no more cleanly. They, too, are content to live in indescribable filth, and though they are said to be a moral people, you cannot tell an Armenian from a Kurdish village by anything that meets the eye of the traveler. There is a monotone throughout Turkey, and it is in the minor key everywhere. The Koran has not depressed the Turk, neither has Christianity elevated the Armenian, as you would expect it to do.

I cannot name the root of the difficulty, but I feel sure that it is political rather than

religious, and that not all the Powers of Europe can make Turkey other than it is, a moribund nation with a fatal disease for which there is no known remedy.

I am aware that these statements may seem harsh, but they are not meant to be. I know also that though I have studied the matter for many years in the privacy of my library, I have only spent two months in Anatolia, and must therefore make my assertions with hesitation. If my readers think I have overstated the inability of the Turk, and prophesy that he will be better in the twentieth century than he is now, I shall make no demur, but rather rejoice. But since I was sent to that country to use my eyes, my ears, and my brains, my sole duty is to 355 tell them the truth as I understand it, and that I have tried to do, giving both sides with equal impartiality. Some of my friends will be disappointed that I have not cursed the Turk unreservedly and praised the Armenian without stint, but with that I have nothing to do. It is not my business to either please or offend, but to give my opinions frankly for what they are worth.

Clara Barton—1821–1912

The Red Cross—a history of this remarkable international movement in the interest of humanity.

Washington, 1898

A.D. 1896–1897

275 In November, 1895, the press commenced to warn us of a possible call for the relief of the terrible sufferings of Armenia, which were engaging the attention of the civilized world . . . The American Red Cross was requested by [some] representative gentlemen, to undertake the distribution of relief funds among the sufferers of Armenia. Owing to the disturbed condition of the country and of its strict laws, combined as they were with existing racial and religious differences, it was found almost impossible at the moment to distribute the relief needed. The faithful but distressed resident missionaries were themselves helpless sufferers to a great extent and practically prisoners in their own houses . . .

284 Just at this interval, a request was brought to me by Dr. Washburn, of Robert College, from Sir Philip Currie, English ambassador, asking if I could not be “persuaded” to turn my expedition through the Mediterranean, rather than the Black Sea, in order to reach Marash and Zeitoun, where the foreign consuls were at the moment convened. They had gotten word to him that ten thousand people in those two cities were down with four distinct epidemics—typhoid and typhus fevers, dysentery and smallpox—that the victims were dying in overwhelming numbers and that there was not a physician among them, all being either sick or dead, with no medicines and little food.

286 I had asked permission and escort for two caravans from Alexandretta, but had learned later from them that they would unite and go together to Aintab, in company with the Rev. Dr. Fuller, of that city who requires no introduction to the missionary or religious world. At this junction Mr. Gargiulo, of the legation, came to me in great haste (he having been sent for by the Sublime Porte) to know where our expeditions were. They had provided for two and could only get trace of one; where was the other? Please get definite information and let them know at once. I had served on too many battlefields not to understand what this meant. I knew our men were in danger somewhere and someone was trying to protect them, and sent back the fullest information that there was but one expedition out, and waited. Two days later came the news of the massacre at Killis by the Circassians. Killis lay directly in their track, unknown to them, and the Turkish troops had unexpectedly come up and taken them on . . .

293 . . . A dispatch came to me at Constantinople, from Dr. Shepard, of Aintab, whose tireless hands had done the work of a score of men, saying that fevers, both typhoid and typhus, of a most virulent nature, had broken out in Arabkir, two or three days north of Harpoot; could I send doctors and help? . . .

During this time the medical relief for the cities of Zeitoun and Marash was in charge of Dr. Harris, who reached there March 18. The report of the consuls had placed the daily

number of deaths from the four contagious diseases at one hundred. This would be quite probable when it is considered that ten thousand were smitten with the prevailing diseases, and that added to this were the crowded conditions | of the patients, by the thousands of 294 homeless refugees who had flocked from their forsaken villages; the lack of all comforts, of air, cleanliness, and a state of prolonged starvation. Dr. Harris' first report to me was that he was obliged to set the soup kettles boiling; and feed his patients before medicine could be retained. My reply was a draft for two hundred liras, with the added dispatch: "Keep the pot boiling; let us know your wants." The further reports show from this time an astonishingly small number of deaths. The utmost care was taken by all our expeditions to prevent the spread of the contagion and there is no record of its ever having been carried out of the cities, where it was found, either at Zeitoun, Marash, or Arabkir.

The closing of the medical fields threw our entire force into the general relief of the vilayet 295 of Harpoot, which the relieving missionaries had well named their "bottomless pit," and where we had already placed almost the entire funds of the Boston and Worcester committees.

One will need to read largely between the lines of the modest skeleton reports of our agents in order to comprehend only approximately the work performed by them and set in motion for others to perform. The apathy to which the state of utter nothingness, together with their grief and fear, had reduced the inhabitants was by no means the smallest difficulty to be overcome; and here was realized the great danger felt by all—that of continued almsgiving, lest they settle down into a condition of pauperism, and thus, finally starve from the inability of the world at large to feed them. The presence of a strange body of friendly working people coming thousands of miles to help them, awakened a hope and stimulated the desire to help themselves.

It was a new experience that these strangers *dared* to come to them. Although the aforetime home lay a heap of stone and sand, and nothing belonging to it remained, still the land was there and when seed to plant the ground and the farming utensils and cattle were brought to work it with, the faint spirit revived, the weak, hopeless hands unclasped, and the farmer stood on his feet again; and when the cities could no longer provide the spades, hoes, plows, picks, and shovels, and the crude iron and steel to make them was taken to them, the blacksmith found again his fire and forge and traveled weary miles with his bellows on his back. The carpenter again swung his hammer and drew his saw. The broken and scattered spinning wheels and looms from under the storms and debris of winter, again took form and motion, and the fresh bundles of wool, cotton, flax, and hemp, in the waiting widow's hand brought hopeful visions of the revival of industries which should not only clothe but feed.

At length, in early June, the great grain fields of Diarbekir, Farkin and Harpoot valleys, planted the year before, grew golden and bowed their heavy spear-crowned heads in waiting for the sickle. But no sickles were there, no scythes, not even knives, and it was a new and sorry sight for our full-handed American farming men, to see those | poor, hard, Asiatic 296 hands, trying by main strength to break the tough straw or pull it by the roots. This state of things could not continue, and their sorrow and pity gave place to joy when they were able to drain the cities of Harpoot and Diarbekir of harvest tools, and turned the work of all the village blacksmiths on to the manufacture of sickles and scythes, and of the flint workers upon the rude threshing machines.

They have told me since their return that the pleasantest memories left to them were of those great valleys of golden grain, bending and falling before the harvesters, men and women, each with the new sharp sickle or scythe—the crude threshing planks, the cattle trampling out the grain, and the gleaners in the rear as in the days of Abraham and Moab. God grant that somewhere among them was a kind-hearted king of the harvest who gave orders to let some sheaves fall.

Even while this saving process was going on, another condition no less imperative arose. These fields must be replanted for the coming year, or starvation had been simply delayed. Only the strength of their old time teams of oxen could break up the hard sod and prepare for the fall sowing. Not an animal—ox, cow, horse, goat or sheep—had been left. All had been driven to the Kourdish mountains.

306 . . . The sending of a letter from Constantinople to the interior, requires at the best six weeks, or forty-six days with no delays.

Only the large and more important towns have telegraphic communication. This requires two, three, four days of a week, according to circumstances. These dispatches are all sent and must be answered in Turkish.

307 The larger towns have mails usually leaving once a week, carried on horses with a military guard. No newspaper is published in Asia Minor.

. . . The following are inland and during several months in the winter and spring must be nearly, if not quite, inaccessible to outside approach: Adabazar, Bardezag, Brousa, Cesarea, Marsovan, Hadjin, Tarsus, Adana, Mardin, Aintab, Marash, Sivas, Harpoot, Oorfa, Erzingan, Erzroom, Van, Bitlis.

320 . . . The facts are, that between the Archipelago and the Caspian Seas, the Black and the Mediterranean, are to-day living a million and a half of people of the Armenian race, existing under the ordinances of, at least, semi-civilization, and professing the religion of Jesus Christ; that according to the stated estimate of intelligent and impartial observers of various countries and concurred in by our own agents, whose observations have been unrestricted, from 100,000 to 200,000 of these persons, men, women and children, are destitute of shelter, raiment, fire, food, medicines, the comforts that tend to make human life preservable, or any means of obtaining them, save through the charitable beneficence of the world.

The same estimates concur in the statement, that without such outside support, at least
321 50,000 of these persons will have died of | starvation or perished through accumulated hardship, before the first of May, 1897.

334 *General Field Agent's Report*

To Miss Clara Barton, President:

In speaking of the relief work in Asia Minor, may I be allowed to begin at Constantinople, at which place, while waiting for the necessary official papers for our work, we were all busy selecting and purchasing relief supplies, camping outfit, cooking utensils, and making other preparations for interior travel; and also securing competent interpreters and dragomans. Although the *Irade* of the Sultan granting permission to enter Asia Minor had not yet been received, we were naturally anxious to follow the first shipment of supplies purchased and sent

by steamer to the port of Alexandretta as the safest route, to be forwarded again by camels under guard to different places in the interior; and with our own men to accompany and attend the work of distribution. Accordingly, accompanied by interpreter Mason, I left Constantinople on the tenth of March, touching at Smyrna, Latakea, Mersina and Tripoli, reaching Alexandretta on the eighteenth, and by the kind help of our Consular Agent, Mr. Daniel Walker, and Mr. John Falanga, began making up the caravans for shipment to Aintab, as a central point for the southern field.

By the time the caravans were ready and horses for travel selected, Mr. Wistar and Mr. Wood, with dragomans, arrived by steamer from Constantinople. Rev. Dr. Fuller, president of the Aintab (American) College, had also just come through with friends from Aintab to take steamer, himself to return again immediately, and together we all set out under soldier escort the next morning. Alexandretta was in a state of fear while we were there, notwithstanding the fact that the warships of England, France, Turkey, and the United States lay in her harbor. Kirk Khan, the first stopping place on our journey inland, was threatened with plunder and destruction on the night before our arrival there. At Killis we found the town in a state of fear from the recent massacres. Here, with Dr. Fuller, we visited the wounded who were under the good care of a young physician just from the college at Aintab, but without medicine, surgical dressings and appliances. These with other needed things we arranged to send back to him from the supplies that had gone ahead.

Aintab, with its American school, college, seminary and hospital buildings standing out in relief and contrast from the native buildings, was a welcome reminder of home; and the greeting of the hundreds of pupils as they came hurrying down the road to welcome back their own loved president, became a welcome for the Red Cross. We were most cordially offered the hospitality of Dr. Fuller's house and home, but as we were still strangers in a strange land, it seemed best to place ourselves in a khan, where we could have better opportunity to make an acquaintance with the people to obtain the varied information necessary to accomplish best results in the disposition of our relief. Here we remained long enough to learn the needs of the place and surrounding country, to obtain carefully prepared lists of those artisans needing tools and implements for their various trades and callings. Supplies were left, clothing, new goods for working up, thread, needles, thimbles, medicines, and surgical stores.

Aintab is favored with its Mission Hospital; with its surgeon and physician, Dr. Shepard and Dr. Hamilton, and a strong American colony of missionary teachers, besides the Franciscan Brothers, who are doing excellent select work. The Father Superior was killed near Zeitoun. Supplies were selected and made up for Oorfa, Aintab, Marash and other points, while a quantity of supplies, by the kindness of Dr. Fuller, was left in storage in the college building to be forwarded as our inquiries should discover the need. To Oorfa, where the industrial work had been so successfully established by Miss Shattuck, we sent material and implements for working, needles, thread, thimbles, cotton and woolen goods for making up. To Marash and Zeitoun, ready-made goods in addition to new, with surgical appliances and medicines.

From Aintab, Mr. Wood and Mr. Wistar started by way of the most distressed points needing help eastward, and then north to Harpoot; and because of your telegram of the report of typhus and dysentery at Marash and Zeitoun, we started in that direction, with Rev. L. O.

Lee, who was returning home. After facing rain, snow and mud for three days we came to Marash. Here we remained until our caravan of goods came on. Typhus, dysentery and smallpox were spreading as a result of the crowded state of the city; Marash had been filled with refugees since the November massacres, notwithstanding a large part of its own dwelling houses had been burned and plundered. The surrounding country had also been pillaged, people killed and villages destroyed, and the frightened remnant of people had crowded in
 336 here for protection, and up to this time had feared to return. With insufficient drainage and warm weather coming on, typhus, dysentery and smallpox already in the prisons, an epidemic was becoming general. True, the preachers *requested mothers not to bring children with smallpox* to church, nevertheless the typhus and smallpox spread, and rendered medical supervision a necessity. By the efforts of Mrs. Lee and Mrs. Macallum, wives of the missionaries of the Marash station, a hospital had been established with plenty of patients, but they had no funds for physicians or medicines. Medicines were left and funds furnished for a native doctor educated in America (who himself had just recovered from typhus) and was placed in charge of the hospital and out-of-door service, and was doing efficient work before we left Marash. Arrangements were made with Rev. Mr. Macallum to have tools and implements made and distributed to artisans and villagers; and we left with him to begin this work the sum which you had sent for our own, use 500 lire.

By this time Dr. Ira Harris, whom you had called from Tripoli, Syria, with his assistants, arrived for the Zeitoun field. Dr. Harris had his well-filled medical chests and surgical supplies in a mule caravan, and being more needed at other places, we left immediately for Adıman via Besnia, passing through Bazarjik and Kumaklejerle, a three days' mountain journey. Our officer kindly told us, when we stopped at a Kourdish village for the night, to "order what we want and not pay if we do not want to." But we made it clear to him, that while we are not extravagant in our wants, we always pay for what we take. It is customary in this country for villages to entertain soldiers free of charge. At Bazarjik when we inquired concerning the health of the place, an official said they had no sickness *except a few cases of smallpox, and this was confined to children*—that his little girl had it, and she was brought in as a proof.

Besnia was saved from pillage and massacre by the efforts of Pasha Youcab, Osman Zade, Mahund Bey, and several other Turkish Beys, but the surrounding villages were attacked and suffered more or less severely. Some of the women escaped and found protection in Besnia, where they were still living. We did some medical work here and left, in good hands, a moderate sum for emergencies. Our reception by the officials at Besnia, as indeed at every place we have been, large or small, was most cordial and friendly. With only an exception or two, no more considerate treatment could have been expected or asked from any people. Before reaching the city we had heard that there was a feudal war in progress ahead of us, and when the military commander learned that we were intending to go to Adıman, he
 337 interposed, saying he could take no responsibility in sending us there; that he had just sent a hundred soldiers out on that road to quell a riot; that it was dangerous, but he would give us a good officer and soldiers for another road to Malatia. This we accepted and four days more of mountain travel, via Paverly, Soorgoo, and Guzena, brought us to the fruit and garden city of Malatia, which formerly had a population of 45,000. It is reported that about 1,500 houses were plundered and 375 were burned, and some thousands of persons killed. The people of all classes were still in fear.

A sum of money from friends in America had been received by the missionaries, but its distribution had been delayed several weeks through some formality in the post-office, and was but just being made the day we arrived. We left here a sum for special cases and typhus patients, and with a promise to return, pressed on to our objective point, two days' journey more across the Euphrates at Isli to Harpoot, when the limit of our time would be out for meeting the second expedition which arrived only two hours ahead of us. Here the people turned out *en masse* to welcome the Red Cross; the road was lined, the streets and windows filled, and house roofs covered, and all had words of welcome on their lips. We were told by the Rev. Dr. Wheeler, the founder of the Mission and American College of Central Turkey, that we were the second party of Americans, not missionaries, that they had seen in Harpoot in forty years. We were most cordially met by the mission people. Although they, too, had been plundered, and most of their buildings and their homes had gone in the flames, we were offered, most kindly, the shelter of the remaining roofs and seats at their table as long as we would stay.

We felt at home again, though startled, too, when we stopped to think we were 8,000 miles away and fifteen days by horseback to the nearest steamer that might start us on a homeward trip or that could carry a letter for us to the outside world. We had been told from the first that Harpoot was suffering more than any other part of the interior, and here we prepared to begin systematic work; Mr. Wistar taking the Char-Sanjak with Peri as a center, the Harpoot plain, and later the Aghan villages. Mr. Wood took the Palou district with two hundred villages, and Silouan in the Vilayet of Diarbekir with one hundred and sixty villages, with the town of Palou and the city of Farkin as centers. While making these arrangements we received your telegram of May 1st: "Typhus and dysentery raging at Arabkir. Can you send doctors with medicines from Harpoot? Please investigate." Upon inquiry we found reported one thousand sick and many dying. This naturally would be my field.

After telegraphing to the various centers for additional medical help without success, we found a native physician, educated in America, Dr. Hintlian, at Harpoot, who was ready to go. Miss Caroline Bush and Miss Seymour of the Mission, with unassumed bravery, volunteered to accompany the expedition. As only one could leave, the choice fell upon Miss Bush. When one reflects that this was a slight little body, never coming up to the majesty of a hundred pounds, with sensitive nature, delicate organization, educated and refined conditions of early life, fears might well be felt for the weight of the lot assumed; but every day's contact convinced us that the springs were of the best of steel, tempered by the glowing fires of experience, thus teaching us how far mind may be superior to matter. 338

On our first night out, as is frequently the custom in this country, we slept in the stable with our horses—and *smaller animals*. On the second day in crossing the Euphrates at Gabin Madin, the big wooden scoop-shovel ferryboat struck a rock in the swift current mid-stream, and came very near capsizing with its load of luggage, horses and human beings. The boatmen lost their chance of making the opposite shore, and we were in the swift current fast making for the gorge and rapids below. I looked as unconcerned as I could at Miss Bush, only to see that she was as calm as if this was an every-day occurrence or that she had been from childhood accustomed to such experiences. We knew she had not, only she had lived long enough in the interior not to be frightened at anything that might happen. However, another rock was reached near the bluff and we unloaded. Each leading his horse and the pack animals

following, we climbed up over the edge of a precipice, over loose stones, slippery earth and ragged rocks, back to the landing we should have made had we gone directly across.

Our next day's travel was through a cold, pouring rain, into the ruined city of Arabkir, but notwithstanding the rain, hundreds of people stood in the streets as we passed to make their "salaams" and to say their word of welcome to those who had come to bring the gifts of another land to the suffering, the sick and needy of their own. Passing through the rain, we arrived at the native pastor's house, which had been saved by a Turkish military officer and cleared of refugees and typhus patients for our installation.

339 Nearly the entire city of Arabkir was in ruins, only heaps of stones where houses had been. Out of eighteen hundred homes but few remained, the markets as well as the dwellings were destroyed, and the people, plundered and destitute, were crowded into the few remaining houses, down with the typhus. We were told that six hundred had already died of the disease, and the people's physician, the only one in that part of the country, was in prison. Later we were told that the arrival of help changed the character of the disease the moment it was known that we had come. Miss Bush went with us directly into the sick rooms, and the presence of a woman gave cheer and strength. A hundred patients were seen daily. After the first wants of the typhus patients had been met the long neglected surgical cases were looked after, and many lives and limbs were saved. The medical and surgical efforts gave gratifying results, of which Dr. Hintlian will make a special report from his daily record.

Immediately upon our arrival the Gregorian church and school buildings, which escaped destruction, were offered for our use as a hospital. These rooms were admirably adapted for this purpose, but by selecting and employing persons already in need of help as assistants and nurses we found that we could better care for the sick in their own quarters than to attempt to remove them to a hospital, where the congregation of sick would only be increased. To give employment was the one thing needed for the well, therefore we made no hospitals, but employed competent, healthy women in need, instructed and put them to care for sick families also in need, but of another kind. The piaster a woman earned for a day's work gave food for herself and for her own family, and gave the sick family the services necessary to save their lives. The necessary beds for the patients were furnished.

A sheep or a goat given where there was a helpless babe or mother would give food for both, and be a permanent property that would grow by the increase of its own young. A small sum for fowls would be a gift that would furnish more than its value in eggs for food for present use. It would prove a small investment that must multiply in kind and value as chicks were hatched. While medical work was going on other forms of relief were also in progress. A supply of tools had been ordered from Harpoot, directly upon our arrival, for blacksmiths, carpenters, tinkers, masons, stone workers, etc. The blacksmiths were set to work making sickles for cutting grass and reaping grain; shovels, plows and other implements for farmers. Others were put at making spinning-wheels for the destitute women, who with these could earn their own living; others made weaving looms. Out of the twelve hundred hand looms formerly in the city it was said only forty remained. Arabkir was the chief manufacturing center for native cotton cloth, and if a man had a loom which would cost three medjidieh (about \$2.50) he could earn his own family's living. Field and garden seeds were bought in quantity and distributed.

340 For the villages which had no cattle we gave oxen for plowing the fields. Sometimes with

the oxen, cows were given, with instructions that in this stress of need the cows should be made to work with the oxen, even while they were giving milk for the family. Thus they would secure a double service for one outlay. Melkon Miranshahian, the druggist, kindly offered his services, and we arranged with him to take up special cases and to continue to care for them after we would no longer be able to remain on the field. Then, feeling that we might safely leave this work in the hands of Dr. Hintlian, we went to Egin to arrange for distribution in the Aghan villages, Miss Bush accompanying. 343

The inquiry will naturally be made as to how relief was received. The gratitude of the people was almost overwhelming at times. If you could only have heard the blessings that were poured out upon Clara Barton, the Red Cross, and the good people everywhere who have aided, you would realize that deep as the need, so fervent and sincere have been the thankful prayers and blessings that the unfortunate people who survive the massacre could alone render to all who help them. To you and your name especially were they responsive. Of all this, I would say we often had most gratifying evidence and expression on the lonely roads, in the stricken homes, and through personal letters from many sources.

When we were some six miles out on the road to Egin, we met the leading men of the village of Shepik coming to town; they had heard that we were going away soon, and the villagers had sent this committee to Arabkir to express their gratitude for what they had received and for all that had been done for them. This was five or six weeks after we had made a distribution of seeds, and as we came in sight of their village we saw gardens green with onions, potatoes, beans, cucumbers, melons, squash, pumpkins, etc., from the seeds we had given. Here, too, the women were in the fields cutting the grass and grain with the sickles which the blacksmith had made from the iron and steel we had furnished. The men were plowing with the plows and oxen we had supplied and, notwithstanding they had been plundered of every movable thing and their houses burned or destroyed, there was an air of prosperity in the fields that banished thoughts of want or suffering. We rode on past the little room where the school was kept and every child rose to his feet and made a most profound, though youthful bow to our passing company.

Egin is an old, strangely beautiful city, inhabited by the descendants of the noble families of Mosul (Nineveh) who fled to this mountain stronghold on the Euphrates during the Persian invasion, many years ago, and they are still a royal and gentle people. At Egin the officials declared it unsafe for us to go to the villages as we had proposed. Accordingly we made purchases in this market and sent them to the needy points. Egin had bought the Kourds off with 1,500 lire, and consequently it had remained up to the date of our arrival unharmed through all the destruction about it. We also left a sum of money with a responsible committee for eight unfortunate villages, and did what medical work we could in our short stay. We then returned to Harpoot. 344

On our road back, Miss Bush had with her a young girl whom we were taking to Harpoot for safety (we had frequent charges of this kind), and she wanted me to stop at her favorite beautiful village of Biervan, for a pleasant picture to carry back in memory to America. We had a long day's journey at best to reach our village, and had met with delays; four hours in the morning waiting for a zaptieh. Our muleteer left us at the ferry some twelve miles back, in order to stop over night at his own village; and the second zaptieh was two hours late, but having started we must keep on through the mountain pass, and it was ten o'clock at night

when we reached the village. Our zaptieh took us to the house of the "Villageman" (each village is provided with such a personage whose duty it is to see that shelter is provided for travelers). We rode up together and the zaptieh pounded on the door. The dog on the roof barked viciously, then all the dogs in the village barked. A woman on another roof above this one raised herself and talked, then shouted down the chimney-hole (the roof is the sleeping place in warm weather), after a time she pointed with her hand and the zaptieh started off in the direction indicated; the moon had gone down and it was too dark to see anything distinctly. He came to a small pile, poked it with his foot, punched it with his gun, kicked it.

After a time a part of the pile raised itself in a sort of surprised astonishment, mystified, uncertain, complicated attitude—evidently looking at the "poker." Then the pile expressed itself emphatically, the zaptieh did the same more emphatically, each in turn louder and louder, all with necessary and unnecessary gesticulation. Then the pile got up and began on our servants for having the pack mules and animals on his roof. After these had been led off the house, he wanted to know what we came there for anyway, at that time of night, to wake him up when there were six other villages we could have gone to; why didn't we go to one of them? Then our zaptieh changed his tone and attitude and in the most polite, persuasive, pleading voice and manner, tried to explain that he himself was not to blame for all this trouble, he was under orders and had to come with these people; he couldn't help doing his duty. But this made no impression, and we were told there was no place for us.

345 None could be found at this time of night; besides there was no barley for the horses, and nothing was to be done unless it was to go on and try another village. Our zaptieh seemed to have exhausted his resources and said no more. Other villagers had come and were standing around the "villageman," who still insisted that he could do nothing. Miss Bush quietly suggested "*Argentum*." We got down from our horse, went around carelessly, and slipped a "cherek" (a five piaster piece) into his fingers. He took and felt of it, and then went away without a word. After about ten minutes he returned with a light, a door was opened close beside us, and we unloaded our animals, put them all in, took in the luggage, went in ourselves, got our supper, spread our blankets, drove away our audience of villagers, fastened the stable door and announced to ourselves that we were one hour into the "next day," and went to sleep. We were off again the next morning before the sun was up. This is a simple incident of what happened in frequent variation during interior travel.

At Harpoot we arranged for supplying tools and cattle to the remaining villages which we failed to reach from Egin. Here, too, we found Mr. Wistar busy supplying harvesting and threshing implements, and cattle for plowing in the Harpoot plain and villages. In this vilayet there are upwards of two hundred villages either plundered or wholly destroyed, and from these many persons of all classes came for medical or surgical help.

Preparations were made to work in Malatia, where, some weeks before, we had ordered supplies and medicines sent to be ready for our arrival, but owing to the unsettled conditions there, no such work could be done to advantage. The time for our return to Constantinople was drawing near and on the twenty-seventh of June we were ready to start for the Black Sea. We called to pay our respects to the governor of Harpoot and found him as cordial as he had always been. Inquiries were made and explanations given, so that he might more thoroughly understand the character and purposes of the Red Cross. His Excellency remarked that it gave to those engaged in the work great opportunities to become acquainted with different

countries, and that we must have found Turkey the most difficult of them all to work in. He regretted that he himself had been of so little assistance to our efforts, etc., but we took pleasure in saying that he had done at all times all that we had asked and oftentimes more. Speaking for those associated with our work I could safely say that all the recollections of our personal relations with the vali of Harpoot will remain with us as pleasant and satisfactory.

The principal food and the main crop of the interior is wheat, and this year's growth 346 wherever we have been is reported to be unusually good. If the wheat can be distributed where the destitution will be this coming winter, many lives may be saved; if not, many must inevitably be lost for want of food. When we left the Harpoot valley harvesting had well begun, and was even more briskly going on as we neared the Euphrates, which we crossed for the last time at Isli on the twenty-ninth of June. The usual Euphrates ferry-boat is twenty-four to thirty feet long, eight feet wide, and two feet high at one end and eight at the other where a rudder, or sweep, forty feet long is hung. An American frequently sees methods of work and management that lead him some times, when *first* traveling, to make suggestions. After seeing the ferrymen upon many occasions putting loaded wagons on the boat, lifting them by main force some two or three feet with much awkwardness over the edge of the craft, we ventured to suggest that two planks laid on the bank and end of the boat so as to roll the wagons in or out would save much trouble and time and extra help and labor. We were met with this unanswerable reply: "Who would pay for them?"

To Malatia we carried money to the people from their relatives in America which had been entrusted to Dr. Barnum at Harpoot. We also left in the hands of a responsible committee a fund for artisans' tools, and a smaller sum for food and supplies in special needy cases. The state of prosperity and feeling of security in Malatia was not nearly so propitious as in Harpoot. We saw few people here, nor could we remain long enough to attempt the relief work that was probably more needed than in many other districts. The accompanying letter received since our return to the United States, from the Rev. Dr. Gates, president of the Harpoot American College, gives, as will be seen on reading, a most interesting account of the work done and the money distributed after our departure by himself and Miss Bush:

The sun is extremely hot during the interior summer season, hence when the moon was favorable we traveled by night, leaving the saddle long enough to sleep in the "Araba" (a sort of small, springless, covered wagon used where there are roads) so as to have the day to work in while our horses rested. When we could do so in our journey we left funds for specified purposes, but frequently the sufferers felt safer without such assistance and declined to receive it. At Sivas we gave a fund for farmers' tools. Here the grain crop was later than in the valleys further south. We also left here with the Rev. Messrs. Perry and Hubbard, a horse, in order to facilitate their relief work. From Malatia several families and individuals placed themselves under the protection of the Red Cross and its guards in order to go in safety to the coast. A 347 portion of this road is infested with brigands and a strong guard is necessary, in fact it is needed throughout the whole region. The government took particular care of us by giving us a brigand as a special guard through the dangerous part of the road, saying that we should be safer with him than with the regular military guard. A few weeks before a rich caravan was robbed on this road, and when we passed we had the interesting pleasure of taking tea and journeying for a while with the chief of these brigands who had two days before been enlisted in government service. With the ample government protection we have at all times had, we

seldom felt concern for our personal safety, notwithstanding that in places where we visited there was often a great deal of anxiety and fear on the part of the people for their own safety and that of their friends, or their property if they had any.

Tokat and Amasia were on our homeward route—the latter place being the site of the ancient castle of Mithridates, King of Pontus.

At Samsoun we had two saddle horses to dispose of, and our consular agent, Mr. Stephapopale, having a stable, kindly offered to sell them to the best profit for us, and to see that the proceeds were used in aiding the refugees who crowd to the coast in the hope of getting farther on, but only find themselves stranded and unable to return, becoming thereby veritable sufferers.

On the sixteenth of July we reached the Bosphorus, four months and six days from the time we started out from Constantinople for the interior, glad of the privilege and power we have enjoyed as messengers to carry some of the gifts that have been entrusted to your care by the people of America for the innocent, unfortunate sufferers of Anatolia.

Wherever we have met the missionaries, Protestant or Catholic, we have found them devoting most, if not all, of their time to the work of relieving the suffering about them, regardless of sect or nationality; but in all cases their fields of work have been greater than their strength or their means. With them we have worked always harmoniously and without consciousness of difference of place or creed; and to them and to many others we are indebted for courtesies and for hospitalities that will always be remembered with gratitude.

The real work of the relief expedition was greatly aided by the hearty co-operation of every European and American resident with whom we came in contact. Each did all in his power for our aid, and we regret that space forbids our telling how each gave his support and help.

348 At Egin we will ever remember the generous hospitality during our short stay with the families of Nicoghos Agha Jangochyan and Alexander Effendi Kasabyan, noblemen, who by their energy and liberality saved the city and people from destruction, while the country round about was being plundered and burned, and who gave us great assistance in furnishing tools and implements to this section of the country.

Not long after leaving Egin we learned the sad news that these gentlemen with nearly a thousand others had been killed. These families were the center of a large community of the most charming and cultivated people we had met.

To the Turkish officials everywhere we are grateful for their careful supervision of our personal safety, and for the general personal freedom allowed ourselves wherever we worked. To the officers and guards who always accompanied us in our journeys through cold and heat, on the road by night or day, over desolate plain or mountain trail, for bringing us safely through from sea to sea without a scratch or harm of any kind, for all this we are most assuredly grateful, and oft recall the cheerful vigilant service and special courtesies we enjoyed at their hands, which could only be prompted by the most friendly feelings and consideration.

349 But we do not forget, dear Miss Barton, that the success of this expedition is due to your careful and constant oversight and direction of all our movements, from the seat of government at Constantinople, from first to last, and to the conviction which you had impressed upon the Sublime Porte of your own and your officers' honesty, integrity and singleness of purpose. Hence for your statesmanship and generalship and constant oversight, we would express our warmest gratitude.

We are grateful for the gratitude of the people we tried to relieve. It was universal and sincere. The kindness with which we were every where welcomed, and the assistance so cordially rendered by all the noble men and women, with whom it has been my good fortune to become personally acquainted. Surrounded as they were with desolation, dangers and misery, they will be remembered for their worth and devotion to duty.

Constantinople, August 1, 1896.

J. B. Hubbell.

William Miller—1864–1945

Travel and Politics in the Near East.

New York, Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1899

A.D. late 1890s

392 . . . Perhaps the most odious feature of Abdul Hamid's rule is the existence of a herd of spies, who infest the streets and are far more obnoxious than the poor and miserable, yet kindly, dogs which lie all day in the gutters and paths of Pera, Galata, and Stambul. For the political spies are the enemies of every man. I remember one day two of these gentry spending a whole morning out side the British Post Office on the look-out for a "Young" Turk—that is to say, a member of the "Young Turkish party," which the Sultan dreads far more than the Armenians themselves. Spies infest the gates of Embassies, and no hotel is complete without one. Fathers sometimes spy upon their sons, brothers on each other, and sons on their parents. The secret service fund amounts to £2,000,000 a year, and from six hundred to seven hundred reports are sent in by spies to the Sultan every day. Moreover, there are two sets of these creatures, 393 that of the Palace and that of the Porte, who spy upon | one another as well as upon the public. But even this infamous system has its advantages, for it is possible to bring things before the Sultan's notice in this way, since the spies are always anxious to earn their money. I remember hearing an amusing instance of this. A certain European merchant once accepted an invitation on board a foreign man-of-war. A spy at once made out of this simple incident a cock-and-bull story to the effect that the merchant had been invited in order to concert a plan for forcing the Dardanelles. This so terrified the Sultan that he raised the spy's rank and salary, and ordered that every facility should be given to the merchant in his dealings with refractory customers and still more refractory judges. Most odious of all, there are wretches who ply the trade of agents provocateurs, luring unsuspecting persons into talking treason against the Padishah, and then "assneaking," English schoolboys say in their healthy language, to Yildiz Kiosk. During the last eighteen months there has, it is true, been a little more liberty of political discussion, owing to the fact that the Turkish Government wished to make as much capital as possible out of its successes in the war. That the people of Constantinople possess, in common with Western nations, the taste for newspaper reading is now clear, for you see them devouring the wretched little pink Turkish and Armenian journals on the steamboats, in the trains, and in the cafes. War intelligence especially appeals to the Turkish reader, and the Sultan was glad to divert the attention of his people to the Spanish-American struggle, which filled three-fourths of every Turkish paper; but our victories in Egypt were only allowed to be published in the vernacular press on condition that the English were not mentioned, and all successes were ascribed to his Majesty's vassals, the Egyptians. Thus these 394 papers contain nothing that may, by the highest stretch of imagination, be | described as the free expression of public opinion. A gentleman who had experience as editor of a Bulgarian paper in Constantinople has described to me the rigorous censorship exercised over the press in Turkey. Before the journal appeared two copies of it had to be sent to the Censor, who read it through, and marked in each copy what he considered as objectionable. He then retained

one copy for future reference, and sent the other back to the editor, who was then forced to take out the offending matter, and substitute something else filling the exact amount of vacant space. The revised copy was then compared by the Censor with his copy, and if the two did not tally the paper was not allowed to be sold. Thus it often happens that the publication of a journal is delayed for hours, and so all regular delivery is prevented. Sometimes the Censor actually sits in the newspaper office and reads the “copy” before it goes to the press. He is also now sufficiently astute to read between the lines of the sarcastic eulogies of Turkish administration with which one able editor used to delight his European readers. Moreover, as there is a different Censor for each vilayet or province, the rules of what is objectionable and what is not vary according to the stupidity or intelligence of these respective officials. Thus, to instance a notorious case, which was taken up by the British Ambassador some time ago, a religious work, which had been passed by the Censor at Constantinople, was rejected by the Censor at Salonica, and accepted by the similar official at Monastir. Justice in such matters is, therefore, to use an old expression of English law, simply the length of each Censor’s foot, and no uniform standard prevails. Besides, the papers are compelled to insert paragraphs containing the most fulsome praise of the Sultan; even in the week of the massacres one of these veracious journals was forced to declare that “His Majesty is beloved | by all the peoples 395 over whom he rules”(!) If it were not for the foreign post offices in Constantinople, European residents would hardly ever receive Western papers at all, for the least particle of anti-Turkish news causes the confiscation of every journal that comes within the clutches of the Ottoman authorities. These post offices, of which there are five—the British, French, Austrian, German, and Russian—are an immense boon to the European residents there, as they constitute the only trustworthy means of obtaining or sending letters. For the Turkish postal service is utterly unreliable and extremely slow, and no European uses it, except for internal communications, which cannot be transmitted by means of the foreign post offices. Each of the latter has its own stamps, surcharged with the value in Turkish currency, but in other respects the same as those in daily use at home. Indeed, the post-cards are exactly the same, having no surcharge at all.

Perhaps of all trades in Turkey that of a bookseller is the most arduous and uncertain. For 400 it is against books that all the thunderbolts of the Turkish authorities are most firmly and persistently directed. Whenever you land at a Turkish port, your luggage is ransacked for guide books or any other literature about the country, which is contraband of this customs’ war. Even the usual device of a *bakshish* may prove unavailing here, though it once saved me from losing some Servian literature about Macedonia, which the Turks would dearly have liked to confiscate, if they had but discovered it. Even the harmless, necessary “Murray,” or the blameless “Bradshaw,” is anathema maranatha to the Turkish official mind, intensely ignorant, and therefore intensely suspicious of all printed matter. A friend of mine—a bookseller in Turkey—has given me some amusing instances of the vagaries of these gentry. On one occasion he ordered out from London some copies of that pleasant book of our nursery days, “Sandford and Merton.” All the copies were confiscated, although the maddest of censors could not pretend that the improving discourses of Mr. Barlow to his two young pupils were in the nature of a political propaganda. But the mere fact that the pet dog in the narrative was called “Turk” was sufficient to prevent the sale of the book in Turkey! For an

equally absurd reason the whole of Shakespeare's works are forbidden there, because of the murder of the King in "Hamlet."

408 According to a well-known story, which I never credited until I had seen the Sultan face
to face, the author of the Armenian massacres is himself an Armenian. He possesses in a
marked degree the distinguishing feature of that nationality—the large hooked nose, by
which you can always tell an Armenian in the streets of Constantinople, and he has been even
409 called by pure Turks "the bastard of an Armenian." He has, too, in | considerable measure the
commercial instincts of the Armenian race, which are not shared by the pure Osmanli. It is
generally supposed that he is extremely anxious to hoard up money for a rainy day. What he
does feel in common with the Turk is that unbounded dislike of the Armenians which is
prevalent among the Moslems. Originally the Armenians were the jackals of the Turks, who
despised them but found them useful. But the present Sultan, finding that the defeats of 1877
and his own doubtful parentage had discredited him as a civil sovereign among his subjects,
resolved to emphasize his spiritual authority as Khalif. To this end he revived the fanaticism
of the lower classes, and as this fanaticism wanted a vent, let it loose upon the Armenians,
who were at once the best educated, the most progressive and the least warlike of his Christian
410 subjects. Had they been | Montenegrins they would not have allowed themselves to be
butchered as they were, for of all the many Montenegrin servants in Constantinople, only one
deserted his post during the massacres. True, even the Sultan cannot dispense with Armenian
brains in the conduct of public affairs, and the Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, Artin
Pasha, is an Armenian, as are not a few other officials here. Artin on one occasion threw up
his office in consequence of the insults which he received from his Turkish colleagues, but the
Sultan ordered him to resume it for the very reason that he was despised and therefore
harmless. But the Armenians inspire in the Turks a hatred such as no other Christian race
causes them, and the worst of it is that the Armenians have not, like the Greeks, Serbs,
Bulgarians, and Wallachs living in the Turkish dominions, Consuls and diplomatic agents of
their own race to whom they can appeal. So bitter is the feeling of the Sultan, that he has
prohibited the importation of English atlases, because part of Asia Minor is described in them
as "Armenia." Turkish officialdom recognizes no such place; for "Armenia" it substitutes "the
Asiatic provinces of Turkey, partially inhabited by Armenians." Can pedantry go farther?

Needless to say, the Sultan's policy has greatly injured trade alike in the capital and in the
provinces; for many Armenian traders have fled and taken their connection with them to
Bulgaria and elsewhere, while the actual loss of so many lives has entailed a great diminution
of the country's wealth. Nowadays the Sovereign's ministers are not allowed to visit one
another's houses, and in many places on the Bosphorus boating is forbidden after sunset,
simply from fear of plots and conspiracies. For the Sultan, as he pathetically told a British
411 Ambassador, can trust no one. No Sovereign is so overworked, for the smallest matters | come
before this man without friends. On one occasion a foreign diplomatist found his Majesty
revising the rules for a Pera music-hall, simply because he could trust no one else to do it. A
similar dread has induced the Sultan to set his face against photography. Abdul Aziz was a
great patron of the art, and once gave valuable hints to the photographer who took his portrait
for presentation to the old German Kaiser. But Abdul Hamid II has never been photographed
since he became Sultan—so the leading photographer of Pera told me, and all published
photographs of him are therefore embellishments of his early portraits . . .

The decadence of Turkey is also noticeable in the fact that the great and warlike Sultans of the past have left no successors. Abdul Hamid II is undoubtedly a very clever diplomatist, but he either does not possess, or does not deem it prudent to exercise, the slightest administrative qualities. His sole method of managing his dominions is that of playing off Christians against Mussulmans, and one nationality against another. Thus in Asia the Armenians are sacrificed to the Kurds, in Europe the Servians are sacrificed to the Albanians, and all over the Empire the welfare of the State is sacrificed to the personal aims of its sovereign. Nothing but an impartial European administration could effectually govern an Empire composed of so many hostile sects and races. The task is all the more difficult since the creation of independent Balkan States, each of which has numbers of compatriots still under Turkish rule. Thus the Servians, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Romanians of Turkey look for redress, not to Constantinople, but to Belgrade, Sofia, Athens, and Bucharest. Alone among the oppressed Christian races of Turkey the Armenians have no independent state of the same race as themselves to which to appeal. And this fact, coupled with their unwarlike character and their commercial prosperity, naturally made them the most convenient victims of his Majesty's bludgeon-men. From time to time Europe is deluded by the promise of reforms, and prominent statesmen who visit Constantinople with projects for the reformation of Turkey in their pockets find an attentive hearing from the Sultan, who on their departure from his presence lights his cigarette with the draft which they have ingenuously laid before him. Of all the futile nostrums prescribed for the salvation of Turkey that of "reforms" is the worst. A resident in Turkey, who possesses an almost unique knowledge of the country, once remarked to me, "There is no hope of reform for Turkey whatever; it is idle to talk about reforms here."



*John Murray's map of Asia Minor, which was censored by the Ottoman government.
[From Handbook for Travelers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc. Edited by Major-General Sir Charles Wilson (London, John Murray, 1895).]*

Notes to Texts

- ¹ Peter Jackson and David Morgan suggest that Marsengen might be a corrupt amalgam of Erzincan and some other locality, and they add: "Whatever the case, he [William of Rubruck] is referring to a place on the Araxes between Erzurum and Ani." *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253–1255* (London, 1990), 270. Manuel Comroff suggests that Marsengen is Medshingert. *Contemporaries of Marco Polo* (New York, 1928), 204. Christopher Dawson says that Marsengen is Malazkirt [Manzikert] "about fifteen miles N.W. of Lake Van." *Mission to Asia* (Toronto, 1995), 216. We think that Marsengen was most probably Erzurum, because Erzurum had, besides the Armenians and Greeks, a Georgian population, especially since A.D. 1206–07, when the Armenian and Georgian united armies liberated the city for a short while from the Seljuks.
- ² Most probably Zakaria Dzordzoretsi, Archbishop of Ardaz.
- ³ Ibn Battuta refers to the Seljuk ruler whose protectorate was Iraq.
- ⁴ These cities were part of Cilicia.
- ⁵ The head of the Armenian Church is called *Gatoghigos* (Catholicos), while the king is called *takawor*.
- ⁶ Should be *Asdwadz toghu meghk ko*; that is, God forgive you your sins.
- ⁷ Should be *Voghormia*; that is, have mercy.
- ⁸ This is a misspelling. Armenians are called Gregorians, and not Georgians, after St. Gregory (Krikor) the Illuminator. As to the fact that the Armenian Catholicos resided in Antioch, since no other source, to our knowledge, confirms such a fact, we confront one of two possibilities: First, the Catholicos of the Armenians of Cilicia indeed resided in Antioch at the time Von Harff visited the city. Second, it seems that Armenians in many instances called the head of a monastery *Hayrabed*, which is a title given to the Catholicos. Maghakia Archbishop Ormanian, *Azkabadum; Hay ughghapar yegeghetswo antskere sgizpen minchew mer orere: haragits azkayin barakanerov badmuadz*, Vol. II, Part II (Beirut, 1960), 2202.
- ⁹ For someone who uses the name Arsingan for Erzincan, Erfenia is more likely Erzerum, and not Erzincan.
- ¹⁰ It is not clear whether Celebi refers to Kurds who lived in Armenia, or Armenians who became Kurds.
- ¹¹ The Mekhitarian Armenian Catholic Congregation was founded in 1701, in Constantinople, by Mekhitar of Sepasdia or Sivas (Sepasdatsi). Later, in 1717, the Congregation was permanently established in Venice, on the island of St. Lazarus. In 1811, a branch of the Congregation was established also in Vienna, under the same name. Both branches contributed immensely to the cultural-educational revival of the Armenian people.
- ¹² Mac Farlane's tri-volume book, *The Armenians. A Tale of Constantinople*, was published in Philadelphia, in 1830.
- ¹³ D'Oshson Ignatius Mouradgea, or Ignatius Tosunian (1740–1807), born in Constantinople, was the Swedish Chargé d'Affairs in Constantinople. He spent the last decade of his life in Paris, where he wrote his multi-volume *Tableau generale de l'empire Othoman . . .* The book was later published by his son Abraham, who was an orientalist and member of the Swedish Academy.
- ¹⁴ Richard Cobden, M.P. mentions that "Letters from Constantinople and its Environs" was "attributed to the pen of Commodore Porter, the United States Chargé d'Affairs at the Sublime Porte . . ." *Russia and the Eastern Question* (Boston, 1854), 139.
- ¹⁵ Should be *Hokevor Zhoghov*; that is, Religious Council.
- ¹⁶ Should be *Kaghakagan Zhoghov*; that is Civil Council.
- ¹⁷ Megerdich Vanetsi, or Kherimian (1820–1907), who in 1893 became Catholicos of All Armenians.
- ¹⁸ First information on the existence of Armenian communities in Hungary dates back to the tenth century. In the thirteenth century, there was an Armenian quarter in Esztergom, the capital of Hungary. In 1240–41 the Armenians of Esztergom fought against Mongol and Tatar invaders together with the Hungarians. However, the largest Armenian colonies were in Transylvania and Budapest.
- ¹⁹ Moses Parmalee, *Life Scenes among the Mountains of Ararat* (Boston, 1868).
- ²⁰ Salnaméh was the official yearbook of the Ottoman government where statistics of all sorts were published.
- ²¹ Moses of Khoren (born A.D. 410?) is considered the founder of Armenian historiography by his work *History of the Armenians*.

- ²² Tovma of Medzop (1378–1446) was a prominent Armenian historian and educator.
- ²³ Mekhitar of Sepasdia (Sivas), the founder of the Mekhitarist Armenian Catholic Congregation, died in 1749, and not in 1740. He was born in 1676.
- ²⁴ James Henry Skene, *Anadol: The Last Home of the Faithful* (London, 1853).
- ²⁵ The Huntchagist Society (Social-Democratic Huntchagian Party) was founded in 1887, in Geneva. The party was named after its official monthly, *Huntchag*, first published in Montpellier, and then successively in Paris, Athens, and London.
- ²⁶ The Sanasarian college was established in 1881, in Erzurum, by the financial support of Megerdich Sanasarian, and the efforts of G. Yezian. In 1912, the college was moved to Sivas. In 1915, the majority of the teachers were murdered and the college was destroyed by the Turks.

Appendix and Indexes

Alphabetical List of Authors

- Ainsworth, William Francis—1807–1896, geologist and surgeon.
 Alcock, Thomas—?.
 Alexander of Rhodes—1591–1660/1, missionary.
 Alexander, Sir James Edward—1803–1885, general and explorer.
 Andersen, Hans Christian—1805–1875, writer.
 Angiolello, Giovan Maria—1452–1524, a Venetian in service of the Turks.
 Anonymous.
 Armstrong, T. B.—?, army officer.
 Arundell, Francis Vyvyan Jago—1780–1846, antiquarian.
 Auldjo, John—d.1857.
 Avril, Philippe—1654–1698, Jesuit missionary.
 Badger, George Percy—1815–1888, scholar and a chaplain of the East India Company at Bombay.
 Bainbridge, William Folwell—b.1843.
 Baker, James—?, lieutenant-colonel.
 Barbaro, Josafa [Giosafat]—d.1494, traveler and ambassador to the Persian court.
 Barkley, Henry C.—?, civil engineer.
 Barton, Clara—1821–1912, President and treasurer of the American Red Cross.
 Benjamin, S. G. W. [Samuel Greene Wheeler]—1837–1914, author, painter, and journalist.
 Blunt, Mrs. John Elijah [Fanny Sandison]—?, wife of British Consul-General.
 Bon, Ottaviano—1551–1622, Venetian representative at Constantinople.
 Brassey, Anna [Baroness Annie Allnutt]—1839–1887, traveler and author.
 Brockett, Linus Pierpont—1820–1893.
 Bruce, Peter Henry—1692–1757, military engineer.
 Buckingham, James Silk—1786–1855, traveler and author.
 Burnaby, Fred [Frederick Gustavus]—1842–1885, cavalry officer and traveler.
 Busbecq, Ogier Ghislain [Augier Ghiselin] de—1522–1592, knight and imperial ambassador.
 Butterworth, Hezekiah—1839–1905, journalist.
 Campbell, Dudley—b. 1833, lawyer.
 Campbell, Sir George—1824–1892, administrator.
 Carpine, John [Giovanni] of Pian—1182?–?1252, Franciscan monk.
 Cartwright, John—?, preacher.
 Catalani, Jordanus—?, Bishop of Columbum in India.
 Caulfield, James [First earl of Charlemont]—1728–1799, statesman.
 Celebi, Evliya—1611?–?1682, traveler.
 Chandler, Richard—1738–1810, classical antiquarian and traveler.
 Chesney, Francis Rawdon—1789–1872, British army colonel; commander of the Euphrates expedition.
 Clark, Edson Lyman—1827–1913, Congregational minister.
 Clark, Mrs. Harriet Elizabeth—b.1850, wife of William Clark, missionary in Armenia.
 Clavijo, Ruy Gonzales de—d.1412, ambassador to the court of Timour.
 Clement [Waters], Clara Erskin—1834–1916, author.
 Coryat, Thomas—1577?–1617, traveler.
 Covel, John—1638–1722, traveler.
 Covert, Robert—?, captain.
 Cox, Samuel Sullivan—1824–1889, lawyer and diplomat.
 Craven, Baroness Elizabeth Berkeley [Elizabeth Margravine of Anspach]—1750–1828, dramatist.
 Creagh, James—?, captain.
 Cunynghame, Sir Arthur Lyman Augustus Thurlow—1812–1884, army general.
 Curzon, Robert [Fourteenth Baron Zouch of Harringworth]—1810–1873, politician.

- Dallaway, James—1763–1834, topographer and writer.
Daulphinois, Nicholay Nicholas—1517–1583, geographer.
Davey, Richard—b.1848.
Davis, Edwin John—b.1826/7, Episcopal chaplain of Alexandria and Jerusalem.
De Amicis, Edmondo—1846–1908, traveler.
De Kay, James Ellsworth—1792–1851, naturalist and Physician.
De Tott, Baron Francois—1733–1793, Hungarian traveler who helped reorganize the Ottoman army.
De Vere, Sir Aubrey Thomas—1814–1902, poet.
Dearborn, Henry A. S. [Alexander Scammell]—1783–1851, lawyer, politician, and author.
Denton, William—1815–1888, clergyman.
Douglas, George John [Eighth Duke of Argyll]—1823–1900, diplomat.
Du Vignau, Sieur des Joanots—?.
Dufferin and Ava, Marchioness Dowager of—1843?–1936.
Dumont, Jean [Baron de Carlsroon]—1667–1727.
Durbin, John Price—1800–1876, Methodist clergyman.
Dwight, Henry Otis—1843–1917, Congregational missionary and editor.
Elliot, Frances Minto Dickinson—1820–1898, author.
Elliott, Charles Boileau—1803–1875, vicar of Godalmin.
Eton, William—?, many years' resident of Turkey and Russia.
Field, Henry Martyn—1822–1907, Presbyterian clergyman.
Fitch, Ralph—1583–1606, merchant.
Forbin, Comte Louis Nicolas Philippe Auguste de—1777–1841, painter and archaeologist.
Fox—?, servant of Henry Cavendish.
Frankland, Charles Colville—1797–1876, Captain of Royal Navy.
Fraser, James Baillie—1783–1856, traveler and writer.
Gallenga, Antonio Carlo Napoleone—1810–1895, educator and politician.
Galt, John—1779–1839, writer.
Gautier, Théophile—1811–1872, writer.
Geary, Grattan—d.1900, editor.
Gemelli Careri, Giovanni Francesco—1651–1725, missionary.
Golovin, Ivan Gavrilovich—b.1816.
Grant, Asahel—1807–1844, physician and Presbyterian missionary.
Grelot, William Joseph—?.
Griffiths, J.—?, physician.
Grosvenor, Edwin Augustus—1845–1936, educator and historian.
Habesci, Elias—?, many years' resident of Constantinople, in the service of the Grand Signor.
Hahn hahn, Ida Grafin—1805–1880, countess.
Haight, Sarah Rogers—?.
Hamilton, William John—1805–1867, geologist.
Hammond, R. A.—?, Doctor of Laws.
Harris, Helen B. [Balkwill]—?, wife of James Rendel Harris.
Harris, James Rendel—1852–1941, Professor of biblical literature.
Hepworth, George Hughes—1833–1902, editor.
Hervé, Francis—?.
Hill, Aaron—1685–1750, dramatist.
Hobhouse, John Cam [Baron Broughton de Gyford]—1786–1869, statesman.
Hogarth, David George—1862–1927, archaeologist.
Howel, Thomas—?, in service of the East India Company.
Hulme-Beaman, Ardern George—1857–1929, Levant consular service.
Ibn Battuta, Muhammad ibn Abdullah—1304–1377, traveler.
Italian Merchant.
Jackson, John—d.1807, traveler.
Jenkinson, Anthony—d.1611, merchant, sea captain, and traveler.
Keppel, George Thomas [Sixth Earl of Albemarle]—1799–1891, politician and army major.

- Ker Porter, Sir Robert—1777–1842, painter and traveler.
Kinneir, Sir John Macdonald—1782–1830, diplomat and traveler.
La Mottraye, Aubrey de—1674–1743.
Larpent, Sir George [Gerard de Hoche]—1786–1885, lawyer and politician.
Latimer, Mary Elizabeth Wormeley—1822–1904, writer.
Layard, Sir Austen Henry—1817–1894, politician and archaeologist.
Lithgow, William—1582?–?1645, traveler.
Mac Farlane, Charles—1799–1858, miscellaneous writer, traveler.
Macdonald, Robert—?, army officer.
Macgill, Thomas—?.
Madden, Richard Robert—1798–1886, surgeon, traveler, and writer.
Mandeville, Sir John—d. 1372, traveler.
Marsh, Henry—?.
Melville, Herman—1819–1891, novelist.
Mildenhall, John—?.
Miller, William—1864–1945.
Millingen, Frederick [Osman Bey]—b. 1839, army major.
Mitrovic, Vratislav Vlacav—1576–1635, Bohemian noble captured by the Turks.
Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley—1689–1762, writer of letters.
Morier, James Justinian—1780?–1849, diplomat, traveler, and novelist.
Morritt, John Bacon Sawrey—1772?–1843, traveler and classical scholar.
Mott, Valentine—1785–1865, surgeon.
Neale, Adam—d. 1832, army physician and author.
Newberry, John—?.
Norman, Charles Boswell—?, captain and a special correspondent of *The Times*.
Odoric of Pordenone—1286?–1331, Franciscan missionary.
Olivier, Guillaume Antoine—1756–1814.
Pardoe, Julia—1806–1862, author.
Patrick, Mary Mills—1850–1940, President Emerita of Istanbul Woman's College.
Paul of Aleppo—?, Archdeacon, fl. 1654–1666.
Pears, Sir Edwin—1835–1919, lawyer; a forty years' resident of Constantinople.
Percy, Henry Algernon George [Lord Warkworth]—1871–1909, politician.
Perkins, Justin—1805–1869, Congregational clergyman and scholar.
Perry, Charles—1698–1780, traveler and medical writer.
Peters, John Punnett—1852–1921, Episcopal clergyman and archaeologist.
Pococke, Richard—1704–1765, traveler.
Polo, Marco—1254–1323, traveler.
Ponafidine, Emma Cochran—b. 1863.
Porter, David—1780–1843, naval officer and diplomat; U.S. minister to Turkey.
Porter, Sir James—1710–1776, diplomat; British ambassador to Constantinople.
Pouqueville, Francois Charles Hugues Laurent—1770–1838.
Ramsay, Sir William Mitchell—1851–1939, classicist and archaeologist.
Rauwolf, Leonhart—1540?–1596, physician, botanist, and traveler.
Reid, John—1808–?1841, compiler of "Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica."
Roberts, Sir Randall Howland—b. 1837, army officer.
Rubruck, William of [Guillaume Rubruquis]—1220?–?1293, Franciscan missionary and traveler.
Rycaut, Sir Paul—1628–1700, traveler and author; consul of Levant Company at Smyrna.
Sanderson John—1560–?1627.
Sandwith, Humphry—1822–1881, army physician, chief of medical staff.
Sandys, George—1578–1644, poet.
Schiltberger, Johannes—1381–?1440, knight.
Senior, Nassau William—1790–1864, economist.
Shirley, Sir Thomas—1564?–?1630, knight.
Slade, Sir Adolphus—1802–?1877, vice-admiral and traveler.

- Smith, Albert—1816–1860, author and lecturer.
 Smith, Eli—1801–1857, Congregational clergyman and missionary.
 Smith, Jerome Van Crowninshield—1800–1879.
 Smith, Thomas—1638–1710.
 Smyth, Sir Warrington Wilkinson—1817–1890, mineralogist.
 Southgate, Horatio—1812–1894, clergyman.
 Spencer, Edmund—Captain.
 Spry, William James Joseph—d.1906.
 Stephens, John Lloyd—1805–1852, lawyer, traveler, and author.
 Stone, Elizabeth [Sutherland Menzies]—?.
 Stuart, Charles—1810–1892, lieutenant-colonel.
 Tancoigne, M.—?, attaché to the embassy of General Gardane to Persia.
 Tavernier, Jean Baptiste [Baron of Aubonne]—1605–1689, traveler.
 Thevenot, Jean de—1633–1667, traveler.
 Tietz, Friedrich—1803–1879.
 Tournefort, Joseph Pitton de—1656–1708, botanist.
 Ubicini, Abdolonymée—1818–1884.
 Ussher, John—?.
 Varthema [Vartomanus], Lodovico de—Sixteenth century traveler and writer.
 Veryard, Ellis—?.
 Von Harff, Arnold Ritter—1471–1505, knight.
 Von Moltke, Helmut Graf—1800–1891, field-marshal.
 Walpole, Robert—1781–1856, classical scholar.
 Walsh, Robert—1772–1852, clergyman and writer.
 Washburn, George—1833–1915, Congregational clergyman and educator.
 Webster, James—1802–1828.
 Whaley, Thomas—1766–1800, politician.
 Wheeler, Crosby Howard—1823–1896, clergyman and missionary in Turkey.
 White, Charles—1793–1861.
 Wilbraham, Richard—?, captain.
 Williams, Charles—1838–1904, special correspondent attached to the staff of Ghazi Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha.
 Wittman, William—?, army surgeon.
 Zeno, Caterino—?, merchant and Venetian ambassador to the court of Uzun Hassan.

Chronological Table

B.C.	
9th century	Armenian Kingdom of Urartu (about Van and Mount Ararat).
6th century	Armenia under Medes and Persians.
4th century	Xenophon in Armenia.
3rd century	First historical reference to the Turks in Chinese records under the tribes of Hsiung-nu (Hun) who lived in between the Tien Shan Mountains and the Aral Sea.
189	Artashes I establishes the Artashesian Independent Dynasty.
95–55	Tigran II and the Armenian Empire.
A.D.	
66	Trdat (Tiridates) I and the establishment of the Arshakuni Kingdom in Armenia.
301	Trdat III and adoption of Christianity as state religion.
387	End of Arshakuni rule in Western Armenia. Armenia divided between Persia and Rome.
428	End of Arshakuni rule in Eastern Armenia.
451	Battle of Avarayr between the Armenians and the Persians. Armenians safeguard their Christianity.
491	Armenians reject the Canons of Chalcedon.
640	Arab invasion of Armenia.
884	Ashot I King of Armenia and the establishment of the Bagratuni Kingdom.
961	Ani becomes capital of the Bagratuni Kingdom.
10th century	The Oguz Turks embrace Islam and they establish themselves around Bukhara under Seljuk's leadership.
1021	The Armenian Kingdom of Van is annexed to the Byzantine Empire by its ruler's will. Armenians migrate to Sivas.
1042–80	Armenian mass migration to Asia Minor, particularly Cilicia, where Aplgharip Artsruni was appointed governor.
1047–48	First Seljuk expeditions to Armenia.
1054	Tugrul (Rukn-al-Dunya-wa'l-Din Toghriq I) in Armenia.
1055	The Seljuks capture Baghdad under Tugrul.
1064	Alp Arslan in Armenia. Capture of Ani by the Seljuks.
1071	Armenia pray to the Seljuks after the defeat of the Byzantines in the battle of Manzikert. Philartes the Armenian establishes a principality south of Lesser Armenia, with Marash as its center.
1074	Seljuk Sultanate in Asia Minor.
1080	Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia under the Rubenid Dynasty.
1100	The Shah-Armens establish their emirate in Akhlut.
1113	Establishment of the Armenian Catholicosate of Aghtamar in Van.
1220–22	First Mongol expedition to Armenia.
1236–43	Mass migration of Armenians from Greater Armenia to Cilicia upon Mongol invasions.
1253–56	King Hetum visits Karakorum and renews the Armenian-Mongol alliance with Mongke Khan.
1281	Osman I (son of Ertughrul) establishes the Ottoman (Osmanli) Dynasty. In consequent years he stretches his dominions from Eskisehir to Iznik (Nicaea).
1284–94	The Karakoyunlu (Black Sheep) Turks move to Armenia.
1294	The Mamluks capture Rumkale and the see of the Armenian Catholicosate moves to Sis.
1300	Assumption of title Sultan by Osman I.
1307	End of Armenian-Mongol alliance.
1324–1360	Sultan Orhan expands the Ottoman territories in northwestern Anatolia towards Europe

- and creates a permanent base at Gallipoli. Bursa becomes the administrative center of his dominions. Orhan begins the policy of employing Christian mercenary troops, lessening his dependence on his nomads and providing better fighting forces.
- 1375 End of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia.
- 1360–89 Sultan Murad I annexes most of Thrace (Rumelia) and moves the seat of the government to Edirne (Adrianople) in Europe.
- 1387 Timur (Tamerlane) seizes Van and plunders Armenia.
- 1389–1402 Sultan Bayazid I Yildirim subdues Karamania, the last Turkmen principality with its center in Konya.
- 1402 Timur crushes the Ottoman forces near Ankara and takes Bayazid I captive.
- 1403–20 Sultan Mehmed I Celebi (at first in Anatolia only, after 1413 in Rumelia also).
- 1403–10 Süleyman I (in Rumelia only till 1410).
- 1410–62 Armenia under the rule of Karakoyunlu Turks.
- 1421–44 Sultan Murad II (first reign) establishes the policy of *devshirme* (collecting/recruiting of Christian boys for training and eventual employment in the civil and military service of the empire).
- 1441 The Holy See of the Catholicosate of the Armenian Church is reestablished in Etchmiadzin.
- 1444–46 Sultan Mehmed II Fatih (the Conqueror) for a period of two years assumes the Ottoman throne entrusted to him by his father, Murad II.
- 1446–51 Sultan Murad II's second reign.
- 1451–81 Sultan Mehmed II during his second reign achieves the conquest of Constantinople (1453) and transforms it into the capital of the Ottoman Empire under the name Istanbul. He further conquers Karamania in 1468, extending direct Ottoman rule in Anatolia to the Euphrates.
- 1454 Akkoyunlu (White Sheep) Uzun Hasan invades northern Armenia.
- 1462–1502 Northeastern Armenia under the rule of Akkoyunlu Turks.
- 1478 Uzun Hasan is killed.
- 1481–1512 Sultan Bayazid II's reign witnessed intermittent war for control over Cilicia and north-eastern Anatolia.
- 1502 Northeastern Armenia under Persian Safavid control.
- 1512–20 The Janissaries put Sultan Selim I Yavuz on the Ottoman throne. Sultan Selim successfully encounters the attempts of the Persian Shah Esmail (1502–24) Safavid, who led his followers as a Sufi leader to revolt against the Ottomans. Kurdistan and Diarbekir are part of the Ottoman Empire, and Armenians are organized into a Millet (self-centered autonomous community).
- 1520–66 Sultan Süleyman II Kanuni (the Magnificent) by the Peace Treaty of Amasia (1555) puts an end to the territorial disputes between the Persian and the Ottoman Empires. Thus, the northeastern parts of Armenia proper remain under Persian rule, while the north and southwestern parts of Armenia finally become part of the Ottoman Empire. Immense destruction in Upper Armenia and around Van due to military operations.
- 1562 A secret meeting in Etchmiadzin to plan for the liberation of Armenia.
- 1566–74 Sultan Selim II.
- 1567 The first Armenian press in Constantinople.
- 1574–95 Sultan Murad III. New wars in Armenia between the Persians and the Ottomans (1578–90). The Ottomans invade Karabagh and capture Yerevan.
- 1595–1603 Sultan Mehmed III.
- 1603–17 Sultan Ahmed I.
- 1604 Shah Abbas relocates the Armenians of Eastern Armenia in Persian territories.
- 1617–18 Sultan Mustafa I (first reign).
- 1618–22 Sultan Osman II.
- 1622–23 Sultan Mustafa I (second reign).
- 1623–40 Sultan Murad IV, Yerevan recaptured (1635). Second division of Armenia between the Persian and the Ottoman Empires, by the Treaty of Peace and Frontiers, 17 May 1639

- (reaffirmed 4 September 1746, 28 July 1823, 31 May 1847); Yerevan becomes Persian dominion.
- 1640–48 Sultan Ibrahim.
- 1648–87 Sultan Mehmed IV.
- 1687–91 Sultan Süleyman III.
- 1691–95 Sultan Ahmed II.
- 1695–1703 Sultan Mustafa II.
- 1703–30 Sultan Ahmed III. The Armenians in Karabagh successfully resist the Ottoman invaders (1724). Turkish forces capture Yerevan and Nakhichevan in the same year.
- 1730–54 Sultan Mahmud I.
- 1754–57 Sultan Osman III.
- 1757–74 Sultan Mustafa III.
- 1774–89 Sultan Abdülhamid I.
- 1774 Treaty of Peace (Küçük Kaynarca) between Russia and Turkey (ratifications exchanged in Istanbul, 13/24 January 1775). This treaty ended a six-year war, turned the Black Sea from an exclusively Ottoman into a Russo-Ottoman lake, and gave Russia the “right” to make representations on behalf of the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire by two ambiguous articles, especially Article VII (“The Sublime Porte promises to protect constantly the Christian religion and its churches, and it also allows the Ministers of the Imperial Court of Russia to make, upon all occasions, representations . . .”).
- 1789–1807 Sultan Selim III in an attempt to restore the greatness of the Ottoman Empire initiated the reform of the army through the instruction of European experts. His planned “New Order,” *Nizam-i Cedid*, caused him his deposition by the Janissaries and the Ulemas.
- 1807–08 Sultan Mustafa IV.
- 1808–39 Sultan Mahmud II. Reconstruction of the Ottoman army and destruction of the Janissaries (1826). End to the feudal “timar” system (1831).
- 1822 Massacres in Chios (Scio) and selling of the Greek population into slavery during the War of Greek Independence.
- 1828 Treaties of Peace and Commerce (Turkmanchay) between Russia and Persia (10/22 February). Russia obtains the provinces of Yerevan and Nakhichevan (Article IV). Migration of Armenians into Russian territories.
- 1828–29 Russo-Turkish War. The Russians capture Kars, Akhalkalak, Akhaltskha, Bayazid, Alashkert, and Erzurum. The war ends with the Treaty of Edirne (Adrianople), 14 September 1829. The Ottoman Empire cedes to Russia territories in eastern Anatolia. Mass migration of Armenians to Russian territories, mainly Eastern Armenia.
- 1831 Protestant missionary movement in Armenia (especially from America).
- 1839–61 Sultan Abdülmejid I. The Hatti Sherif (noble rescript) of Gülhane, signed 3 November 1839, inaugurates the period known as *Tanzimat* (reforms). The rescript promises to ensure to the subjects of the Ottoman Empire “perfect security for life, honor, and fortune.” Later, 18 February 1856, the Sultan reaffirms the privileges and immunities of his non-Muslim communities by the Hatti Hümayun (imperial rescript).
- 1845 and 1860 Massacres against Maronite Christians in Lebanon.
- 1856 The Treaty of Peace (Paris, 30 March) terminates the Crimean War between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. The Black Sea is neutralized. Kars and other parts of the Ottoman territory of which the Russian troops are in possession are restored to the Ottoman Empire.
- 1860 Constitution (with central and provincial councils) is promulgated for the Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire.
- 1861–76 Sultan Abdülaziz.
- 1863 The Sultan ratifies the Constitution of the Armenian community.
- 1876–76 Sultan Murad V.
- 1876 Massacre of 15,000 Bulgarians near Plovdiv (Philippopolis) where a large Armenian community resided since the Middle Ages.
- 1876–1909 Sultan Abdülhamid II. First Ottoman Constitution, 23 December 1876, enforced by Midhat Pasha.

- 1877–78 Russo-Turkish war.
- 1878 Article XVI of the Treaty of San Stefano (3 March) states: “As the evacuation by the Russian troops of the territory which they occupy in Armenia, and which is to be restored to Turkey, might give rise to conflicts and complications detrimental to the maintenance of good relations between the two countries, the Sublime Porte engages to carry into effect, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and to guarantee their security from Kurds and Circassians.”
- 1878 The Armenian Delegation in a memorandum presents a project for administrative reforms in Turkish Armenia, 25 June 1878. The memorandum puts the number of Armenians in the vilayets of Erzurum and Van at 1,150,000 people vs. 550,000 non-Armenians, while counts 180,000 Armenians vs. 182,000 non-Armenians in the northern parts of the vilayet of Diarbekir.
- 1878 Article LXI of the Treaty of Berlin (13 July) states: “The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds. It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application.”
Russia retains its acquisitions of Kars and Batum in Asia Minor.
Eastern Rumelia is granted administrative autonomy.
- 1885–90 Formation of Armenian secret organizations for the purpose of securing autonomy or liberation for Turkish Armenia.
- 1891 Sultan Abdülhamid II organizes and arms the Kurdish Hamidieh troops. The troops were to play instrumental role in implementing the Armenian massacres under Abdülhamid II.
- 1894–96 Armenian massacres and armed struggles for self-defense throughout Armenian provinces and Asia Minor (including Constantinople). Close to 300,000 Armenians perish during the massacres.
- 1895 The ambassadors of France, Great Britain, and Russia submit a memorandum for reforms in Turkish Armenia to Sultan Abdülhamid II.

Glossary

Abba	A coat.
Acangis	Irregular shock troops.
Aga	A title generally given to a gentleman. Otherwise, an inferior military or civil officer.
Agha	
Agiamoglan	Janissary recruit.
acziam-oglan, agiam oglan, ajiam-oglan, jamoglan	
Araba	A cart.
arrabah	
Aratch Nortuk	A corrupt spelling of the Armenian word <i>aratchnortutiun</i> —diocese.
Aschee	Cook.
Aspar	A Turkish money, one-twentieth of a piaster.
asper	
Avania	Demand for repayment of loan.
Bach-Tchaouch	Chief seargent.
Backsheesh	A gratuity fee.
backshish, bakshish	
Bagno	A prison for slaves, or a public bathhouse.
Barrat	Paper of privileges.
berah, berat	
Basha	A title of military or civil dignity in general. Otherwise, governor of a province.
Bashaw, Bassa, Pacha, Pascha, Pasha, Pashah	
Bazar	A market for the sale of provisions. In this anthology mostly used for bezesten.
bazaar, bazarr	
Bedel-i-Askerie	Exemption tax from military service.
bedeliyeh	
Beglerbeg	Beg of begs, a rank equal to that of pasha of two or three tails; governor; viceroy.
beglerbey	
Bey	A title formerly of the holder of an imperial fief. Later it became a common title for superior officers.
Bezestan	A bazaar or building for the sale of valuables, silks, jewelry, etc.
besestan, bezesten, bezistan, bezisten	
Bulook Bashaw	Cavalry officer; manager.
Bustangee	Gardener.
Cadee	Judge.
cadi, kadi	
Cafedji	The keeper of a coffee-house.
Caik	A light shallow boat.
caique, kaick, kaik, kayik	
Caikdjie	A boatman.
kayikjee	
Caimacam	A governor of a province (sanjak); otherwise, a lieutenant; chief of police.
caimacan, kaimacam, kaimacham, kaimakam, kaimakan, kaimmakam	
Calpac	A hat.
calpack, culpack, kalpak	
Capee Agha	Captain of the gate.
Capoochee	A Chamberlain; gatekeeper.
Carach	A capitation tax imposed on non-Muslim subjects.
caratch, haratch, heratch, karadge, karatch, kharac, kharadj, kharaj, karatsh	

Caravanseraï	Inn.
caravanserra, cravansall	
Catholicas	Catholicos, the head of the Armenian Church.
Catholicks, Catholicon, Catoghigos, Catolicos, Kathagnes	
Caza	A district, or a subdivision of a sanjak.
kasa , kaza	
Chakshir	Breech.
Chan	An inn for travelers.
kane, khan	
Charshi	A bazaar composed of covert streets.
Chause	A policeman or gendarme; a private armed attendant.
chavass, kaïvass, kavass, kawass, khavass, khawass	
Chebook	A pipe.
chibook, chibouk, chibouque, tchibouq, tchibouque	
Ciaour	See Ghiaour.
Cizye	Tax.
jizya	
Defterdar	A receiver of government duties; keeper of account books; minister of finance.
Dere bey	Lord of a valey (armed chief of a tribe).
deribey	
Destour	Constitution.
Dher	Lord, in Armenian. A title used for married clergymen.
Djami	Mosque.
jami	
Dragoman	An interpreter.
Effendi	A Turkish title equivalent to 'Sir.'
Efterat	Accusation; slander or fabrication.
Enteri	Gown, robe.
Evet effendim	Yes Sir (a servile person).
Eyalet	An administrative division of the Ottoman Empire, a province.
Fellah	A peasant.
Feraçe	A cloak worn by ladies entirely concealing the person.
feradgee, feredja, feredjé, feredjee, feredji , feridge, feridje, feridjee, ferradjeh, ferraji	
Ferman	An imperial edict or order.
firman, firmaun	
Gashmak	See Yashmak.
Ghiaour	Infidel.
ciaour, ghiour, gïaoor, giaour, giaur	
Gingahar	Best-man, in Armenian (Gunkahair).
Hamal	A porter.
hammal	
Hamam	Bath.
hummam	
Handjar	Dagger.
Hanoum	Wife or lady.
Hatt-i-Humayoon	Imperial ordinance
Hatti-Humayoun, Hatti Shereef, Hatty Scheriff, Khatty Sherif	
Hazné	Treasury.
Hukinment	Governorate.
hükumet	
Huntchagists	Members of the Huntchag (Huntchak) Party.
Huntchak	An Armenian Revolutionary Party established in 1887.
Imam	Turkish priest.
imaum	

Irade	Order.
Itchoghlan	Cadet of the Palace School.
Janisary	Literally new militia; a soldier in an elite guard of Turkish troops.
janissary, janizary	
Januensian	Genoese.
Kaffir	Infidel.
Kahiyah	Master, steward, lieutenant; head of a corporation of artisans.
kehya, kia, kiaja	
Kakam	Rabbi.
Kalipha	Caliph.
Kalypha	
Kashish	Priest.
Kef	Merrymaking.
keff, keiph	
Khanji	The keeper of an inn.
Kharaji bashi	The collector of the capitation tax.
Kiblè	The point (southwards) to which a Moslem turns when at prayer.
qibla	
Kodja Bashi	Delegate.
Konak	A town house; the house of a governor.
Liva	An administrative division; district or minor province.
Madresah	School, usually attached to a mosque.
medrese	
Mahramah	Handkerchief.
Mangal	A copper brazier.
mengal	
Mebainjee	Chamberlain.
Mechitarist	A member of the Mekhitarist Convent of the Armenian Catholics in Venice (est. 1717).
Mectarist, Mekhitarist, Mekitarists, Metacharistan	
Medjlis	A council or committee.
medjliss, megliss, mijlis	
Mehkémé	Court.
mekiehmé	
Mesjid	A small mosque.
Moavin	Assistant.
Mollah	A member of the Ulema whose function is the administration of justice; doctor of Islamic law.
moola, moollah, moullah	
Mooltazim	Rent-collector.
Moukhtar	The head man of a village.
muchtad, mukhtar, muktar	
Mudir	The head or administrator of a caza.
Mufti	An interpreter of the law; a member of the Ulema; senior judge.
muphty	
Mushir	A title borne by pashas; a field-marshal in the army.
Mutesellim	Governor.
Mutaserif	Subordinate of a governor.
mussetariff, mutesarraf, mutessarif	
Nahie	Communal district.
nahié, nahize	
Narghilé	An oriental tobacco pipe in which smoke is drawn through a container of water by a tube.
narghileh	
Oda	Chamber, room.
odah	

Oda Bashaw	Captain of the barrack-room.
On-Bachi	Corporal.
Otoorack	Retired janissary.
Paboutch	Slipper.
papoosh, papouch, papoutch	
Pachalick	Governorate.
pachalik, pashalic, pashalik	
Padishah	The popular title of the Sultan, as father of all sovereigns on Earth.
Para	A monetary unit, one-hundredth of a Turkish pound.
parra	
Piaster	A monetary unit, one-hundredth of a pound used in the Middle East.
Pilaff	A steamed cracked-wheat dish.
pilau, pilav, pillaf, pillau, pillauf	
Porte	The Sublime Porte, the government of the Ottoman Empire.
Rackee	Ouzo. A Middle Eastern brandy distilled from grapes and flavored with anise.
rakee, raki	
Redif	Reserve soldier.
Raia	Non-Moslem subject of the Ottoman Empire.
raya, rayah, ryah	
Ramazan	The ninth month of the Turkish year in which falls the Lent of Moslems.
Salaamluk	Reception room, parlor.
salamlik, salemluk	
Sanjak	An administrative division; district.
sancaq, sandjak, sangiach, sangiack, sanjiak, Sanziak	
Saraf	Money-changer; banker.
sarraf, sarraff, sarrass, seraf, seraff, seroff, serraff	
Sciech	See Sheikh.
Segnior	The Sultan.
Seignor, Signior, Signor	
Serai	See Seraglio.
Seraskier	General.
siraskier	
Seraglio	The Sultan's palace.
serai, serraglio, serrail, sorelya	
Seruji	Night watch.
soorajee	
Shalvar	Trousers.
Sheikh	A Moslem religious officer.
sciech, seikh, sheykh	
Sofra	Table for food.
Softa	Student of theology.
Soldan	Sultan.
Sourp	Holy, in Armenian.
Spahy	A provincial cavalry provided by a timar holder; cavalryman.
Suffi	Mystic; pilgrim.
Tandour	A fireplace consisting of a wooden frame containing a copper vessel full of charcoal, the whole being covered with wadded coverlets.
Tchaouch	Sergeant.
Tchelebee	A title given by Turks to Christian gentlemen.
Teskera	Permit, or local passport.
teskéré, teskeri	
Tezek	Dried cow dung.
tizek	
Timar	A conquered portion of land given to officers of the army.

Timariot	Timar holder.
Tulbant	A headdress consisting of a scarf wound around the head or a cap.
turban, turbant	
Turbah	Grave.
Ulema	A hierarchical body which comprises all the judges, the interpreters of laws, and some functionaries of public worship. Also, a member of the said hierarchical body.
Vartabéd	Armenian celibate clergyman; a doctor of the Church.
vartabied, vartabiet, varthabiet, vertabiet	
Veli	Governor of a vilayet; prefect.
wali	
Vezier	A high officer; minister;.
vezir, visier, vizer, vizier, vizir	
Vilayet	An administrative division; province.
villayet	
Vizir Azem	Grand Vezier.
Wekeel	Substitute, in general; vicar.
Yashmak	Veil.
gashmak, yachmack, yackmac, yackmack, yarkmark, yashmac, yashmah, yasmah, yasmak	
Yafra	Notice.
Yaila	Summer pasture.
yila, yilaks	
Yatagan	A Turkish sword.
yataghan	
Zabtiyeh	Policeman.
zapteeh, zaptie, zaptieh	
Ze'amet	Estate ownership.
ziamet	

Variations used for Kurds, Kurdistan, and Moslems:

Churten, Coordistan, Cordian, Cordynes, Corthestan, Courdes, Courds, Curdes, Kurdian, Curdies, Kurdistan, Curters, Keurds, Koords, Koordistan, Koorts, Kords, Kourds, Kourdistan, Kurds, Kurdistan, Kurts. Mahomedan, Mahometan, Mahommedan, Mohametan, Mohammedan, Muhammadan, Muhammedans, Moslem, Moslim, Muselman, Musselman, Mussulman, Mussulmanee, Musulman.

Character Chart Illustrating the Frequency of Adjectives Used to Describe Armenians

abstemious/austere/frugal/sober/temperate	•••••••
accommodating/humble/unambitious	•••••
adroit/competent/crafty/gifted/ingenious/sharp/skillful	•••••••••••
ambitious/thriving	••
amiable	•
avaricious/rapacious	••••
brave/heroic/stalwart	•••••
cheater/deceitful/dishonest/false/knave/rogue/treacherous/untruthful	•••••••••••
civil/courteous/mannerly/polite/tactful	•••••••
clinger together	••
coarse/gross/rude/tasteless	•••••
coward/heartless/pusillanimous/soft/unmanly	•••••••
cringing/obedient/orderly/servile/spiritless/submissive	•••••••••••
cunning/shrewd/subtle/tricker/wily	•••••••••
dependable/faithful/loyal	•••••
devout/pious/zealous	•••••••••••
diligent/hardy/indefatigable/laborious/pertinacious/plodding	•••••••••••
dull/grave	••••
enduring/forbearing/meek/passive/patient/tolerant/sufferer	•••••••••••••••
enterprising/industrious	•••••••••••••••••
fair/correct/honest/innocent/moral/sincere/upright	•••••••••••••••
filthy	••
forgiving	•
full of good sense	•
genius in trade	•••••
helpless/prostrate	••
hospitable	••••
ignorant/thick-headed	•••••
immoral/mean/vile	••••
inoffensive/mild/quiet/peaceful/unwarlike	•••••••••••••••
intellectual/intelligent/quick	•••••••••
jealous	•
man of no self-respect	•
man of self-respect	•
melancholic	•
money-lover/hoarder	•••••••••••••••
narrow-minded	•
noble	•
open-spirited	•
optimist	•
persevering/recuperator	••••
proud	•
reproductive	•••
selfish	•
speculator	••••
superstitious	••
timid/reserved with strangers	••••
vindictive	•

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