

THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES OF 1894-1897: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

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INTRODUCTION

The large-scale and widespread massacres of the Armenian subjects of the Ottoman Empire, from Sasun in August 1894 to Tokat in February and March 1897, caused a sensation in Europe and North America. They gave rise to a flood of publications detailing numerous atrocities and expressing moral outrage. Modern scholarship, however, has tended to overlook this series of massacres and concentrate on the 1915 Armenian Genocide, owing to its very enormity. Since works on the 1894-1897 massacres are generally not as well known today as those on the subsequent Genocide, this bibliography attempts to document these publications and organize them into useful categories.

The Armenian Massacres of 1894-1897 are very complex and have been approached from various points of view. Writers have attributed their outbreak to many causes, e.g., 1. the lack of civil and human rights for the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, resulting in systemic abuse of all kinds; 2. Kurdish depredations; 3. Armenian reaction to outrageous taxation; 4. the failure of the Congress of Berlin, 1878, to properly address the Armenian Question; 5. The Congress of Berlin for even attempting to address the Armenian Question; 6. Armenian intellectuals engendering in the people a desire for independence; 7. the successful efforts of other nationalities to extricate themselves from the Ottoman Empire; 8. manipulation of the naive Armenians to rebel by the Great Powers interested in partitioning the Ottoman Empire; 9. manipulation of the European Powers by the calculating Armenians to become involved in internal Ottoman affairs on their behalf; 10. the personality of Sultan Abdul Hamid. Western writers, especially, interpret the events largely in terms of the foreign policies of the various European powers and the United States. Only to a lesser extent do they examine the events from the point of view of internal Ottoman politics or what would today be loosely termed "nationalism." The gruesome details of innumerable atrocities are not deemed appropriate to modern scholarship and so the horrors of a nation are forgotten. Some even deny the events happened the way the overwhelming evidence depicts (see Section, 8 below). Interestingly, all the facts, arguments, and interpretations found in modern studies were already public at the time of the Massacres.

An analysis of publication dates shows that European interest in the Armenian massacres waned sharply after 1896. This is due in part to European attention being diverted by the conflict between Turkey and Greece over Crete in 1896 and 1897. One

result of this loss of interest is that the massacres of Sasun and Spaghank in May, 1900, Diarbekir in November, 1900, Mush and Sasun, again, in September, 1901, and Bitlis and Van in January, 1902, have been separated from those of 1894-1897, dropped from the historical record and, consequently ignored in the West to this day. The lesson of the lack of constancy on the part of the European Powers and the short historical memory of the West was not lost on Turkish rulers, as they committed massacre, yet again, at Adana in 1909, and ultimately felt confident enough to launch the Genocide in April, 1915. One is inevitably reminded here of the notorious quote of Adolph Hitler, in a speech given to his military commanders on August 22, 1939, "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?" (See K. B. Bardakjian, *Hitler and the Armenian Genocide*. Cambridge, MA: Zoryan Institute, 1985, p. 1.) While this statement is generally understood to refer to the 1915 Genocide, the sentiment is equally applicable to the whole series of massacres, as well. Thus, of the 790 publications listed below, there are only 77 since the end of World War II dealing with the 1894-1897 era of the massacres, many of them works of revisionism and denial.

A special word is required to explain the inclusion of a separate section for works representing the Turkish nationalist point of view. The Turkish nationalist point of view may be defined as one which minimizes or denies entirely the massacres that were committed against Ottoman Armenians and seeks to avoid Turkish responsibility for these crimes. Proponents of this point of view have distorted and ignored material evidence and used specious arguments to mislead others with respect to facts and interpretation. By including such works in this bibliography, a balance of points of view is respected, but the reader is also alerted and cautioned about the use of this material. There is sufficient material included in the rest of this bibliography to expose these denialist works for what they are.

The material is organized into eight broad divisions, which are the result of an analysis of the subject and of the publications, themselves: 1. Background To the Massacres: The Armenian Question 1878-1894; 2. Documentary Collections; 3. Memoirs and Eye-Witness Accounts; 4. The Massacres; 5. The Policies of the Great Powers; 6. General Books and Articles from the Era of the Massacres; 7. General Modern Studies; and 8. The Turkish Nationalist Point of View. The entries within each section are arranged alphabetically, first by title, if there is no author, then by author. If an author has more than one entry in a section, the entries are arranged alphabetically by title under the author's name. Section 4 is further arranged alphabetically by geographical region. Section 5 is further arranged alphabetically by country. In a number of instances, a single item appears under more than one heading, as its subject content dictates.

There is a total of 929 entries, of which 810 are unique. Languages represented are Armenian, Bulgarian, English, French, German, Italian, Polish, Russian, Spanish, and Turkish. The transliteration of Bulgarian and Russian is based on the Library of Congress scheme with the omission of certain diacritics. The transliteration of Armenian is according to the editorial policy of the *Armenian Review*. The bibliographic format is based on the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition.

The material for this bibliography was collected from reading numerous books and articles on the subject, as well as scanning various library catalogues and indexes. Although I have attempted to make this bibliography comprehensive, some boundaries had to be set. First, I have largely excluded general studies on the history of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and broader works on the Armenian Question that did not go in depth or give some special insight into the 1894-1897 period. Secondly, I have excluded reference to most newspaper articles; those I have included are only a small sampling of the most interesting. Newspaper coverage of the Armenian Massacres is a valuable source of information and would make a large and interesting study in its own right. Thirdly, while I have strived to verify every entry, this has not always been possible, and when there was doubt as to the accuracy or relevance of an item, I have omitted it.

Since there has not been a qualitative distinction made among these references, the quality and tone of the materials in this bibliography cover a broad range. Some works are more polemical, others are more descriptive, while yet others are more analytical. In a future, revised version of this bibliography, I hope to indicate works which are standard references or fundamental to the study of the Armenian Massacres.

Recognizing the diverse nature of publications about the Armenian Massacres of 1894-1897, including monographs, essays, periodical articles, newspaper reports, editorials, memoirs, official government correspondence, speeches, and pamphlets, from many countries and in many languages, and spanning more than a century, it would be unrealistic to call this bibliography exhaustive. There are a number of areas that I have been unable to pursue adequately, but have potential importance: yearbooks and local and compatriotic histories of Armenian communities in Turkey, usually published in Armenian; personal memoirs written in the Armenian language; the memoirs of American missionaries who worked in the Ottoman Empire during this era; the memoirs of Western diplomats; newspapers; and Armenian and Russian language periodicals. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this bibliography, which, I believe, is the first attempt at a comprehensive list of publications on the Armenian Massacres of 1894-1897, may serve as a guide to the voluminous and widely scattered information in existence, direct researchers to useful sources, elucidate which topics have been dealt with and which are awaiting adequate treatment, and, finally, encourage further study and publication on this epochal event in Armenian history.

The compiler would appreciate any additions, corrections, or comments on this bibliography.

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