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EMERGENCE OF THE GLOBAL ARMENIAN IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation traces the origin and evolution of the “global Armenian” in the Ottoman Empire focusing upon the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Particular attention is directed to the reign of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876 – 1909) and Armenian newspapers printed in Istanbul during the last decade of his reign and its immediate aftermath, after which time Armenians and the Armenian newspapers of Istanbul nearly disappeared in the wake of the First World War. Armenian newspapers of the nineteenth and early twentieth century were inexpensive reservoirs of both entertainment and information, incorporating serialized fiction, popular science and technology, useful advertisements, and mercantile rates and schedules. Some of the significant men and women of Armenian *belles-lettres* contributed to the newspapers. Themes of literacy, education, feminism, and modernity are discussed at length both from the viewpoint of contemporary visitors and residents as well as from the editorial boards of the Armenian newspapers of Istanbul.

PREFACE

When I began this dissertation ten years ago I thought to focus solely on the Armenian newspapers of Istanbul before and during the Young Turk Revolution. For most of the sixty years between the first printing of an Armenian newspaper and the Young Turk Revolution, three or four, if not more, Armenian newspapers were being published at any given time. Since many of these papers were dailies being published six days a week for nearly 30 years, there were quite a number of newspapers to consider. I studiously read, analyzed, and recorded the surviving newspapers to which I had access through microfilm, and I examined the few ones I could in person. It was a big task. My initial goal was to discover some important connections between the news Armenians were reading and the momentous changes occurring simultaneously in Ottoman society. However, the more I studied these dailies the less I believed in their intrinsic importance. Their actual news is old and uninformative. Their instructive articles are too brief to be replicated in any practical fashion. Their educational articles are digests and summaries of material better and more deeply explained and explored elsewhere. Their serialized books are mostly unknown or little-known popular fiction of a low level rather than masterpieces of literature. Moreover, most of the articles are not original contributions but translations, primarily from foreign sources, principally French.

What I came to realize years after I started pursuing this topic is that these Armenian dailies of Istanbul were important, but not for the reasons that I initially thought. They were principally significant as one of the many steps in the awakening of the Ottoman nation and within that Ottoman awakening they were also significant in the awakening of the Armenian nation. Within the awakening of the Armenian nation there were smaller but still impressive awakenings of other groups, the principal one being the women's awakening. The nineteenth

century was the century of “awakenings.” The term is found throughout literature of the period and not just in the English language.

Despite their lack of intrinsic importance, which may be ascribed in part to the severe censorship under which they were produced, the Armenian dailies of Istanbul during the sixty year period from their inception in 1852 to the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 remain extremely interesting as a picture of Armenian life in Istanbul and the growing consciousness of an Armenian identity not just among Armenians in the capital but throughout the Ottoman Empire. That picture of society is both Ottoman and Armenian, which means that the Armenian dailies must be studied from both the Ottoman and the Armenian perspective at the same time.

Years of studying Ottoman history and Armenian history separately, due to post-WWI hostilities and post-Genocide traumas, has created an incomplete, even misleading, understanding of both. Nineteenth-century Istanbul was an exciting, vibrant place, in which Turks and Armenians interacted and developed self-awareness both as Ottomans and also as Turks and Armenians. Supportive and destructive currents ran through both the Turkish and the Armenian elements of the Ottoman Empire. Partnerships and rivalries appeared and disappeared. Similarly, newspapers appeared and disappeared, both Turkish and Armenian, and for the same reasons.

As products of a sophisticated, literate, urban population, the Armenian dailies of Istanbul speak primarily to that audience, resident in the capital and other Ottoman cities, as well as to ex-patriots living abroad of the same general character. These dailies must be discussed in the context of Armenian history and society and also within the context of Ottoman history and society. They must also be placed within the context of the history of printing in general and of periodical printing in particular. They must be examined in the context of Ottoman printing and

also of printing in Istanbul by different ethnic and religious groups. Once I understood all of this and realized that my topic had ballooned in size, it took me a long time to devise my approach to the vastness that the subject had grown to encompass. It was then that I realized that all of my sources and evidence were leading me in the direction of a dissertation that focused on the development of a full-blown Armenian identity in the nineteenth century, one in which awareness was intermingled with anxiety.

The Armenian dailies of Istanbul are an interesting piece of the past and a solid piece of nineteenth-century Armenian identity. As such, my dissertation is a dissertation about Istanbul in the nineteenth-century. It examines a current of thought, half belief and half hope, that a new world is dawning, a modern world, in which the people of the Ottoman Empire, Turks and Armenians alike, have a part to play. It also examines a counter current of thought, full of fear and full of remembrance, that the new world that is dawning and visible, will never be one in which Turks and Armenians have equal parts to play. Both currents of thought have a multitude of voices offering opinions, positive and negative, and proposals, active and passive, for the way forward, for both Turks and Armenians. Over the course of the nineteenth century the voices become louder and louder as the news press gains strength and spreads information faster and farther than books had ever been able to spread knowledge.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century history had turned the tables on the Ottoman Empire. Istanbul was no longer the center of power and prestige that it had once been. The center had shifted westward and the Ottomans were, to a large extent, on the outside looking in, at a changing world, one in the throes of scientific and technological innovation. Istanbul tried to catch up; it raced to transform itself and the rest of the Empire, modeling itself on France and to a lesser extent on other European nations.

As an eminent scholar and historian of the mid-nineteenth century once said, Turkey is not a nation but an agglomeration of nations. In Istanbul all nations came together, not just the nations of the Ottoman Empire, but foreign nations as well. It was a melting pot just like New York was a melting pot. News and new ideas, inventions, and practices were exchanged. In the mid-nineteenth century Armenians made up almost one-quarter of the population of Istanbul and its immediate suburbs. Most foreign residents and visitors who have left written accounts of their time in Istanbul thought Armenians and Turks were fairly similar and indistinguishable. Yet, in Istanbul Turks and Armenians themselves, though well-accustomed to each other, living side by side, did not really know each other. They had become accustomed to living in separate quarters, being educated separately, and not socializing with each other. The nineteenth century changed all of that. In terms of recognizing the need to reform and modernize the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century Turks and Armenians in Istanbul seemed to be almost in lock-step with each other. Outwardly, they appeared to be moving in the same direction in the Ottoman capital. They were educating themselves and their children by traveling abroad and reading voraciously. They were borrowing foreign ideas and customs from more developed countries, especially France. They were writing about their experiences and the new currents of thought running through Ottoman society. Inwardly, however, the differences that separated Turks from Armenians were mounting because the national Ottoman mind-set that had been focused on a leap forward into the future as a single nation was dividing into distinctly Turkish and Armenian mind-sets more focused on individual ethnicities than an inclusive national identity.

The press played a critical role in this transformation of Ottoman society during the nineteenth century. It initiated the admirable goal of educating a nation through reading and the quick exchange of useful information of all sorts. It moved beyond basic education to moral

improvement and from there to intellectual development and eventually to popular entertainment and consumerism. However, the role of the Ottoman press was not uniformly positive. What began as an impressive educational endeavor with the publication of books and the introduction of newspapers and other periodicals turned into a destructive tool in the hands of ideologues, corrupt officials, foreign powers and self-aggrandizing businessmen. Separate Turkish and Armenian language newspapers were not conducive to the creation of a single modern Ottoman society. Language differences are a major impediment to an inclusive society.

Like the press, the Armenian Church played a critical role in the nineteenth-century transformation of Ottoman society, and, like the press, the Armenian Church did not play a uniformly positive role. In fact, the Armenian Church appears to have played a more negative than positive role in Ottoman society during the nineteenth century. Religion was the most divisive aspect of nineteenth-century Istanbul, whether it was the difference of religions between the rulers and the ruled or the difference of religions professed by the Armenians themselves. Many sources report that the religious persecution of Armenians by Armenians was significantly worse than any religious persecution of the Armenian subjects by their Muslim rulers.

Strains in relationships in and among Armenians and in and among Turks were equally visible in the nineteenth century. Turkish and Armenian reformists often had more in common with each other than with their more conservative ethnic group as a whole since religion is inherently conservative and reform is inherently liberal. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the fabric of Ottoman society was exhibiting a lot of loose threads and coming close to unraveling. Unease was everywhere apparent in Ottoman society. At that time Armenians as a whole were full of anxiety and awareness. They were conscious of their tortured history and their

perilous past. They could foresee a precarious future. They were torn between being Armenian and becoming Ottoman.

In this dissertation I will attempt to show the competing forces, positive and negative, in the development of an Armenian identity in Istanbul during the nineteenth century. My sources will be the Armenians themselves, primarily as seen through their newspapers, and Armenians as seen by others, principally foreign travelers, missionaries and diplomats. Foreigners have been assessing the Ottoman Empire continuously since its inception. They have been analyzing its peoples and its potential for centuries. Some of them are particularly instructive sources for the development of an Armenian consciousness or identity in the nineteenth century. Since the Armenian dailies are one of the latest elements in the development of nineteenth-century Armenian identity, I will approach the Armenian dailies slowly. I ask my readers for both patience and indulgence as I move first through the intertwined Armenian and Ottoman histories and then through Armenian and Ottoman printing before reaching my central topic, the Armenian dailies of Istanbul from 1852 to 1908. Once there I will try to reveal the character and significance of these papers through close examination of their various components. In the process we will watch official press become popular press, as the history of these dailies is really a sociological study of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We will watch the Armenians embracing, rejecting, or confronting the new ideas and innovations of the day. We will discover nineteenth-century Armenian identity developing from currents and movements in Armenian and Ottoman society, while interweaving comments, opinions, and impressions gained from the past with those gained from the nineteenth century, both from Armenians themselves and from the foreigners observing them.

INTRODUCTION

A burning question of the nineteenth century was the importance of the Ottoman Empire to the balance of power in Europe and the western world. After the defeat of Napoleon all eyes turned eastwards. The Orient had drawn the interest and fascination of travelers, adventurers and foreign governments for centuries, but the average European only became acquainted and then fixated on the Ottoman Empire after the naval battles between the British under Nelson and the French under Napoleon. Once that war was over the place of the Ottoman Empire in the future of Europe and of the entire Mediterranean basin had to be determined.

It is this world that will be explored through voices focused on the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire, in particular the Armenians of Istanbul. The voices that will be examined here are those recorded in periodicals and books written by Armenians, Turks and Westerners. Special emphasis will be placed upon the Armenian newspapers of Ottoman Istanbul published weekly or daily at various times during the approximately sixty-year period between their initial appearance and the onset of the First World War.

Survival of much of early Armenian literary heritage is due to preservation outside of historical Armenia. The same is true of the Armenian weeklies and dailies of Istanbul of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most of the Armenian newspapers of Istanbul began as weeklies but eventually became dailies (meaning six days a week, not seven) in the Hamidian period at one point or another as circumstances changed due to new owners, editors or even the imposition and lifting of suppression.

In terms of preservation a newspaper is very different from a precious manuscript or a rare artifact. Characteristics such as multiplicity and low cost that limit the significance and collectability of newspapers also, however, provide more opportunities for survival in dire

circumstances. Precious manuscripts and rare artifacts regularly end up in museums while periodicals and newspapers do not. Not surprisingly, libraries around the world from Moscow to Los Angeles have collections that include early Armenian manuscripts as well as nineteenth and early twentieth century Armenian periodicals. Some even have select issues of Armenian newspapers published in Istanbul in the approximately sixty-year period between the founding of the first daily and the Young Turk Revolution. In a quirk of fate, however, the libraries holding the largest, earliest and most important collections of Armenian manuscripts do not include the most complete and comprehensive collection of Armenian dailies of Istanbul from the period before and during the Young Turk Revolution.¹ Instead, the most complete and comprehensive collection of these dailies is located in the small town of Arlington, approximately ten miles northwest of Boston, Massachusetts.

There are a number of questions that come to mind. How did this important collection of Armenian dailies end up in Arlington, Massachusetts? Why not in a collection or library in a European city where Armenians were well-represented, in London, Paris, Marseille, Geneva, Venice, or Vienna? Why not in Moscow? Perhaps because these cities had their own contemporary Armenian newspapers that Armenians considered more newsworthy and reliable? Why did the Arlington collection of Istanbul dailies not end up in a collection or library in former Ottoman lands outside Anatolia? Perhaps once again the local Armenian newspapers were sufficient for historical record-keeping purposes?

¹ These libraries are located in the major cities of Europe and North America, in Venice and Vienna, in Jerusalem, Moscow, and Yerevan. For earlier Armenian literature, see Agop J. Hacıkyan et al., *The Heritage of Armenian Literature I-III* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999 - 2005). For later Armenian literature, see Kevork B. Bardakjian, *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature, 1500-1920* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000).

It is well-known why these Armenian dailies of Istanbul did not end up in a collection or library in the historic Armenian homeland or even in a collection or library in Istanbul itself. A succession of armed struggles, massacres, and wars in the nineteenth century as well as the First World War and the Armenian Genocide in the twentieth century made the collection and preservation of these dailies impossible in the Armenian homeland and in Turkey.² These were merely the contemporary reasons, however, why such a collection was not formed and kept in any of the above locations is not known. Subsequent reasons would most likely include the Second World War and the various hostilities and displacements of populations in the twentieth century.

Historical circumstances clearly favored the United States as the location for such a collection of Armenian dailies of Istanbul from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The relative peace and prosperity of the United States between the end of the Civil War and the present day have not only attracted huge numbers of immigrants fleeing wars and seeking

² Contemporary pre-WWI accounts of the Armenian massacres appear in Georges Clemenceau, *Les Massacres d'Arménie: témoignages des victimes*, 2. éd. (Paris: Édition du Mercure de France, 1896); *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (1910) s.v. Armenia. Even Ahmet Emin Yalman, *The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, (New York, 1914), mentions the massacres without going into great detail. Jacques de Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien depuis les temps les plus reculés de ses annales jusqu'à nos jours; préface par Gustave Schlumberger*, (Paris and Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 1919), 262-78, published just after WWI summarizes the massacres of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; the list of the sources (p. xv) he consulted for the modern period include a large number of titles specifically on the massacres including Karapet J. Basmadjian, *Histoire moderne des Arméniens, depuis la chute du royaume jusqu'au Traité de Sèvres (1375-1920)*, Préface par Jacques de Morgan, nouv. éd., rev. et augm. (Paris: J. Gamber, 1922), whose work he calls very scholarly and whose chronology he adopts.

economic advantage, but they have also provided the security and stability necessary for the long-term preservation of cultural material of this kind.³

What had begun as a duo of Armenian immigrants invited in the seventeenth century to start a silk worm industry in the New World became a trickle of Armenian immigrants intent on studying in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴ By the end of the nineteenth century the trickle had become a wave of Armenian immigrants fleeing persecution and hardship. The worse things got in the Ottoman Empire, the greater the wave of Armenian immigrants who came to the United States and other centers of the Armenian diaspora. By the end of First World War there were approximately 100,000 Armenians in the United States, mostly in the Northeast and in California.⁵

The preservation of the Armenian dailies of Ottoman Istanbul is largely due to the vision of one man, Vahan Topalian (1886-1983), born in Tigranakert, a small Armenian city east of Diyarbakir, Turkey, who immigrated alone to the United States as a young boy and had the good fortune to study at the Mount Hermon School for boys located 90 miles west of Boston. The

³ General account of immigration to the United States including that of the Armenians in Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002) and *A Pictorial History of Immigration*, (New York: Crown Publishers, 1972).

⁴ Early twentieth century accounts of modern Armenian immigration from the eighteenth century through WWI can be found in Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 293-98; for America, 296-97, and Basmadjian, *Histoire moderne des Arméniens*, 188-90. Later accounts can be found in: Vahan M. Kurkjian, *A History of Armenia* (New York: Armenian General Benevolent Union, 1958), 465-73; Handlin, *A Pictorial History of Immigration*, 248, 251-55; Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 106-8. Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature III*, 29-42.

⁵ The Armenian Immigration Project is an impressive collaborative attempt begun in 2011 to compile a list of Armenian immigrants on every ship docking in North America from the late nineteenth century to 1930. See, "Armenian Immigration Project: Abstracts of Primary Source Material for the Study of Armenian Immigration to North America through 1930," Mark B. Arslan, accessed September 16, 2016,

<http://www.arslanmb.org/ArmenianImmigrants/shiplists.html>

school, which was founded by the well-known Protestant evangelist Dwight Lyman Moody, was among the most progressive of its time, known for its belief in diversity and equality and its practice of accepting students from all races and nations. It offered a view of social justice that was rare at the time. Native Americans and African-Americans were among its early graduates as well as students from Europe and Asia.

Vahan Topalian benefited from his progressive education and went on to amass enough of a fortune from his work as a tailor that he was able to become a collector. His collecting interests mirrored his education in many ways; they were both broad and diverse. His primary focus was the written word. He collected books and manuscripts that represented the great writers and thinkers of many nations. According to the official history of the Foundation Topalian was proudest of his manuscripts of Rousseau and Voltaire. Much of Topalian's collecting was, however, concentrated on his own ancestral nation, Armenia. He clearly wanted to record and preserve the history of Armenia which had been so torn apart in his own lifetime that it had consequently become merely the center of a great diaspora. Topalian's focus on the written word probably reflects his understanding that the written word is the best historical record. It is also generally easier and cheaper to begin a book collection, whether in manuscript or printed form, than it is to begin a collection of the material culture of a people that includes art and artifacts.

Topalian's vast collection is particularly impressive for its early Armenian periodicals and newspapers, the very elements that best record his own life experiences. In 1945 he and his friends set up the Armenian Cultural Foundation in the Beacon Hill area of Boston and dedicated the private library and museum to the preservation and enhancement of Armenian history and culture. The Foundation is dedicated to memory of Yeghia Temirchipashian (1851-1908), an

Armenian poet of Istanbul of an earlier generation than Topalian but one who was well-known to all Armenian men of letters of the late Ottoman period.⁶ Forced to relocate by the expansion of state government buildings in 1962, the Foundation, with the assistance of a local businessman, John Mirak (1907-2000), who was himself a Turkish-Armenian immigrant, the Foundation set up new headquarters in a Greek revival mansion in Arlington, Massachusetts.

Due to limited means the Foundation is not open for regular hours and does not have a full-time staff available to assist researchers. For these and other reasons, it is difficult to utilize the collections as fully as might be wished. However, in the 1990s an effort was made to microfilm most of the Foundation's collection of Armenian newspapers of Istanbul as well as those of other Armenian non-European centers in order to guarantee a record of their existence before the fragile state of preservation of many made them unreadable. Even so, many issues in the Foundation's collection had already deteriorated to such an extent that they could not be handled for microfilming. Scholars must do their research from the existing microfilms that are available in five university libraries of the United States (Columbia University, University of Chicago, University of Michigan, University of California, Los Angeles, and Harvard University) and in the Library of Congress.

This dissertation considers only the four most voluminous Armenian dailies of Ottoman Istanbul, *Masis*, *Hayrenik'*, *Biwzantion*, and *Arewelk'* up to and including the Young Turk Revolution. Although the Foundation has copies of four other Armenian dailies of Istanbul, they were extremely short-lived and three of them, *Azatomart* (1909 -1914), its continuation under the name *Chakatamart* (1921 - 1924), and *Arawot* (1924) began publication after the Young Turk

⁶ Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 321.

Revolution had started. The fourth *Shurhandak* began in 1899 and lasted until 1900.⁷ The approximately sixty-year period considered in this dissertation extends from 1852, when the first Armenian newspaper was published in Ottoman Istanbul, to 1912, when the Young Turk Revolution had run its course and the world was on the eve of the First World War.

⁷ Paul Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid* (Paris: M. Rivière, 1907), 67, lists this paper among the dailies existing in Istanbul in 1907 and even gives it a circulation of 3000, which would make it the most popular Armenian daily of the four under discussion here, with *Biwzantion* in second place with a circulation of 2500, and *Arewelk'* in third place with a circulation of 1500. He also mentions an Armenian paper called *Manzoume-i Efkiar* (Series of Thoughts) as one of the oldest Armenian dailies, with special editions morning and evening as well as a business supplement on Wednesday and a literary supplement on Saturday. Fesch says this paper has been circulating for 48 years; Abdolonyme Ubicini and Abel Pavet de Courteille, *État présent de l'empire ottoman: statistique, gouvernement, administration, finances, armée, communautés non musulmanes . . .* (Paris: J. Doumaine, 1876), 174, states that this paper was begun in February of 1866 and that it was political and literary in content. The Armenian Cultural Foundation has no copies of this paper.

Table 1

ARMENIAN DAILIES OF OTTOMAN ISTANBUL HELD AT
THE ARMENIAN CULTURAL FOUNDATION

Newspaper	Dates	ACF Reel
<i>Masis</i>	1852 – 1908	Reels 98 – 104
<i>Hayrenik'</i>	1870 – 1896, 1901 – 1910	Reels 90 – 95
<i>Arewelk'</i>	1884 – 1893, 1898 – 1912	Reels 48 – 60, 62 – 78
<i>Biwzantion</i>	1896 – 1915	Reels 174 – 176
<i>Shurhandak'</i>	1899 – 1900, 1908	Reels 107 – 108
<i>Azatamart</i>	1909 – 1914	Reels 107 – 108
<i>Chakatamart</i>	1921 – 1924	Reels 83 – 88
<i>Arawot</i>	1924	Reel 89

Although the Foundation's collection is the most comprehensive and continuous collection of the Armenian newspapers of Ottoman Istanbul in the United States, it does not include many early issues that exist here and there in the libraries throughout the world. For instance, some of the earliest issues of *Masis* are apparently in the Library of Congress and in Yerevan, Armenia, but neither could be located for my research. Organized storage of vast amounts of data has become easier in the digital age, but it has not yet reached much of the data available for recording due to limited funds and personnel.

The newspapers in the collection of the Armenian Cultural Foundation were initially kept loose and unbound by Topalian himself. Around the time the Foundation was incorporated in 1945 an effort was made to bind the newspapers in standard size bindings like an encyclopedia rather than by year. In the first decade of the twenty-first century the Foundation had its collection of Armenian dailies from Ottoman Istanbul microfilmed by the New England Archives Center of Holyoke, Massachusetts.

The availability of microfilm archives is incredibly useful. However, a number of problems with these microfilm images exist for researchers studying these dailies. Since the bindings of the dailies in the 1940s prevented a full opening of the bound volume, the microfilm regularly cuts off a part of the text, usually anywhere between the first word of the entire first column up to half of the first column on the first and third pages (Figs. 1, 3, 29 and 31). Moreover, the text is often difficult to read not simply because of the poor quality of the original printing that blurs letters, but also because the thinness of the paper allows for the printing on the reverse side to bleed through to the obverse side (Fig 9). The microfilms that are available in university libraries and in the Library of Congress have an additional problem in that they have not been fully organized and catalogued. Some of the basic information given in library

cataloguing is incomplete and occasionally incorrect. There is, of course, also no table of contents or index to guide the researcher looking for an issue from a particular date. Entire reels must be searched in order to find a specific issue.

Before examining the four principal Armenian newspapers of late Ottoman Istanbul in detail it is important to note the recent scholarly works that provide a cultural and historical framework for analyzing the themes present in the Armenian periodical press. The study of Armenian history and literature has been greatly expanded and made much easier by the publication recently of two reference works of immense significance, namely, the three-volume *Heritage of Armenian Literature*, edited by Agop Hacikyan⁸ and others and the *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature* edited by Kevork Bardakjian.⁹ Both of these have excellent introductions that provide historical summaries by period and subject; used together, they are the starting point for all serious study of Armenian history and civilization. The third volume of the *Heritage of Armenian Literature* which covers the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has been particularly useful for this dissertation in that it enabled me to review and incorporate relevant literature that I would not otherwise have been able to utilize.

In the past two decades the majority of scholars working on Armenian subjects have concentrated upon the Ottoman period and, in particular, upon the late Ottoman period under Abdülhamid II for two reasons. First, there has been an effort to recognize and record the Armenian massacres that occurred under Abdülhamid II's reign and the genocide that occurred at the outset of World War I, especially as the 100th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide was

⁸ Agop J. Hacikyan, Gabriel Basmajian, Edward S. Franchuk, and Nourhan Ouzounian, eds., *The Heritage of Armenian Literature*, 3 v. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999-2005).

⁹ Kevork B. Bardakjian, *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature, 1500-1920: With an Introductory History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000).

recently observed. Second, so many of the features that define the modern world, including the global press, came to the fore in Turkey at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Scholars interested in the initial phases and/or evolution of these modern features in traditional Ottoman society have focused scholarly attention on Ottoman studies of the Hamidian period (1876 – 1909) especially.

Many recent publications focus specifically on the Armenian massacres and subsequent genocide. Most noteworthy in this respect are the works of Richard Hovannisian¹⁰, Raymond Kévorkian¹¹, and Ronald Grigor Suny¹². Special attention has been paid to the periods before and after the genocide in order to reveal underlying causes and effects for both Ottoman society in general and the Armenian nation and diaspora in particular. Within these works a great many new themes are now being explored both in Armenian and Ottoman studies, often separately, due to the language requirements, but occasionally together. These themes include modernity, nationhood, globalism, the press, feminism, education, and consumerism.

Modernity and progress in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and their connections to ideas of nationhood as well as to economic advances and social mobility are now being investigated not just in Turkey but throughout the Middle East. Here the seminal work of Benedict Anderson¹³ on the importance of “imagined communities” for minorities throughout

¹⁰ Richard G Hovannisian, *The Armenian Genocide: Cultural and Ethical Legacies* (Somerset, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2011).

¹¹ Raymond H. Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens* (Paris: Jacob, 2006) and *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011).

¹² Ronald Grigor Suny, *They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else: A History of the Armenian Genocide* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

¹³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983, rev. 1991).

the Middle East has been expanded by a number of scholars¹⁴ and applied specifically to the Armenians by Lerna Ekmekçioğlu¹⁵ and Bedross Der Matossian¹⁶, whose recent work provides comparative studies of politics and national identity in Turkey and the Ottoman Empire immediately before and after the Young Turk Revolution and the Armenian Genocide.

Globalism has recently become a topic of major interest to scholars working in many fields, not just in Ottoman and Turkish studies. Here the recent publication of *A Global Middle East*, which focuses on the mobility and materiality that arose in the late Ottoman period and spread throughout the Middle East before World War II is particularly noteworthy.¹⁷ Also within the discussion of globalism are new works on trade throughout the Middle East and the greater Islamic world, such as that of Sebouh David Aslanian¹⁸, which focuses much-needed attention upon Armenian merchants in particular.

¹⁴ For examples of recent studies of minority identities in the late Ottoman Empire, see Orit Bashkin, *The Other Iraq: Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009); Michelle U. Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth Century Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010); Julia Philips Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014; and Mona L. Russell, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman: Consumerism, Education, and National Identity, 1863-1922* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

¹⁵ Lerna Ekmekçioğlu, *Recovering Armenia: The Limits of Belonging Post-Genocide Turkey* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016).

¹⁶ Bedross Der Matossian, *Shattered dreams of revolution: from liberty to violence in the late Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014).

¹⁷ Liat Kozma, Cyrus Schayegh, and Avner Wishnitzer, eds., *A Global Middle East: Mobility, Materiality and Culture in the Modern Age, 1880-1940*, Library of Middle East History; v. 50 (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015).

¹⁸ Sebouh David Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa*, California World History Library: 17. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

Closely connected to the rise of globalism in the late Ottoman period are studies of the various presses of the Empire, particularly the Turkish, Arabic, Armenian, Greek and Hebrew presses. Many of the abovementioned studies of minorities within the Ottoman Empire include detailed discussions of the periodical presses especially in Istanbul and other major urban centers. The minority presses of Ottoman Turkey have been extensively studied by Johann Strauss.¹⁹

Consumption and consumerism have become popular topics for approaching the transformation of Ottoman society that began at the end of the nineteenth century, whether the focus is upon imported products and services or locally produced equivalents or knockoffs. Archival research as well as periodical analysis have produced new insights into the incredible growth of consumerism during the last decades of Abdülhamid II's reign. Of particular note are the collection of articles in Donald Quataert's, *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1558-1922* and in Armando Salvatore and Dale Eickelman's, *Public Islam and the Common Good*.²⁰ Among the authors in these works, the articles by Toufoul Abou-Hodeib²¹,

¹⁹ Johann Strauss, "The Millets and the Ottoman Language: The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th-20th Centuries)," *Welt des Islams* 35, no. ii (1995): 189–249 and "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th--20th Centuries)?" *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6, no. 1 (January 2003): 455-92.

²⁰ Donald Quataert, ed., *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1558-1922: An Introduction*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000) and Armando Salvatore and Dale F. Eickelman, eds., *Public Islam and the Common Good* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

²¹ Toufoul Abou-Hodeib, "Taste and Class in Late Ottoman Beirut." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 3 (2011): 475–92 and "The Material Life of the Ottoman Middle Class." *History Compass* 10, no. 8 (2012): 584–95.

Elizabeth Frierson²², Charlotte Jirousek²³, and Nancy Mickelwright²⁴ were particularly useful for this dissertation. Abou-Hodeib discusses the material life of the modern household in late Ottoman Beirut with distinctions between imports and local manufacture. Frierson focuses much of her attention upon the role of women, particularly Muslim women in the transformation of Ottoman society that began in the late Hamidian period, but she always incorporates the women's issues and movements into national and political contexts that help to explain the changes occurring in Ottoman society. Jirousek describes the transition to "mass fashion system dress" in Ottoman society, noting that it was slow and began among the urban elite, especially of Istanbul, and was concentrated initially among the minorities of the Empire. Her recognition of the importance "dress as a successful tool of social control" in Ottoman society which westerners do not fully appreciate is especially apt.²⁵ Mickelwright examines the introduction of commercial photography in Istanbul in the nineteenth century and pays particular attention to the state collections that Abdülhamid II assembled. She also notes that the invention of photography was mentioned in an Ottoman newspaper within two months of its initial announcement in Paris and

²² Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism: The Emergence of an Ottoman Public Sphere," in Salvatore, Armando, Eickelman, Dale F., eds., *Public Islam and the Common Good* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 99-125 and "'Cheap and Easy': Patriotic Consumer Culture in the Late-Ottoman era," in Quataert, Donald, ed., *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1558-1922: An Introduction*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000) 243-60.

²³ Charlotte Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Later Ottoman Empire," also in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1558-1922: An Introduction*, 201-41.

²⁴ Nancy C. Micklewright, "Personal, Public and Political (Re)constructions: Photographs and Consumption," in Quataert, Donald, *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1558-1922: An Introduction* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 261-287.

²⁵ Jirousek, "Transition," 237.

describes its evolution from formal portraiture to other subjects and settings, both formal and informal, as well as the development from professional to amateur photography.²⁶

Feminism, women's issues and movements in the late Ottoman period have also become popular subjects of investigation in recent years. Elizabeth Frierson provides an account of this scholarship focusing on Muslim women of Turkey and discussing the evolution of the women's movement which began among elite women and only reached non-elite women in the last decades of the Ottoman era.²⁷ Armenian women and feminist movements and issues within Armenian society have been the subject of investigation, including the literary studies by Victoria Rowe²⁸ and the previously mentioned book by Lerna Ekmekçioğlu.

This is by no means a comprehensive account of all significant scholarly work on late Ottoman social and political themes. It does however comprise the most relevant studies for this dissertation on the global Armenian as reflected in the Armenian newspapers of Ottoman Istanbul.

²⁶ Micklewright, "Photographs and Consumption," 283.

²⁷ Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Women in Late Ottoman Intellectual History," in Elisabeth Özdalga, ed., *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy, SOAS/ RoutledgeCurzon Studies on the Middle East* 3 (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 135-60, esp. 138-44.

²⁸ Victoria Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women's Writing, 1880-1922*, 2nd ed. (London: Taderon Press, 2009) and "Three Literary Views of Armenian Constantinople," in Richard G. Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian, eds., *Armenian Constantinople*, UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series. Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces; 9 (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2010) 243-64.

CHAPTER ONE

OTTOMANS AND ARMENIANS BEFORE WORLD WAR ONE

In this chapter I will describe the historical and cultural background that led to the creation of the two societies that are central to this dissertation, Turks and Armenians. Their first encounter and subsequent exchanges that set in play forces bringing them together and setting them apart will be summarized. Special attention will be paid to significant events such as battles, regulations, laws and other official acts that led to the establishment of a two-tiered state, with a dominant master race and a subservient race composed of all “others.” Contacts and interactions with foreigners, both inside the Ottoman Empire and on the larger global stage, which proved formative for Turkish and Armenian society, will be explored.

As one of the subjects of the expanding Ottoman Empire the Armenians are of particular importance, not just for their numbers, but for their cultural heritage as arguably one of the first Christian peoples as well as their early international reputation as formidable merchants and businessmen. Special attention will be focused on the Armenians of Istanbul itself since the “crème” of Armenian society lived in the Ottoman capital, and it is they who developed the Armenian news press that flourished in the Ottoman Empire in second half of the nineteenth century and disappeared in onset of the First World War.

1.1 The emergence of the Ottoman Empire

At its height in the seventeenth century the Ottoman Empire reached from the shores of Tunisia to the peaks of the Caucasus and from vast swaths of desert in the Arabian Peninsula to the dense forests in Anatolia and the Balkans to the banks of the Danube. Its major cities included ancient metropolises from Baghdad to Belgrade, Cairo to Istanbul. This empire

encompassed major ancient metropolises. It was the home to the heirs of Byzantium and the seat of the Islamic Caliphate. This expansive Empire was diverse not only in its topography but in its demographics as well. The people of the Ottoman Empire were for the most part Muslim. The borders of the Empire, however, contained various Christian communities including, among others, Armenians, Greeks, Chaldeans, and Copts. The Empire was also home to the exiled Jews of Spain and the ancient Jews of Babylon and Arabia.¹

The Ottoman Empire began around 1300 CE as a Turkic principality (or *beylik*) on the European frontier of Islam about 150 kilometers southeast of Istanbul, the capital of the Byzantine Empire. The House of Osman, once a small *beylik* centered in the village of Söğüt, led by Osman Gazi (d. 1326), first gained control of the surrounding *beyliks*. This frontier principality then exercised its right to *ghazā*,² the centuries-old Islamic principle of war against infidels, and expanded westward in Anatolia and then into Europe after crossing the Dardanelles and seizing Gallipoli. Shortly thereafter the early Ottoman state established Muslim rule in Europe under the military leadership of Süleyman (d. 1357), the grandson of Osman Gazi.

The Ottomans quickly established as large a hold in Europe as they had in Anatolia.³ They were able to conquer Thrace, Macedonia, Serbia and Bulgaria by the late fourteenth century under Murad I (r. 1362 – 1389). Through its various conquests the Ottoman state grew to

¹ For general surveys of Ottoman history, see Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* I-II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600* (London: Phoenix, 2001); Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: The Structure of Power*, 2nd ed. (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*, Phoenix ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

² *EP*², s.v. *Ḡhāzī*, by I. Mélikoff, accessed 28 June 2015.

³ For a survey of Ottoman expansion into Anatolia, see Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age*, 3–52.

include nationalities with majority Christian populations in the west. By the mid-fifteenth century the Ottomans under Mehmet II (r. 1444 – 1446, 1451 – 1481), the Conqueror, were finally able to take Istanbul from the Byzantines after a long siege. The Ottomans had isolated and surrounded the Byzantine city-state for nearly a century, weakening it before its eventual fall. At this point the Ottoman state became an empire in which Islam was the state religion and the religion of the majority of the citizens or subjects of the Empire even though Christianity remained the majority religion in some areas, including parts of Istanbul itself. By the end of the fifteenth century the Ottoman Empire included numerous minority Christian populations, primarily of Armenians and Greeks, in the towns and villages of central and eastern Anatolia.⁴

1.2 Mehmet II and the Armenians of Constantinople

It was under Mehmet II that Armenians settled *en masse* in Constantinople. Immediately prior to the conquest of Constantinople Armenians were settled in villages and small urban neighborhoods of Muslim-controlled cities and towns in central and eastern Anatolia. The provinces of Anatolia in which most Armenians lived include Bitlis, Diyarbakir, Erzurum, Harput, Sivas, and Van, which comprised most of ancient Armenia.⁵ With the taking of Constantinople and the disappearance of its previous Byzantine population, Mehmet II decided

⁴ For Christians in the early Ottoman state, see articles in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* I-II (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982).

⁵ For a chronological list of general surveys of Armenian history, see: Mik'ayēl Zamch'ean, *Patmut'wn Hayots: I Skzbanē Ashkharhi Minch'ew Ts'am Tn. 1784* (Venice: 1784). Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*. Basmadjian, *Histoire moderne des Arméniens*. Vahan M. Kurkjian, *History of Armenia* (New York: Armenian General Benevolent Union, 1958), Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times* I-II (New York: Palgrave, 1997).

to repopulate the semi-abandoned city with conquered non-Muslim populations, both Christian and Jewish, which could reestablish the urban economy and rebuild the city of Constantinople. Greeks, Armenians and Jews were forcibly deported from communities all over the Empire and resettled, each in his own ward, in Constantinople.⁶ The seventeenth-century Ottoman -Turkish traveler and native of Istanbul, Evliya Chelebi, reports on Mehmet II's efforts:

Orders were then issued to all the vezírs who were Páshás in Europe and Asia, to send all the sons of Adam from each district to Islámból. Thus, the ward...was peopled by the inhabitants ...that of Ayá Sófiyah by the people of Sófiyah...that of Tenes by the Urúm (Greeks) from Mórah (the Morea), the neighborhoods of Tekkúr-serái and Shahíd-kapú-si by the Jews of fifty communities brought from Selánik (Thessalonica)...the Jews from Safat (Safed in modern Israel) [are established] in Kháss-Kóï...the Armenians of Tókát and Sívás near Súlú Monástir... those of Izmir (Smyrna) in Great Ghalatah; the Franks in Little Ghalatah (Pera). . .⁷

Just before the conquest the population is estimated to have been between 30,000 and 50,000 yet by 1478 a census records 14,803 households representing a total of about 70,000—startling growth in population created by Mehmet II's resettlement policies.⁸ Among these were 817 Armenian households and 267 households of immigrants from Kaffa (Theodosia in the

⁶ Especially interesting for the repopulating of Constantinople regard are four essays by Benjamin Braude, Mark Epstein, Joseph Hacker and Robert Mantran, respectively, in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire I*, 69-88 on foundation myths, 101-15 on the leadership of the Ottoman Jews, 117-26 on early Ottoman policy toward Jews, and 127-37 on foreign merchants and minorities in the capital. Cf. Halil Inalcik, with Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire I*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 1994), 18. Bernard Lewis, *Cultures in Conflict: Christians, Muslims and Jews, in the Age of Discovery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 41-44.

⁷ Evliya Chelebi, *Seyâhatnâme. Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the seventeenth century I*, by Evliya Efendi, translated by Ritter Joseph von Hammer, (London: William Allen & Co., 1846), 48-49.

⁸ Inalcik, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire I*, 18.

Crimea), most of whom were Armenian.⁹ This forcible repopulation of Constantinople was a stroke of genius on the part of Mehmet II; he clearly realized that it was appropriately located to control an empire as his original capital of Bursa was not.

New Armenian arrivals after the conquest joined Armenians already living in Istanbul who were previously in the service of the Byzantines. Besides the Byzantine emperors who were of Armenian ancestry there were a number of prominent Armenians who worked as advisors and governors and other official positions under the Byzantines.¹⁰ Unlike these earlier Armenian immigrants to Byzantine Istanbul who were nobleman seeking patronage under the Byzantines, the new Armenian arrivals in the Ottoman period were merchants and craftsmen brought in to transform and embellish the new capital of the Ottomans.

Mehmet II declared Istanbul the capital of his new empire in 1453.¹¹ His capital was the city of Constantine, founded in 330 CE upon the old Greek settlement of Byzantium and known as Constantinopolis by the Byzantines, who made it their capital after the Roman Empire was split in two in 395 CE. The Byzantines often referred to their city as the “New Rome” or simply “the city” (*he polis* in Greek); however, they referred to it most frequently as Constantinopolis

⁹ Hacikyan et al., *History of Armenian Literature* III, 17-18, using statistics from K'ēōmiwrchean, Eremia. *Ōragrut 'iwn Eremia Ch 'ēlēpi K'ēōmiwrcheani: yaweluats; t'ught 'er, ugherdzner, gandzer ew oghber* (Erusaghēm: Tparan Srbots' Hakobeants', 1939).

¹⁰ Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*. Nina Garsoïin, in her chapters in *Armenian People* I, 112, provides many examples over several centuries of Armenians in Byzantine service.

¹¹ For a contemporary account of the conquest of Istanbul by Mehmet II, see Theodōros Spandouginos and Donald M. Nicol, *On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For a modern study of Mehmet II, see Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, Bollingen Series, 96 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978).

which was known to the Muslims on their borders as Kostantiniyya or Kustantiniyya.¹² Bernard Lewis explains how the name Istanbul came to be derived from the Greek *he polis* in Muslim historical and geographical writings five centuries before the conquest:

The name Istanbul is of disputed etymology: the explanation most generally accepted derives it from the phrase *eis tēn polin*, to the city, which the Muslims might have heard from their Greek neighbors in Asia Minor. Though widely used by Turks and other Muslims, the name Istanbul did not pass into Ottoman official usage. An imaginative adaptation of it, Islambol, full of Islam, appeared for a while on Ottoman coins and documents; but for the most part the Ottoman Sultans, from the conquest until the fall of the Empire, preferred to retain the name Kostantiniyya....¹³

It has, however, become standard to refer to this city as Istanbul as soon as it entered Muslim hands even though the official replacement of the name Constantinople by Istanbul did not take place until the establishment of Turkish Republic. For this reason, I use the name Istanbul for the period after the conquest in this dissertation except in instances where the continued usage of the name Constantinople requires reference to the city by that name.

1.3 Armenia at the time of the Ottoman conquest

Understanding Armenia at the time of the Ottoman conquest requires an appreciation of the strategic location of ancient Armenia, which encompasses a large mountainous area west of the Caspian Sea and southeast of the Black Sea with Lake Van at its center and Mount Ararat as its high point. The Armenian highlands stand at the junction of several great civilizations and therefore became for many centuries the battleground for competing nations interested in its rich centers of caravan trade.

¹² For a discussion of the name, see Bernard Lewis, *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), ix-x.

¹³ Ibid.

Romans and Parthians fought over Armenia. Romans and Persians fought over Armenia. Arabs and Byzantines fought over Armenia. Turks and Byzantines fought over Armenia. Arabs and Turks fought over Armenia. Turks and Persians fought over Armenia. Records of destruction, slaughter, and inhabitants sold into slavery tell the history of Armenia. A history of Armenia is not, however, the purpose of this dissertation. Only a brief summary of its long history as the site of significant border disputes and battles between different powers over many centuries can be given here so that the evolution of Armenia and of Armenian anxiety and awareness under Ottoman rule can be understood.

During the Arab invasions of in the seventh century the Armenian highlands were attacked repeatedly. The story of the Arab conquest was recorded by a seventh-century Armenian historian, known to us as Sebeos, who writes of Arab attacks on the Persians and on Armenia:

Who could describe the fearful calamity of the Ismaelite brigand who set fire to sea and land? (141)... They [the Arab army] gathered in Herewan [not necessarily Erevan] and attacked the fortress, but were unable to take it... (145) Then the [Arab] army which was in the region of Ayararat (Mt. Ararat) struck with the sword as far as Tayk' (Taq), Iberia (Georgia) and Ałuank' (Albania), taking booty and prisoners. (146)¹⁴

Attacks on the Armenians highlands continued under competing Byzantine and Arab rulers. These attacks culminated in Seljuq invasions of the eleventh century, which brought about

¹⁴ For analysis of the text and discussion of the identity and purpose of the unknown author of the work published as the "History of Sebēos," see: *The Armenian History attributed to Sebēos*, trans. R.W. Thomson, with historial commentary by James Howard-Johnston and Tim Greenwood, in *Translated Texts for Historians*, v 31, (Liverpool University Press: 1999). For the passage here, see 105, 110-11, with the numbers within the passage referring to pages in the original Armenian text by G.V. Abgaryan, Erevan 1979. After a discussion of the Armenian rising of 572 CE, the Byzantine-Persian conflicts of the sixth and seventh centuries, and the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, the unknown author discusses the Arab conquests of the seventh century in the third and last section of the *History* attributed to one Sebēos.

the destruction of Ani, a city renowned for its churches, and the spread of Turkish power in Armenia. An eleventh-century Armenian author, Aristakēs Lastivertts‘i, writing between 1072 and 1079 CE, chronicled the successive wars and massacres by Byzantines, Arabs and Turks that devastated Armenia from 1000 to 1071 CE. He opens his account with a poem, saying:

Days of torment came to us.
Unbelievable troubles found us . . .
In our day, wars sprung up on all sides:
Sword in the East, killing in the West,
Fire in the North, and death in the South...¹⁵

Aristakēs described the beauty and prosperity of the Armenian capital of Ani before the Byzantine takeover in 1045, “not through warfare, but through treachery.”¹⁶ He bemoaned the fact that Armenia’s “princes arose and departed from their patrimonial inheritance and became wanderers in a foreign country” and that “the cavalry wanders about lordlessly, some in Persia, some in Greece, some in Georgia.”¹⁷ However, his lamentations were most profound when describing the subsequent destruction of Ani by the Seljuks in 1064:

One could see there the grief and calamity of every age of mankind. For children were ravished from the embraces of their mothers and mercilessly hurled against rocks, while the mothers drenched them with tears and blood. Father and son were slain by the same sword. The elderly, the young, priests and deacons also died by the same sword. The city became filled from one end to the other with bodies of the slain, and [the bodies of the slain] became a road. From the countless multitude of the slain, and from the corpses, that great stream which passed by the city became dyed with blood.¹⁸

¹⁵ See Aristakēs Lastivertts‘i, *Aristakēs Lastivertc‘i’s History*, translated by Robert Bedrosian, (New York: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 1985), 2.

¹⁶ Ibid., 55-59.

¹⁷ Ibid., 50, 57.

¹⁸ Ibid., 164. It is noteworthy that Aristakēs blames the destruction on abandonment by the Lord, likening Ani to an unjust city with its people being punished for their sins. In Aristakēs’ view the Armenian nation states and the Armenian national church had been irreparably harmed due to corrupt leadership by both Armenian lords and Armenian clergy.

Waves of Seljuq armies were met by resistance from Armenian and Byzantine armies, many of which were ill-equipped to defend the Anatolian highlands of Armenia.¹⁹ The Byzantines had ignored the growing threat on their eastern border for far too long when they should have strengthened the Armenians on their eastern border to form a Christian defense against the invading Muslim armies. At the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 CE the second ruler of the Seljuq Turkish dynasty, Alp Arslan (r. 1064-1072), who had already destroyed Ani, achieved an extraordinary military victory over the Byzantine emperor Romanus IV Diogenes, whom he took prisoner but later released.²⁰ The Battle of Manzikert, near the fortified town and important Armenian trading center of that same name, located north of Lake Van, left Armenia in ruins, with much of its population slaughtered or enslaved. It also produced the largest dispersion of Armenians before the modern era. Like the Armenian princes and military, the Armenian people were dispersed in many directions. From this point on Armenia proper can be said to have lost its independence.

Many Armenians found new homes in the northern Black Sea regions and the Crimea. These Armenians were the merchants and craftsman who established trade networks throughout the Mediterranean connecting Persia to Europe along the Silk Road.²¹ The importance of these

¹⁹ For the Seljuk invasions, see A. C. S. (Andrew C. S.) Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire*, Edinburgh History of the Islamic Empires (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

²⁰ For a complete history of the battle, see Carole Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol: The Battle of Manzikert*, (Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh: 2007). For the Armenian perspective, see Kurkjian, *History of Armenia*, 199-212, and Hovannisian, *Armenian People I*, 190-93, 242-47.

²¹ For a comprehensive account of these trade networks, see Sebouh David Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean : The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011). Cf. K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and*

trade networks was recognized by various states in medieval Europe which welcomed the Armenians to settle in their cities in order to expand their trade networks and increase the wealth of the region. Official recognition of the importance of the Armenian diasporic community throughout Europe is exemplified by the Magdeburg Law passed by the Polish king Casimir the Great in 1356 that granted special privileges to the Armenian merchants.²²

Three major powers, all Muslim, were competing on the edges of Armenia in the late fourteenth century, the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria, the Ottomans in western Anatolia, and the Timurids in Iran and Central Asia. Armenia lost the last remnant of its autonomy when the independent Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, which had then fallen into the hands of a French-Armenian dynasty, fell to the Mamluks of Egypt in 1375 CE. The fall of the Sis, and the end of Armenian independence, are recorded by the Arab historian Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 1470): “This year the capital city of Sis was captured after three months of siege, by the Emir Ashiq Timour of Mardin, the Governor of Aleppo, and the Armenian State destroyed. May God be glorified.”²³

The fall of the Cilician Kingdom in the fourteenth century, like the fall of Ani and the Battle of Manzikert in the eleventh century produced a mass emigration of Armenians westward to the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes and Crete, to the Byzantine cities of Smyrna (Izmir) and Constantinople, and even further to the many cities in Italy, including Venice, Genoa, Rome,

Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 224-26, on term “trading diasporas”.

²² See Krikor Maksoudian, “Armenian Communities in Eastern Europe,” in Hovannisian, *Armenian People II*, 51-79, esp. 63, and Sebouh Aslanian, “Trade Diaspora versus Colonial State: Armenian Merchants, the English East India Company, and the High Court of Admiralty in London, 1748-1752,” *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, no. 1 (2004), 37.

²³ Kurkjian, *History of Armenia*, 268-69.

Milan, and Naples, as well as to France and its port city Marseille. Successive marches of Timur (Tamerlane) through Armenia, which began little more than a decade after the collapse of the Cilician Kingdom and which culminated in his crushing defeat of the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389 – 1403) in 1402 near Ankara, wrecked more ruin on Armenia but did little to halt the rising power of the Ottomans in the west.²⁴

From this point on the Armenians of Anatolia were subject to Muslim rule with successive overlords trying to exploit the strategic location of Cilicia and the Armenian highlands. The Armenians living in Anatolia from the fourteenth century onwards remained significant to their Muslim rulers because they acted as conduits for trade since their lands lay at the ancient crossroads of the East and the West.²⁵ No single power controlled Armenia when Mehmet II defeated the Byzantines and took Constantinople. Pockets of control remained scattered in a few locations where a local warlord exercised control from a fortress or protected area, perhaps on his own feudal lands or on those he had seized during earlier eruptions of violence, but no central power controlled the Armenian highlands for two hundred years from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

1.4 The Armenian Church at the time of the Conquest

Armenia began its conversion to Christianity in the early years of the Christian era when pagan Rome was persecuting Christians. Kings of ancient Armenia also persecuted Christians. Yet Armenia became the first state in the world to adopt Christianity as its official religion in

²⁴ Dickran Kouymjian, “Armenia from the fall of the Cilician Kingdom (1375) to the forced emigration under Shah Abbas (1604),” in Hovannisian, *Armenian People II*, 1-50.

²⁵ Ibid., 1.

305, approximately three decades before the emperor Constantine converted to Christianity on his deathbed. The importance of the official recognition of Christianity as the state religion of Armenia is made clear by Jacques de Morgan: “C’était donc affirmer la nationalité arménienne, donner au peuple de Haïk [Armenia] un caractère personnel de plus, capable de concourir à la conservation de la race, partant, de son indépendance.”²⁶ From this point on a regeneration occurred in Armenia, initiated by Saint Gregory, the great evangelist and the first Katholikos (Universal) or Bishop of Armenia, to whom the nickname “Enlightener” or “Illuminator” is applied.²⁷ Schools and churches arose, men of letters and science appeared. In the fifth century CE the Armenian alphabet with thirty-six characters was invented to mimic the spoken language, and a translation of the Bible from Greek and Syriac into Armenian was undertaken.

Divisions and violence, however, plagued the early Armenian Church due to disagreements as to which church authority should exercise control, which see was primary, which Christological doctrines about the nature of God (Father and Son) should be followed, and even upon which Sunday Easter should be celebrated. The fourth ecumenical council of the Catholic Church, the Council of Chalcedon, held in 451 outside Constantinople brought together the various church groups of the time, including the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church of Rome. There the See of Constantinople (New Rome) was named second only to Rome itself. There also the Council upheld dyophysitism (two natures of Christ in one person) and condemned monophysitism, the belief in the one incarnate nature of Christ, which was either divine or a human/divine synthesis and which is often called the Eutychian heresy due to its

²⁶ Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 105.

²⁷ For the history of the Armenian Church from Gregory to the nineteenth century, see Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 101-8, 264-66, 317-18. Karapet J. Basmadjian, *Histoire moderne des Arméniens*, 10-16, 93-98. Kurkjian, *History of Armenia*, 329-44, 349-64, 448-59.

staunch advocate Eutyches, who was condemned as a heretic at Chalcedon. The monophysite theory had been advanced to refute the belief of Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople (428-431) who was declared a heretic for arguing that Christ possessed two complete natures, distinct from each other, human and divine. Political loyalties and religious divisions between the clergy of Antioch (from which Nestorius came) and Alexandria (from which his primary opponent, Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, came) were responsible for hostilities, excommunications and condemnations of heresy on both sides during the Christological debates of the fifth century.

After Cyril's death in 444 CE Eutyches further elaborated the unity theory proposed by Cyril and was himself declared a heretic. Rome and Constantinople adopted the dyophysitism of Chalcedon. Meanwhile Nestorianism was encouraged in the Persian Church as a means of separating the Church from foreign (Byzantine) influence. At the same time the old Oriental churches of the East, including the Armenian Church, the Syriac Church and Coptic Church, separated themselves from the rest of the Orthodox Catholic Church, headquartered in Byzantine Constantinople, and declared their belief in miaphysitism (one Nature united out of two), rather than the heretical monophysitism (only one Nature, either wholly divine or a synthesis of divine and human). These churches, however, also rejected the full wording of the Christological theory proposed at Chalcedon; they therefore continued to regard themselves as separate and independent from the Byzantine church. In 554 the Armenian Church officially severed ties with both Rome and Constantinople at another Council discussing the nature of Christ. Byzantine emperors, such as Constans II (r. 641-668), wanted to compel the Armenians to accept the Greek form of Christianity in order to bind them politically to the Byzantine Empire.²⁸ Neither the

²⁸ Kurkjian, *History of Armenia*, 177.

Armenians nor their church leaders, however, wished to give up their independence and subordinate themselves to the Greeks or the Greek Patriarch in the Byzantine capital.

The Armenian church had always been a distinct entity within the Eastern Orthodox Church due to its own language and native customs at a time when Greek was the language of the East due to its widespread use there during the Graeco-Roman period. The East-West division of the Catholic Church was intensified by the geographical distance of the two centers, Rome and Constantinople, and the different languages they used, Latin in the West and Greek in the East. The ancient, regional churches of the East each went its own way. As Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, three major centers of the Church in the East, fell into Muslim hands, leadership of the Church passed to Constantinople under Byzantine control. In 1054 CE the formal separation of the Eastern and Western Catholic churches occurred when the Pope in the West and the Patriarch in the East formally excommunicated each other, creating what is known as the Great Schism. The hostility remained so great that Latin Crusaders sacked and looted Byzantine Constantinople in 1204, replacing the Greek Byzantine Empire with a Latin empire of the East until 1261 when the city was recaptured by the Byzantines.²⁹

Although the Armenian Church attempted to remain independent from both the Greek Church and the Latin Church, it held a series of negotiations over unions with both, sometimes simultaneously, during the existence of the French-Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (1080-1375).³⁰ When Mehmet II conquered Constantinople in the mid-fifteenth century, leadership of the Eastern Orthodox Church was claimed by the Russian Orthodox Church. An understanding of

²⁹ For the Venetian interests behind the Frankish expedition known as the Fourth Crusade, see Philip D. Curtin, *Cross Cultural Trade in World History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 116-18.

³⁰ Kurkjian, *History of Armenia*, 349.

the intertwined histories of the Greek, the Armenian and the Russian Orthodox churches, three Orthodox churches with different languages and separate identities, is crucial for understanding the pivotal place held by the Armenians in Ottoman and Russian relations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Russian Orthodox Church traces its birth back to 988 CE when the ruler of Kiev was baptized. However, Greek missionaries sent from the Byzantine capital had begun converting the Rus of modern-day Ukraine, Belarus and Russia in the ninth century, just as they had centuries earlier set about converting the Armenians. Originally the Kievan church was subordinate to the Patriarchate of Constantinople and its leader appointed by the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople and the Byzantine emperor. By the time of Mehmet II's conquest of Constantinople, however, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church had relocated to Moscow. When it elected its own Russian primate in 1448 several years before the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, the Russian Church in Moscow became independent of the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople. By rejecting in 1452 a reunification with the Papacy agreed upon in 1439 by some Orthodox Church leaders, the Russian church effectively became autocephalus just as the Armenian Church had become earlier. When Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks, the Russian Orthodox Church likened Moscow to the "Third Rome," thereby increasing the legitimacy of its primate as head of the Russian church. At the same time the Armenian Church, elevated by Mehmet II with the appointing of its own head in Constantinople, started out upon a separate and independent path.

1.5 Mehmet II and the Armenians

After his conquest of the Byzantine capital in 1453 and his resettlement of non-Muslim populations in the city Mehmet II apparently realized that the Armenians had to be treated differently from the Jews and the Greeks in his empire. The Armenians still had, unlike the Jews and the Greeks, a spiritual capital and a demographic center that remained outside the Ottoman Empire and in hostile territory since in 1441 the supreme Catholicosate of the Armenian Church was transferred from Sis in the former Cilician Kingdom to Etchmiadzin near Mt. Ararat in the Armenian highlands in an effort to rally Armenian support.

This made the Armenian people a potentially dangerous component in the Ottoman Empire from the very beginning of its existence. Mehmet II clearly understood that special treatment and an individualized policy were required for the Armenians inside his empire. He organized his non-Muslim Christian subjects in *millets* or “nations” under the religious leadership of Greek and Armenian “Patriarchs” to whom he gave authority in civil and religious matters pertaining to their respective communities.³¹ In doing this Mehmet II was careful to balance the two largest Christian communities under his control in Istanbul, namely, the Greeks and the Armenians.

First, in 1454 Mehmet II replaced the Byzantine Patriarch of Istanbul, Athanasius II, with a new Patriarch, Gennadius Scholarius, who was known to be opposed to the reunion of the

³¹ Benjamin Braude, “Foundation Myths of the Millet System,” in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire I*, 69-88. There is a continuing debate as to when the title “Patriarch” was awarded, how far the authority of the religious leaders appointed by Mehmet II extended, and whether it was initially confined to Istanbul or extended to the co-religionists, Armenians or Greeks, throughout the Ottoman Empire. See Kouymjian, “Armenia from 1375 to 1604,” in Hovannisian, *Armenian People II*, 9-11. I will use the title “Patriarch” to signal the supreme authority of Hovakim over the Armenians of Istanbul even though it has been argued that the title was not officially used until the sixteenth century.

Orthodox church with Rome.³² Then, in 1461 Mehmet II named the Armenian Bishop of Bursa, Hovakim I, Patriarch of the Armenians of Constantinople (1461 – 1478). In creating and giving the first Armenian Patriarch of Istanbul the same privileges as the newly appointed Greek Patriarch of the capital, Mehmet II raised the Armenian Patriarch of Istanbul above all the competing Armenian heads of the church in eastern Anatolia.³³ Jacques de Morgan rightly points out the political significance of Hovakim's appointment in relation to the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin:

Le rôle politique d'Hovakim et de ses successeurs a été d'un grand poids dans les destinées du peuple arménien, alors que celui du katholikos d'Etchmiadzin, exilé volontaire dans les montagnes arméniennes, isolé de tous les centres où se débattent les grandes questions diplomatiques, a plutôt été, depuis la chute d'Ani, plus religieux que politique.³⁴

³² Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire I*, 58-59. Kouymjian, "Armenia from 1375 to 1604," in Hovannisian, *Armenian People II*, 32-40.

³³ Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 265, 290, 368. See Kouymjian, "Armenia from 1375 to 1604," in Hovannisian, *Armenian People II*, 11. The American Protestant missionaries fully understood in the 1830s the significance of the temporal and civil power of the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople even though his religious rank was less than that of other Armenian Patriarchs; see Eli Smith, H.G.O. Dwight, and Josiah Conder, *Missionary Researches 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* (London: G. Wightmann, 1834), 9-14, 296-302. Hereafter, this book will be cited with only Smith and Dwight as authors because Josiah Conder was a British editor and author who compiled a 30-volume worldwide series of historical travel guides entitled *The Modern Traveller*, and Conder has attached his *Memoir of the Geography and Ancient History of Armenia* to Smith and Dwight's missionary travelogue.

The contemporary historian and chronicler of the Tanzimat, the Frenchman Jean-Henri Abdolonyme Ubicini, was also fully aware of the distinct powers and privileges of both the "Patriarch" in Constantinople and the Catholicos in Etchmiadzin; see Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie; ou, Tableau statistique, religieux, politique, administratif, militaire, commercial, etc. de l'Empire ottoman . . . Deuxième partie. Les Raias. . .* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1854), 269-79.

³⁴ Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 265.

By naming the Greek and Armenian patriarchs of Istanbul, Mehmet II legitimized his claim to be the new *Kayser-i Rûm* or Caesar of Rome. He also, in one deft political move, raised the Armenians who had been second-class citizens under the Byzantines to the equal of the Greek Orthodox Christians in the capital.³⁵

Granting the Armenian Church official recognition in Istanbul was a significant step in creating a dominant Armenian presence in the Ottoman Empire. Mehmet II gave the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs authority in religious and civil matters over their respective communities, but he did not, however, give them authority in criminal offenses that fell under Muslim religious law or *sharī'a*. Although the Armenians and other non-Muslims subjects of the Empire were not given rights and privileges equal to those of Muslim subjects, they still enjoyed a respected and semi-autonomous position in Ottoman society for centuries. Moreover, the concentration of Armenians in Istanbul helped create a *locus* of power for Armenians from which to spread throughout the Mediterranean world.³⁶

1.6 Ottomans and Armenians during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were glorious ones for the Ottomans and dark ones for the Armenians. As Dickran Kouymijian writes: “The poverty of historical sources [for

³⁵ Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*. Cf. Kevork B. Bardakjian, “The Rise of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople,” in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire I*, 89-100, whose research suggests that Hovakim was brought in to lead the Armenians of Constantinople, not all Armenians of the Ottoman state, and that the Armenian Patriarchate only evolved over time to become the Patriarchate of all Armenians of the Ottoman Empire. Cf. *EP*², s.v. Mehmed II, by Halil Inalcik, accessed 28 June 2015.

³⁶ For summaries, see Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean* and the articles in Hovannisian, *Armenian People I-II*. For a nineteenth century account, cf. Ubicini, *Lettres II*, 298-99.

Armenian history] reflects the disastrous decline of society and culture under Turkic oppression.”³⁷ These two centuries were a period when Armenia was a land without a head of state or seat of government, a land over which competing Islamic dynasties fought for the right of control and exploitation. Much of the population had fled to existing colonies in the Crimea and Central Europe, Syria and Iran, and the large cities of the Ottoman Empire, especially Constantinople.³⁸

At its height in the sixteenth century under Süleyman I (r. 1520 - 1566) the Ottoman Empire stretched from the Arabian Sea to gates of Vienna and from the Iranian Plateau to the Barbary Coast. It controlled a large part of the Mediterranean and the Empire was arguably the strongest military force in the greater Mediterranean world at that time. Another great power, however, had emerged at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that of Safavid Persia, under its founder Shah Ismail I (r. 1502-1524), who raided and occupied most of eastern Armenia. This brought the Safavids into conflict with the Ottomans with Armenia as the battleground. Selim I (r. 1512-1520), the Grim, conquered Armenia and brought its central and southern provinces under Ottoman rule. In 1514 a decisive battle was fought at Chaldiran, northwest of Tabriz, where Shah Ismail I was defeated, Tabriz captured, and the throne of the Persians removed to Constantinople by the victors. Decades with intermittent battles followed during which the Ottomans seized most of Transcaucasia (1578-1590) and tens of thousands of Armenians were displaced.

³⁷ Kouymjian, “Armenia from 1375 to 1604,” in Hovannisian, *Armenian People* II, 1-50, esp 1.

³⁸ Maksoudian, “Armenian Communities in Eastern Europe,” in Hovannisian, *Armenian People* II, 51-79.

Shah Abbas I (r. 1588-1629), the Great, managed to throw the Ottomans out of Transcaucasia for a brief period during which the Armenians welcomed Persia as its liberator. In 1604, however, as Shah Abbas I was retreating before the Ottoman advance, he ordered the entire Armenian population of approximately 300,000 in the area to pack up and resettle in Persia in order to deprive the Ottomans of the Armenians and their prosperous economy, a ploy that had been used in the past by the Ottomans and would be used again in the future, both by them and against them. Seizing Armenians for oneself could be equated with economic opportunism and stealing Armenians from one's enemy could be defined as scorched-earth policy. Accustomed as they were to this kind of uprooting, many Armenians nevertheless did not survive the forced move to Persian territory under Shah Abbas I. Among those displaced and resettled were, however, a group of merchants and their families who created a new home called New Julfa near Isfahan, which is important in the history of Armenian printing.

The Treaty of Zuhab in 1639 was signed after the Ottoman-Safavid War (1623-1639), following a period of almost 150 years of continuous war between the Ottomans and the Safavids.³⁹ For Armenia it was a defining moment in history. The Ottomans recognized almost all of Transcaucasia as belonging to Persia. The boundary line was drawn through Armenia, dividing it into two parts delineated by the plain of Shuragial and the Arpachai River. Lands east of that area were given to Persia and lands west of the area to the Ottomans. From then on historians, geographers and travelers refer to Eastern Armenia and Western Armenia, the former being Persian Armenia and the latter being Ottoman Armenia until the collapse of the Safavid

³⁹ For the articles of the Treaty, J.C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East, A Documentary Record: 1535-1914*, I (D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., Princeton, N.J.: 1956) 21-23. For the history of the period see George Bournoutian, "Eastern Armenia from the Seventeenth Century to the Russian Annexation," in Hovannisian, *Armenian People II*, 81-107.

Empire in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. In this way Armenia ended up divided and on two different paths already in the early seventeenth century. Over time this separation came to affect custom and habits as well as the spoken language in the two parts. However, Armenia was still full of Armenians, whether in Ottoman Armenia or Persian Armenia, as was made clear by the seventeenth-century French traveler, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605-1689), who made six voyages as gem merchant and traveler to Persia and India between 1630 and 1668 and published his travels in 1676 at the behest of his patron Louis XIV, who purchased Tavernier's most famous gem, a 116-carat blue diamond:

From Tokat (Ottoman Armenia) to Tabriz (Persia), the country is inhabited by almost none but Christians; one should not be surprised if, in the cities and in the countryside, fifty Armenians are found for one Mohammedan.⁴⁰

More than one power has learned through defeat the difficulty of fighting on more than one front. While the Safavids were engaging the Ottomans on their eastern border, other enemies were growing stronger on their western borders. Immediately following the end of Süleymân I's reign the Ottoman Empire experienced its first major defeat. In the autumn of 1571 CE the Ottomans suffered a great defeat against primarily Venetian and Spanish forces led by Don John of Austria at the Battle of Lepanto, a naval battle that ended with nearly 60,000 dead on both sides. The battle, which marked the beginning of the waning of Ottoman naval supremacy in the Mediterranean, was also one of the earliest campaigns that united European powers against the

⁴⁰ See Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, ecuyer baron d'Aubonne, qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes*, Parte I (Paris: G. Clouzier, 1676), 35 for the original French of this passage, which comes from "*Voyages de Perse*," *Livre premier*. Tavernier published his travels in two parts, the first part on Turkey and Persia, and the second, more widely-known, part on India.

Ottomans. The Ottoman Empire viewed this Holy League alliance as a real threat to its military supremacy.⁴¹

Although the *devşirme* system of forcibly gathering, removing, raising and converting Christian youths for military service in the elite Janissary Corps, and subsequently for bureaucratic service under the Ottomans, was in effect and largely responsible for Ottoman success in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Armenians played only a small part in this system, principally because the majority of youths gathered were from Ottoman conquests in Europe and recruitment was usually made outside urban centers in order to keep peace and a calm population. Both of these reasons ruled out Armenia as a major source for the *devşirme* recruitment. Most of Armenia was not under Ottoman control until well into the sixteenth century and even then much of rural Armenia lay outside Ottoman hands, since the Ottomans concentrated on controlling cities and fortresses. Of course, there are records of Armenian youth being taken, and Armenian families would naturally have attempted to escape this by fighting or emigrating. As Kouymjian states,

The mere threat of the *devşirme*, arbitrarily and suddenly breaking up a Christian family to serve the Muslim superpower, was one of the important psychological factors that made the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries such a dreaded period in Armenian history.⁴²

1.7 Ottomans and the Christian Powers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

The tumultuous seventeenth century ushered in a new yet sad long century for the Ottomans. After decades of successful military campaigns, a slow and progressive decline began

⁴¹ Halil Inalcik, "The Heyday and Decline of the Ottoman Empire," in *The Cambridge History of Islam, Vol. 2: The Further Islamic Lands, Islamic Society and Civilization*, edited by P.M. Holt, A.K.S. Lambton and B. Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 337.

⁴² Kouymjian, "Armenia from 1375 to 1604," in Hovannisian, *Armenian People II*, 13-14.

in the Ottoman Empire following their defeat at Lepanto. The treaties of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the Ottoman Empire signed with various Christian powers of Europe and Russia—Karlowitz (1699), Passarowitz (1718), and Küçük Kaynarca (1774) bear witness to the decline.

The first of these three major treaties, the Treaty of Karlowitz between the Ottomans and the Holy League,⁴³ confirmed the rise of Christian Europe that had weakened the Ottoman Empire and effectively eliminated Ottoman supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean. It followed the Austro-Ottoman War of 1683-97, which had opened with a second unsuccessful Ottoman attack on Vienna and had ended with the Ottoman defeat at the Battle of Zenta in present-day Serbia. The Treaty of Karlowitz, signed in 1699 in the Serbian town of modern-day Sremski Karlovci (German Karlowitz), confirmed the territory of the signatories, with the Ottomans giving the Habsburgs much of Hungary, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as Croatia and Slavonia.⁴⁴ Venice received most of Dalmatia and the Peloponnesus (Morea). Poland recovered Podolia, and Transylvania remained nominally independent. The Ottomans retained Belgrade, Wallachia and Moldavia. Following disputes and negotiations, borders were for the first time demarcated by landmarks. After the Treaty of Karlowitz the Ottoman Empire ceased to be a threat to Christian Europe, and the Ottomans gave up the dream of conquering Christian lands on their borders.

Subsequent Ottoman losses led to the signing of the Treaty (or Peace) of Passarowitz, which handed over large portions of Ottoman territory in central Europe to the Habsburgs

⁴³ The Holy League consisted of a coalition of the Habsburg Empire, Poland, Russia, and the Republic of Venice.

⁴⁴ For the Treaty of Karlowitz, see Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire* I, 223-25.

although some territory was later recovered. The Treaty of Passarowitz (Pozarevac), signed in 1718 in present-day Serbia less than twenty years after the Treaty of Karlowitz, again confirmed the territories of the signatories, with all parties keeping territories which they had conquered, the result being that the Ottomans gained some territory at the expense of Venice due to winning the Ottoman-Venetian War of 1714-1718 but also lost more territory to the Habsburgs due to losing the Austro-Turkish War of 1716-18.⁴⁵ Following these humiliating defeats against the Holy League in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Ottomans faced a new rising regional power, Russia.

After Passarowitz the Ottomans entered Transcaucasia in 1723 in order to take control of eastern Armenia and Georgia, before the Russians took advantage of the collapse of the Safavid Empire to take the two provinces.⁴⁶ Armenian merchants had established favorable connections and small colonies in the two preceding centuries; Russian intervention and assistance against Ottoman aggression had been sought on more than one occasion. Despite the successes of the Turks and the absence of Russian support, a small group of Armenian fighters managed to hold on to the Armenian highlands until Persia recovered under Nadir Shah (r. 1736-1747) and recognized the khanates established there as semiautonomous. Fighting continued on and off for many years as did Armenian emigration out of the area, often into Russia which was nearby and welcoming.

By the mid-eighteenth century Russia aimed to control the Black Sea and for the first time the Ottoman capital was significantly threatened. Additionally, the Russian navy was able to establish a stronghold in the Mediterranean. In 1768 at the beginning of the Russo-Ottoman

⁴⁵ For the Treaty of Passarowitz, see Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire* I, 231-33.

⁴⁶ Bournoutian, "Eastern Armenia," in Hovannisian, *Armenian People* II, 81-107.

War (1768-1774) the Russian navy destroyed Ottoman forces in the eastern Mediterranean near the Greek peninsula. The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, signed in 1774 in the village of the same name in present-day Bulgaria, ended that war after the humiliating Ottoman defeat at the Battle of Kozludzha (Suvorovo, Bulgaria), by a brilliant Russian general Alexander Suvorov, after whom the modern town is named. This treaty set a major precedent for Russo-Ottoman relations in that it mutually recognized the legitimacy of both the Ottoman sultan and the Russian ruler.⁴⁷ Russia gained two outlets to the Black Sea, freedom of access to the Sea of Azov, and passage through the Dardanelles for its merchant vessels. The Ottomans were given back Wallachia and Moldavia, which together principally form modern-day Romania. The Crimea was declared independent but remained dependent on Russia until its formal annexation by the Russian Empire less than ten years later.

More significant in some ways was the treaty's recognition of the religious authority that the Ottoman ruler and the Russian ruler enjoyed over each other's co-religionist subjects. Even though the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca recognized Russian rule over the Tatars of the Crimea, a Turkic-Muslim nation, it confirmed the Sultan as their religious leader, the Sultan-Caliph of all Muslims. Similarly, even though the treaty recognized Ottoman rule in Ottoman lands, it confirmed the Russian leader, at that time Catherine the Great (r. 1762-1796), as the leader of the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁸ The Treaty gave Catherine the Great the additional title of *Padishah*, raising her to the level of Ottoman sultan with the use of the same

⁴⁷ For the articles of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, see Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East* I, 54-61. Cf. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire* I, 250.

⁴⁸ For a discussion on Russo-Ottoman affairs and its economic impact on the Ottoman Empire, see A. Üner Turgay, "Trade and merchants in nineteenth-century Trabzon: elements of ethnic conflict," in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* I, 287-318, esp. 295-99.

title rather than merely calling her the czarina of Russia, following the established precedents of *Moskov tchari* and later *Rousia tchari* for her predecessors.⁴⁹ The Treaty also included some privileges for Christians living under Muslim rule. It granted Eastern Orthodox Christians the right to sail under the Russian flag and even provided for the building of a Russian Orthodox Church in Constantinople (which was never built). The significance of the Ottoman recognition of the Russian church's authority over Ottoman Orthodox Christians was monumental for all Christians in Anatolia, including the Armenians of Istanbul.

Eastern Armenia itself appeared on the verge of liberation several times during the eighteenth century as different leaders emerged and gathered allies in their fight for autonomy with recognition and protection by either Persia or Russia as their goal. Upon Catherine the Great's death in 1796 Russian forces were pulled out of Transcaucasia just as they were about to take the area from Persia. Not until the Treaty of Gulistan in 1813 did the Persians cede to the Russians all of the Armenian territory north of the Araxes and Kura rivers, except Erevan and Nakhichevan, as well as Georgia and Dagestan.⁵⁰

1.8 Decline of the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

⁴⁹ Cf. Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie; ou, Tableau statistique, religieux, politique, administratif, militaire, commercial, etc. de l'Empire ottoman. . . Première partie: Les Ottomans* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1853), 34- 35, where he traces the titulature of the Ottoman sultan and discusses the use of the honorific padishah, which Napoleon later used alongside the title of emperor, styling himself both Emperor vè Padishahi. Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press: 1987), 26, makes the important point that Mehmed Effendi described Louis XV as a kral (king) in his narrative of his embassy to Paris in 1720 but called him "padişah of France when he addressed the King formally."

⁵⁰ For the articles of the treaty, see Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East I*, 84-86. For the history of the period, see Bournoutian, "Eastern Armenia," in Hovannisian, *Armenian People II*, 102-3.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Ottoman Empire not only lost territory to its European neighbors but also witnessed rapid decentralization of its government and weakening of its military supremacy due to incompetent leadership by the sultans and viziers and the corruption that permeated the Ottoman elite.⁵¹

The decline of the *devşirme* system, a hallmark of the Ottoman military recruitment system during the expansion of the Empire, led to the influx of ill-prepared peasantry into the Ottoman forces. Additionally, the Ottoman cavalry (or *sipahi*), who were financially supported by a fief-like system known as the *timar* system, were weakened by profiteers and favoritism in the Ottoman regional governing class. The decline of the Ottoman cavalry led to irregular military forces in the provinces of the Empire and culminated in the weakening of Ottoman control over its frontiers.

The military decline of the Ottoman Empire was coupled with financial crises in the seventeenth century. Stripping the *sipahi timar*-holders led to a breakdown of the economic system in most of the Empire. The *timar* provided the *sipahi* with financial resources and subsequently with a tax base for the Ottoman government. Corruption led to runaway inflation, counterfeiting, and usury which undercut Ottoman financial stability. This weakened the economic position of large groups of fixed-income classes of Ottoman society like the *sipahi*, standing forces (the *kapıkulu*), and religious classes who lived off the revenues of religious endowments (or *waqfs*).⁵² The financial decline of the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth century led to further decentralization of the Ottoman government and heavy financial

⁵¹ Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire* I, 342.

⁵² For a discussion on Ottoman decline, see Alan Warwick Palmer, *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire* (London: J. Murray, 1992). Cf. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age*.

indebtedness to European powers in the eighteenth century which sought to exploit the weakness of the Ottoman Empire. It is not surprising that a major reason behind the defeat of the Ottoman army at the final and decisive Battle of Kozludzha in the Russo-Ottoman war that ended with the signing of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774 was that the Ottoman forces, despite superior numbers, had not been paid for a year and were suffering from a string of defeats as well as poor supply and support.

The impact of this decline on the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth century is wonderfully described in a French manuscript written by the Abbé Carré as a journal of his travels from France to India, via the Syrian desert and the Persian Gulf, in 1672-1674, where he was sent as a sort of spy by Colbert, the French minister of Louis XI.⁵³ Early in his journey, traveling from Alexandretta, modern Iskenderun on the southeastern coast of Turkey, to Aleppo, Abbé Carré notes, “There were in some places the ruins of towns, castles, and churches of the early Christians.”⁵⁴ He then meets an old man of nearly one hundred years who tells him that,

... this country used to be one of the richest, most fertile, and well-populated parts of all Syria, and that, when he was young, he could count 50 towns and 400 villages, which now lay in ruins for a stretch of fifteen or twenty leagues around. This was due to the bad government of the Ottoman Empire, whose policy was to destroy the country for fear of strangers mastering it, as I [the Abbé] have remarked with astonishment throughout this empire. They seem by this means to contribute to their own ruin, for they have now nothing left but their chief towns, and even these could not subsist without the help of foreign nations, who by their trade, merchandise, caravans, and travelers contribute the principal revenue of those places.⁵⁵

⁵³ *The Travels of the Abbé Carré in India and the Near East—1672 to 1674*, translated from the manuscript journal of his travels in the India Office by Lady Fawcett, ed. Sir Charles Fawcett, with Sir Richard Burn, I-II (Asian Educational Services, New Delhi: 1990).

⁵⁴ *Travels of the Abbé Carré* I, 40.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

It should be emphasized here that the decline encountered by the Abbé Carré in the seventeenth century occurred in an area that was formerly part of the Cilician Kingdom of Armenia. This was an area in which Armenians continued to live and conduct trade long after the Kingdom's fall.⁵⁶ The decline and ruin of the area during the lifetime of the old man speaking to the Abbé occurred during the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries and was due to the Ottoman policy for controlling its eastern borders by removing its Armenian population.

The loss of European territories and political disintegration of the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was brought to a head with the French invasion of Ottoman Egypt in 1798 by Napoleon Bonaparte. The French campaign in Egypt and Syria (1798-1801) had several goals, of which the principal was protecting French interests in Ottoman lands while thwarting British interests. The French hoped to be an obstacle to Britain's access to India and its rich trade, but the British, under Nelson, enjoyed a great victory over the French in the Battle of the Nile in 1798. This, together with continuing attacks by the Mamluks of Egypt, the Ottomans and British, ended with the capitulation of the French and the British regaining Egypt for the Ottomans. The Ottomans sent a force to reoccupy Egypt, which they had governed under a Mamluk governor since the early sixteenth century. Unfortunately, one of the Ottoman officers in the occupying force, Muhammad Ali, of Albanian ancestry, killed the remaining

⁵⁶ Alexandretta is situated near Musa Dagħ (Mt. Moses), where a small community of Armenians famously tried to defend themselves from Turkish deportations and massacres in 1915. The Musa Dagħ survivors were rescued by Allied ships, transported to refugee camps in Egypt, and returned home under the French Mandate after the end of WWI; many of the Musa Dagħ Armenians fled again after Alexandretta's annexation by Turkey in 1939 and subsequently resettled with French assistance in Anjar, Lebanon.

Mamluks and set himself up as ruler of Egypt, initially with Ottoman acquiescence, but never returned it to Ottoman control.

The French Revolution had caught the Ottoman government as well as the sultan off-guard. Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, though short lived, was a wakeup call for the Ottomans to modernize. Their military had fallen dramatically behind that of Europe, which boasted advanced organization, equipment, and technologies. Their military had also turned on them with Muhammad Ali becoming a permanent thorn in the side. During Napoleon's adventures in Europe and in Egypt the Armenians, however, enjoyed some years of relative peace. Both the Ottomans and the Russians had the French to deal with, which left them both with little or no time to exploit Armenia or the Armenians to the disadvantage of the other.

1.9 The Eastern Question and the Christians of Ottoman Turkey

Russian foreign policy beginning with Peter the Great (r. 1682 – 1725) was bent on expansion into warm waters, first to the Black Sea and then on to the Mediterranean. After the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca public opinion was agreed that the Ottoman Empire was in decline and the Russian Empire was in ascendancy. French intellectuals such as Voltaire viewed Catherine the Great and the Russian military as superior to the Ottomans. They considered Russia as a beacon of enlightenment in contrast to the Ottoman Empire, which they regarded as an “ignorant and degenerate nation.” Phrases characterizing the Ottomans as the barbarians of the Bosphorus, the stupid Musulman, and the extinguishers of *la belle Grèce* appear throughout French literature from the age of the French Revolution onward.⁵⁷ Unfavorable European public

⁵⁷ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 64-5, which quotes Volney, Voltaire, and Choiseul-Gouffier.

opinion of the Ottomans compelled French republican reformers to suggest the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the resurrection of the Greek “Empire.”⁵⁸ This sentiment eventually developed into what is generally referred to as the Eastern Question.⁵⁹ General awareness that the Ottoman Empire, the so-called “Sick man of Europe,” might collapse, created a host of diplomatic and political issues. The great powers of Europe feared that Russia would expand westward and threaten their economic and military interests if the Ottoman Empire collapsed. Both Austria-Hungary and Great Britain knew that preservation of the Ottoman Empire was in their best interests.

Thus it happened that Christian powers determined to aid and abet the Ottoman Empire in order to stop the aggressive advancement of another Christian power. This could happen only because European fear of the once powerful and threatening Ottoman Empire had devolved into compassion over the course of the previous 150 years. As Lady Easthope—the translator of the Tanzimat historian Abdolonyme Ubicini, wife of a member of Parliament, widow of a British officer stationed in the Mediterranean in the 1830s, mother of children born on Kythera Island in 1831 and Malta in 1833, friend of Florence Nightingale and of Lord and Lady Stratford de Redcliffe who lived and labored in Istanbul, and daughter of Elizabeth Austen, second cousin to Jane Austen—so eloquently puts it in her Preface of 1856:

The Turkish empire is as interesting and important at the present day as when, three centuries ago, the power of the Grand Signior [Sultan] was felt from the gates of Vienna to the frontiers of Barbary. It then aroused the fears, it now fixes the hopes, of civilized Europe. We have ceased to dread a barbarous invasion of

⁵⁸ Ibid., 63-65.

⁵⁹ See Hagop Barsoumian, “The Eastern Question and the Tanzimat Era,” in Hovannisian, *Armenian People II*, 175-201.

Moslems, and we seek, on the contrary, to render the Moslem a rampart against the invasion of Northern despotism.⁶⁰

Foreign armies were not the only elements to venture to Ottoman borders and beyond in those centuries. Travelers, merchants, historians, foreign ambassadors and missionaries had been visiting, inhabiting or journeying through the Ottoman lands, some for centuries, others for decades. If they were a trickle in the eighteenth century, they became a flood in the nineteenth century. From their interest sprang compassion, which gave birth to a movement to spread European-style reform among the non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman state, especially its Christian minorities. At first, the Eastern Question focused on the European territories of the Ottoman Empire and the independence movements in Ottoman Greece and Serbia.

The Greek War of Independence (1821-32), or the Greek Revolution, was not the first attempt at liberation since the Ottomans took control of Greece after the fall of Constantinople and consequent end of the Byzantine Empire. It was, however, the only attempt that eventually met with success. Revolutionary fervor had grown in many parts of the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire due primarily to the French Revolution (1789-1799) but also to the American War of Independence (1775-1783). At the same time Philhellenism with its ardent admiration of the classical heritage inspired many Western scholars and historians as well as

⁶⁰ Lady Easthope (born Elizabeth Skyring), in her “Preface by the Translator” to the (slightly abridged) 1856 English edition of Ubicini’s *Lettres*: see Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey: An Account of the Religious, Political, Social, and Commercial Condition of the Ottoman Empire . . . Part II. The Raïahs. . .* (London: J. Murray, 1856) xiv-xv. See also: Florence Nightingale, *Florence Nightingale and Hospital Reform. Collected Works of Florence Nightingale, 1820-1910*, vol. 16, edited by Lynn McDonald (Waterloo, Ont., Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012), 575, n. 81. How Lady Easthope came to be the translator of Ubicini remains unconfirmed, but it seems to have been by choice, not need, and in some way connected to her husband, Sir John Easthope, Baronet, who was a member of Parliament but also a former proprietor (1834-47) of *The Morning Chronicle* newspaper in London, whose daughter was married to the new proprietor.

European aristocrats such as Lord Byron to take up the Greek cause as a renewal of ancient democracy.

The governments of the West did not immediately look with favor upon the Greek Revolt because the French Revolution had demonstrated the negative aspects of revolution. They preferred to preserve the status quo and not upset the balance of power in Europe by unleashing new and unpredictable elements. Russia, the new power in the East, was perceived as ready to gobble up the Ottoman Empire and even advance into Western Europe. The two big Western powers, Britain and France, were forced to intervene, however, against the Ottomans and with Russia, after widespread public outrage at Ottoman atrocities, such as the massacres at Chios, and equally widespread admiration for Byron's poetry and horror at his untimely death fighting for the Greek cause. Had Britain and France not acted to support Greek independence, they feared Russia would have acted alone and benefited to the detriment of the Ottomans. Negotiations and treaties were insufficient to stop the war until the Allies won a great naval battle at Navarino in 1827, annihilating the Ottoman-Egyptian fleet. It took another four years, until 1832, for the ambassadors of those countries to work out an agreement mutually acceptable to each other and to the Porte which established Greece as an independent state under the protection of the Western powers and paid an indemnity to the Ottoman Empire.

During this time the Russians had managed to defeat the Ottomans in the Balkans and the Caucasus in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828-29 after the Ottomans closed the Dardanelles to the Russian forces due to their participation in the Allied fleet at Navarino. The Ottomans were forced to hand over part of Eastern Armenia to the Russians and tens of thousands of Armenians, perhaps as many as 90,000, who had survived the war, left or were taken with the withdrawal of the Russian army to Russian territory. Two American missionaries, Eli Smith and Harrison

Dwight, joined the Armenians traveling in the wake of the Russian army after finding Erzerum emptied of both the Armenians they had come to study and the Moslem forces who had fled in the face of the occupying Russians forces.⁶¹ The missionaries were traveling across Turkey in 1830 on their way to Georgia, trying to determine the state of the Armenian population and to identify possible sites to set up their missionary field houses. They had already stopped in Tokat and Erzingan when they arrived at Erzerum (which had been left to the Turks in the resulting peace) where they discovered: “The Turks seemed to deeply regret the loss of their Armenian neighbors, and declared that their city was ruined...”⁶²

Upon questioning the Armenians as to why they were fleeing, there were many answers including the request of their bishop, the insistence of the Russians, and the fear of reprisal from their Turkish neighbors for consorting with the enemy. In Kars the missionaries were later informed by an Armenian bishop, that 15,000 Armenian households, or 75,000 people from the surrounding towns and villages were leaving with the Russians but a tax collector contradicted that number reporting that 97,000 Armenians had left from just the area of Erzerum alone.⁶³ These are extraordinary numbers for the area and for the time. The missionaries were aware that the Russians had a clause added to the Treaty of Adrianople signed in 1829:

. . . that there should be granted to the respective subjects of the two powers, established in the territories of the sublime Porte, or ceded to the imperial court of Russia, the term of eighteen months from the ratification of the treaty, to dispose, if they should think proper, of their property, acquired either before or since the war, and to retire with their capital, their goods, furniture, &c. from the states of one of the contracting powers into those of the other and reciprocally.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 59-64.

⁶² Ibid., 68.

⁶³ Ibid., 94.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 98.

The Russians had for that reason taken a census of the Christians wherever they marched and clearly had plans for them. The missionaries recorded the Russian offers made to the Armenians, to the inhabitants of cities, lots for their houses and shops, and to the peasants, as much land as they could cultivate, with no taxes on either for a period of six years, a sum of roubles and a quantity of grain for the poor. These were inducements indeed, but the main reason cited by the Armenians for emigrating to Russia was fright, and “they were as likely to assign fear of the Russians as fear of the Turks, as a reason for going.”⁶⁵

The Eastern Question had not, however, been resolved by the Greek War of Independence or the Russo-Ottoman War that immediately followed. The Ottoman Empire was still crumbling, and the Russians were still ready to step in, using all their pawns, the most important of which were the Armenians. Two things made the Armenians the perfect pawns for the Russians: their orthodox Christian religion and the large number of Armenians already living under Russian rule, particularly just over the border in Georgia. By the middle of the century, just as the second edition of Part I and first edition of Part II of *Lettres sur la Turquie* by the French historian Abdolonyme Ubicini went to press, the Crimean War (1853-1856) had broken out, and he could write in his preface to the second part, published in 1854:

Dans la prévision de ce conflit,—le fait le plus considerable peut-être qui se soit produit depuis un demi-siècle dans l’histoire des nations de l’Europe,—une recrudescence de curiosité, en même que de sympathies, s’est manifestées à l’endroit de la Turquie.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, vi.

Europe was ready to embrace Turkey, not just because of a fascination with the Orient in the arts but because of a policy of confronting Russian expansionism by allying itself in war as well as peace with Turkey. European interest in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire had gradually in the course of the nineteenth century shifted eastward from the Christians of Greece to the Christians living in Anatolia and southwest Asia, particularly the Armenians. Western writers of the time whose sympathies lay with England and France rather than with Russia generally regarded the situation of Christians under Ottoman rule as acceptable though needing improvement. Lady Easthope observed in her translation of Ubicini's *Letters* in 1856: "...whatever be the vices and errors of the Turkish government, yet that under its rule Christians may flourish, read the Bible, acquire wealth and education, and enjoy very considerable social and political privileges."⁶⁷

At the same time Lady Easthope freely admits the Christian populations are not without grievances in her day and that they remember far more serious grievances of the past, but she unequivocally states, "...the great mass of Christian subjects of the Porte would not willingly see the rule of the Sultan exchanged for that of the Czar."⁶⁸

The Crimean War was fought over control of the Black Sea, which the Russians had gained from an Ottoman defeat at the beginning of the war. To assist the Ottomans and prevent the Russians from consolidating control of the Black Sea, the British and French attacked the Russian naval base at Sevastopol in the Crimea. After much death and disease a peace was signed in 1856 that kept the Black Sea neutral, and Christians in

⁶⁷ Ubicini, *Letters* II, xvii.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, xvii-xviii.

the Ottoman Empire, cited as a pretext for Russian intervention, were given official equality. The Crimean War was responsible for extending European interest in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire to Christians living in Anatolia and southwest Asia, particularly the Armenians. They were one of the newest and best pawns on the chessboard in what came to be called “The Great Game” between Britain and Russia, a term developed by a British intelligence officer in the decade after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828-29 but only made popular by Rudyard Kipling’s *Kim* (1901). The Great Game was a geopolitical game of strategy that pitted Britain against Russia in a dangerous struggle for control of Central Asia. Russian incursions in Afghanistan and Ottoman lands would threaten Britain’s access to India, the largest and richest part of its colonial empire.

1.10 The Ottoman response to the Eastern Question before the Tanzimat era

The Ottoman response to the Eastern Question that arose at the end of the eighteenth century was to initiate rapid and radical reform. These reforms, initiated under Sultan Selim III (1789-1807), began as military reforms but were gradually expanded to include the government, the clergy and education. They were intended to preserve the Ottoman Empire in a world in transition, one in which the European powers and Western civilization were beginning to dominate.⁶⁹ New systems of education and greater awareness of European ideas among educated Ottomans were beginning to spread throughout the Ottoman Empire. Under Selim III permanent

⁶⁹ See Arman J. Kirakossian’s “Introduction” in *The Armenian Massacres, 1894-1896: U.S. Media Testimony*, ed. Arman J. Kirakossian, with a Foreword by Bob Dole (Detroit: Wayne State University, 2004), 15-22, for an explanation of the Eastern Question and its transformation into the Armenian Question.

Ottoman embassies were established in Berlin, London, Paris, and Vienna.⁷⁰ The diplomats, often Ottoman officers, were sent to these European capitals as political envoys but were encouraged to study and return home bringing with them newly acquired knowledge for the schools of engineering, science, and mathematics that had recently been incorporated into Ottoman education. Libraries were expanded and translations of European books were commissioned.

Though many who served as diplomats for the Ottoman Empire were Muslim, Christian minorities, especially the Armenian and Greek elite of Istanbul, quickly found their way to these major European capitals working for the Ottoman government and studying at European universities. It is no surprise that Armenians and Greeks found themselves comfortable with working and studying in Europe since many had stronger and greater understanding of Western European culture than did their Muslim countrymen due to long exposure to Europe through trade and finance.⁷¹

Military reform

Sultan Selim III (r. 1789 – 1807) led the Ottomans on an extensive series of military reforms known as the *Nizâm-ı Cedid* or “New Order.”⁷² Though short-lived, this military reformation was an early attempt to rid the Empire of its antiquated military system and adopt European systems. The *Nizâm-ı Cedid* was successful in establishing military schools,

⁷⁰ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 3rd ed., (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 61.

⁷¹ Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 62-3.

⁷² There were many military reforms. Here I focus on the reforms that directly led to the development of educational and cultural modernization, which is relevant to my examination of the Armenian press.

specifically French-inspired schools, where European officers trained the Ottoman officers in military science. These schools trained officers for the separate branches of the military. This helped to centralize the Ottoman army and to establish a more bureaucratic-style military system.⁷³

The Ottoman military reforms of the *Nizâm-ı Cedid* were extended to eliminate the centuries-old *timar* system, which had become corrupted by local profiteers. Civil and economic reforms were necessary because traditional Ottoman systems were intrinsically linked to other Ottoman institutions.⁷⁴ Reforming the *timar* system led to increased revenues for the Ottoman treasury and allowed for the collection of land revenues directly without losing much of the lands' wealth to local intermediaries.

The reform efforts of Selim III, however, remained stymied by the powerful Ottoman military guild, the Janissary Corps. By the nineteenth century the Janissaries, once the backbone of Ottoman military power, were highly corrupt with rampant nepotism and often unwilling to go to battle. Many Janissaries by this time had alternate careers in various guilds and were therefore refusing to fight when called to battle. The Janissary Corps was a significant financial burden on the palace and threatened the viability of the reform efforts of the sultans. In the summer of 1826 after another revolt against the Porte, Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808 – 1839) suppressed the Janissary Corps, killing its leaders and exiling or imprisoning many of the corpsmen. Known as the Auspicious Event (or *Vaka-i Hayriye*), the destruction of the Janissary Corps made way for

⁷³ Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 75-76, discusses the various departments and roles of modern militaries, including map-making, arms equipment management, ship-building, arsenals, etc.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 73.

major military, economic, and civil reforms, as well as paved the way for an attempted re-centralization of the Empire.⁷⁵

After the destruction of the Janissaries Mahmud II was able to implement the most significant of his military reforms. The Ottoman army was reorganized into a standing force of 12,000 and divided into eight regiments.⁷⁶ Mahmud II's new standing army was supplemented by recruits from the provinces who were required to serve for twelve years. With this new-style standing army the Ottomans were able to suppress the irregular forces, especially in the provinces, subsequently allowing for greater centralization of the Ottoman army.⁷⁷ This new army, however, still remained without adequate leadership since there were few well-trained officers ready to lead a European-fashioned standing army.

Secularization of society

The *Nizâm-ı Cedid* also ushered in an age of new systems of education and greater awareness of European ideas among educated Ottomans. Under Selim III permanent Ottoman embassies were established in Berlin, London, Paris, and Vienna.⁷⁸ The diplomats, often Ottoman officers, were sent to these European capitals as political envoys but were encouraged to study and return home bringing with them this new knowledge for the schools of engineering, science, and mathematics that had recently been incorporated into Ottoman education. Charles

⁷⁵ For discussions on the destruction of the Janissaries, see Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 75-76; Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey*. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 81.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 61.

White, writing in 1845 reports that the two presses established by Abdülhamid I were initially neglected by Selim III, but:

...towards the year 1792 the presses were removed to the engineer school at Koomberkhana (bombardier arsenal), and the government devoted much attention to its progress. Intent upon the success of those military reforms which awakened the jealousy of the janissaries, and eventually led to the death of this amiable monarch, Selim ordered the publication of divers works on tactics and fortification, translated under the inspection of the celebrated professor of mathematics, Abdurrahym Effendy, from Vauban and other French authors.⁷⁹

The significance of printing for military progress was clear to Selim III. Libraries were expanded and translations of European books were commissioned. Though many who served as diplomats for the Ottoman Empire were Muslim, Christian minorities, especially the Armenian and Greek elite of Istanbul, quickly found their way to these major European capitals working for the Ottoman government and studying at European universities. It is no surprise that Armenians and Greeks found themselves comfortable with working and studying in Europe since many had stronger and greater understanding of Western European culture than did their Muslim countrymen due to long exposure to Europe through trade and finance.⁸⁰

Mahmud II's reforms after the destruction of the Janissary Corps in 1826 ushered in a new age. Not only did the reforms modernize the military and government, but they also inspired Ottoman intellectuals to promote a shift in Ottoman society. This shift moved Ottoman society away from a fragmented, unenlightened government that relied heavily on traditional orders and guilds and towards a modern centralized state that found support among the general population of the Empire.⁸¹ Sultan Mahmud's reform efforts were rooted in his interest in secularizing

⁷⁹ Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople: Or, Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844*, II, 2nd ed. (London: H. Colburn, 1846), 205.

⁸⁰ Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey*., 62-63.

⁸¹ Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 92-97.

Ottoman society by redefining the Ottoman concept of *adâlet* (justice).⁸² Mahmud often used the term *adl* (equity) to denote his interest in creating a more equal and secular society for all Ottoman subjects before the law. The sultan's desire to reform Ottoman society and create a more equitable and just state is exemplified by his opening of the *Divân-ı Ahkâm-ı Adliye* (The Council of Juridical Enactments). This stripped the *ulema* of their broad powers. Mahmud created a council of consultative ministers and various advisory boards to undermine the authority of the religious classes in Ottoman governmental affairs.⁸³

Education

Lack of formal military training for large portions of the Ottoman army motivated the sultan to invest heavily in education. Many of the new schools that were opened prior to military and governmental reforms of Mahmud II were, however, very specific in their scope and the general concept of education still remained under the authority of the religious class. Closer to the end of Mahmud II's reign a shift in the conceptualization of education occurred. The educational system was separated from the authority of the '*ulema*' (religious learned class of officials) and transformed to serve the general public and the training of the army.⁸⁴

Sultan Mahmud II's efforts in secularization were further exemplified by his interest in education for the masses. Mahmud's educational reforms went far beyond the earlier ineffective attempts of Selim III. Sultan Selim's failure was due to a lack of vision and an inability to

⁸² For a survey of Ottoman law and interpretations of the Islamic and Ottoman concepts of *Şeriat*, *kanûn* and *adâlet*, see Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).

⁸³ Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 97-98.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 101-2.

reconceptualize a vibrant Ottoman society. Mahmud II's political acumen, in contrast, was grounded in his understanding that Ottoman society required a radical internal transformation that eliminated the antiquated and corrupt systems of tax collection and military organization in the Ottoman Empire. These traditional systems were intrinsically linked to the educational systems in the Empire, and together they were preventing the advancement and betterment of Ottoman society. By ridding the Empire of its traditional failing systems Mahmud II intended to pull Ottoman society out of its drastic decline through a reconceptualization of education.⁸⁵

Before examining education reforms and initiatives of Sultan Mahmud II in the nineteenth century it is important to understand how institutions of higher learning were conceptualized by the Ottoman state in the eighteenth century. More importantly, it is essential to understand how this conceptualization affected the role played by learned classes of Ottoman society.⁸⁶ As Berkes illustrates, schools opened during the early years of military reform under Selim III remained outside the realm of the educational system in the Empire.

Education in the sense of schooling was a “religious” matter; the new schools were thought of only as a means of teaching certain skills, primarily for military purposes. Consequently, no institutions were founded in which to prepare students in the alphabet of modern science; there arose the strange situation of teaching engineering students such elementary subjects as writing, composition, Arabic, French, elementary arithmetic, etc.⁸⁷

With the introduction of the Lancasterian system of education in the early 1830s into the Greek primary schools of Istanbul and from there into the Armenian primary schools, education changed irreversibly in the Ottoman Empire.⁸⁸ Named after Joseph Lancaster (1778 – 1838), a

⁸⁵ Ibid., 99.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 99-121, for a detailed analysis of Ottoman educational reform efforts.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 100.

⁸⁸ For the history of the Lancasterian system in Ottoman hands, see Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 102-5.

British-born Quaker, who carried his “monitorial” method of education to the United States in 1818, the Lancasterian system had quickly spread to the Mediterranean islands, carried by American missionaries during the Greek War of Independence (1821 – 1829). According to Berkes, Lancaster’s monitorial system was attractive to societies everywhere with strong democratic movements.⁸⁹ The Christians of Istanbul recognized the advantages of this system of mutual education in which older more advanced students teach younger less advanced students under the supervision of an adult: “Of the importance of the Lancasterian schools in this country, we think that we and our patrons at home can have but one opinion. To afford them encouragement and patronage, and to aid in extending the system as much as possible...”⁹⁰

It was a system that could spread general education quickly and efficiently. In 1830 – 31 the missionaries Smith and Dwight were obliged to report of the Armenian Academy at Tiflis, that, “None of the modern improvements in education were ever tried in it, except an ineffectual attempt at the Lancasterian system.”⁹¹

The situation was quite different in Istanbul. There the Greek Patriarchate of Istanbul was vehemently opposed to the Lancasterian schools, which had sprung up in their midst thanks to the missionary work of William Goodell, who arrived in 1830 and who shortly thereafter writes, “More than twenty such schools have been established among the Greeks in this neighborhood within the last year, one of which is in our own house and contains between twenty and thirty girls.”⁹² In late 1831 he writes that one might, “...wonder why I have done so much for the

⁸⁹ Ibid., 102.

⁹⁰ William Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire: Or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, by his son-in-law E.D.G. Prime, D.D.* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1875), 129.

⁹¹ Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 134.

⁹² Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 129.

Greeks and so little for the Armenians.”⁹³ He then explains that he simply has had more contact with Greeks than Armenians and, more importantly:

...as regards the Lancasterian school, I had absolutely nothing to begin with among the Armenians,--no lessons, no suitable books, no master; nor could I well give them an idea of the system without having a living model, such a model as these Greek schools do actually present.⁹⁴

Opposition to the new Lancasterian schools was intense, at first in the Greek Patriarchate and subsequently in the Armenian Patriarchate, due partially to the sponsors of the schools, namely Protestant missionaries, and partially to the missionaries’ decision to provide schools for girls as well as for boys. After having fought the “papal heresy” in the eighteenth century, the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates were now having to fight a new Protestant heresy. Papal Greeks had been attending Latin chapels in Istanbul while Papal Armenians had just been granted their own millet in 1831. Goodell’s mission to educate Armenians was not restricted to aspiring Protestants; soon after his arrival he reports regular reading and conversing with two “papal Armenian youth.”⁹⁵ In marrying an Englishman to a papal Armenian in 1832 Goodell reports that the ladies’ friends had never seen Protestant worship before and were surprised “to find us so religious a people, Protestants and atheists being synonymous terms with them.”⁹⁶ Undoubtedly, Goodell’s success in establishing schools was the factor prompting a visit by a Jesuit to convert him to the papal belief in 1834.⁹⁷ Both the Greek and the Armenian Patriarchates recognized the Protestant missionaries as a new threat to their religious authority as

⁹³ Ibid., 128.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 130.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 146.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 166-69.

Orthodox Christian communities.⁹⁸ In 1832 the Greek Patriarch issued a notice of excommunication for those who sent their children to Goodell's school for girls, which caused the girls to be removed.⁹⁹ About twenty years later Ubicini reports that only two of the 38 Greek primary schools in Istanbul were worthy of mention: "dans lesquelles des professeurs hellènes ont importé récemment la méthode lancastrienne, suivie aujourd'hui dans la plupart des contrées de l'Europe."¹⁰⁰ He deplores the fact that Patriarch has not exerted himself, ". . . de propager le nouveau système; il n'en a rien été, et l'enseignement est resté stationnaire comme tout le reste."¹⁰¹

Orthodox opposition to the Lancastrian schools was mirrored by the *ulema* who equally opposed the introduction of these schools when Sultan Mahmud and his officials decided to employ the Lancasterian system.¹⁰² Heated religious opposition to these schools was only overcome by their introduction into the military and professional training of Muslims, which proved the benefits of education for career advancement to the majority Muslim population. Goodell quotes Azim Bey, the son of a former ambassador to England, who helped to promote the new Turkish schools in the suburbs of Istanbul and who addressed one group of scholars by telling them that rank can be taken away and that fires, floods, and tempests can consume everything else but that: "Knowledge, therefore, young men, knowledge is the best property you

⁹⁸ Ibid., 161-66, records early opposition among the papal Armenians as well as among the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates.

⁹⁹ Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 143; Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 103.

¹⁰⁰ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 198.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 103-4.

can possess.”¹⁰³ By 1834 Goodell could report on how well-received the “Turkish Lancasterian schools” were even though, according to Berkes, Goodell seemed oblivious to the fact that the schools were providing primary education for future soldiers but also higher education for officer candidates.¹⁰⁴

A report prepared by the Council on Public Works, a consultative council assembled by Sultan Mahmud II, appeared in 1839 in the first official Ottoman newspaper, *Takvim-i Vekayi*.¹⁰⁵ This report drawn up a year earlier in 1838 gives the new “scientific” approach to education under Mahmud II:

All arts and trades are products of science. Religious knowledge serves salvation in the world to come, but science serves perfection of man in this world....Without science, the people cannot know the meaning of love for the state and fatherland (*vatan*)...nothing can be done without the acquisition of science and...the means for acquiring science and remedying education lie in giving a new order to the schools.¹⁰⁶

The education reforms of Mahmud II were not fully realized during his reign. Based on the 1838 report by the Council on Public Works, *ruşdiye* secondary schools were established in 1847.¹⁰⁷ Prior to the development of the secular *ruşdiye* secondary schools, in 1839 two schools for boys who successfully completed a primary education (those who graduated from the

¹⁰³ Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 144.

¹⁰⁴ Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 104. Cf. Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 144, 170-71.

¹⁰⁵ Both “Council on Useful Affairs” and “Council on Public Works” are used by Stanford Shaw and other historians. For the purposes of this dissertation I have chosen to use the latter translation.

¹⁰⁶ Full text in *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 6 February 1839, translated by Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 105.

¹⁰⁷ For a thorough account of the development of the *ruşdiye* schools, see Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) and Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage*, vol. 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

mektebs) were established in Istanbul: *Mekteb-i Maarif* (School of Secular Learning) and *Mekteb-i Ulûm-u Edebiye* (School of Literary Sciences). The latter was for the most part used to train official government translators who would later enter the *Tercüme Odası* (Translation Office) of the Ottoman Porte.¹⁰⁸

No less interesting than Mahmud II's education reforms were the dress reforms that he issued for his subjects, firstly, in an attempt to improve his soldiers' fighting abilities by updating the military uniform, and, secondly, for private individuals, in an attempt to mimic modern European dress by removing the differential dress regulations formerly employed to distinguish Muslims from non-Muslims in the Empire.¹⁰⁹ This was a very visible and therefore extraordinarily important step in the modernization and secularization of the Empire.

1.11 The Armenian Millet in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

The millet system divided Ottoman subjects into ethnic and linguistic communities, but social ranking in Ottoman society depended on the individual's service to the state. The Christian and Jewish millets each produced exceptional individuals who rose to high status in the Muslim state, either through hereditary position or extraordinary skills or both.

By the eighteenth century the Armenians had become prominent enough to attract the attention of the Ottoman Porte, which comprised the official arm of the Palace. The Armenians'

¹⁰⁸ Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 107.

¹⁰⁹ For a detailed account of the evolution and economic significance of these dress reforms, see Charlotte Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Later Ottoman Empire," in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1558-1922: An Introduction*, edited by Donald Quataert (Albany: State University of New York Press: 2000), 201-41, esp. 208, 218, 223, 228-29. Cf. Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 122-26. Cf. C.E. Bosworth, "The Concept of *Dhimma* in Early Islam," in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire I*, 48.

extensive connections outside the Ottoman Empire were worrisome to the Porte, and their loyalties were suspect due to their vast diasporic commercial networks throughout Europe and the Mediterranean world. The sudden appearance of Armenians who self-identified as Catholic rather than Orthodox were particularly worrisome to the Porte.

Like the other non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, the Armenians were a recognized class of citizens before the law, with freedom to practice their religion, to maintain their churches and other religious establishments,¹¹⁰ to educate their children, and to manage their civil affairs. From the beginning of the Empire the Armenian millet was a community in which the Armenian Orthodox Church played a dual role, both civil and ecclesiastical, a role that mirrored its historical role in both the Graeco-Roman period and in the medieval period. This dual role is considered significant by all nineteenth-century historians and missionaries, who write about the structure of the Armenian Patriarchate.¹¹¹ It must have been recognized by Armenians and Turks alike since the beginning of the Empire.

As the Ottoman Empire expanded eastward and gained new territory, the Armenian population of the Empire became one of the two largest non-Muslim populations subject to Osmanli control and the Armenian Patriarchate, as the voice of the community to the Sultan, solidified its power over members of the Armenian millet. At the same time wealthy and connected Armenians consolidated their power over the Armenian Patriarchate representing them. Because of the structure of Ottoman society and the millet system, religious conversion

¹¹⁰ Religious institutions also included hospitals and orphanages.

¹¹¹ Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 9-16. Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 269-79. E.D.G. Prime writing in Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 229-33.

was a political issue.¹¹² The French especially, but also the Austrians championed the Catholics of the Ottoman Empire while the British especially but also the Americans and Dutch championed the Protestants. Catholics and Protestants did not possess great numbers in the Ottoman Empire so their support by foreign powers could be permitted if not overlooked. In contrast, the Armenian national church, which had no foreign power to support it, enjoyed great numbers in the Ottoman Empire, which meant that the Porte was very interested in supporting the Armenian Patriarchate and thereby stabilizing the millet system.

Threats to the power and the purse of the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople were dealt with swiftly and fiercely. At the beginning of the eighteenth century an Armenian priest from Armenia proper, Mekhitar of Sivas, came to Constantinople, seat of the Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate, in order to advance his mission of educating Armenians for their betterment and for the survival of the Armenian heritage. At that time Ubicini reports, “L’Eglise arménienne de Constantinople était alors en proie à de violentes discords que le zèle intolérant des missionnaires européens avait allumées.”¹¹³ The European missionaries were Catholics bent on ending the Armenian schism, who, in their fervor to denounce schismatics and restore unity in the Catholic Church, did the opposite and resurrected the old Christological quarrels. The Armenian Patriarchate fought back by denouncing the missionaries as “conspirateurs soudoyés par les cours d’Occident.”¹¹⁴ The Porte, always suspicious of the Roman Catholics due to their allegiance to a foreign head, soon issued a *hatti-sherif* ordering the arrest of all Armenians who

¹¹² See Hagop Barsoumian, “The Dual Role of the Armenian *Amira* Class within the Ottoman Government and the Armenian *Millet* (1750-1850),” in Braude and Lewis, *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* I, 179.

¹¹³ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 254.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

had united with the Roman Church. Mekhitar, whose mentor was a Jesuit and who had founded his Armenian Catholic order with support from Rome, fled westward where he and his order thrived, as shall be seen in the history of Armenian printing in Chapter Three.

The Armenian population of Turkey in the nineteenth century

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire was in steep decline. It had lost significant territory in Eastern Europe from Hungary to the Crimea and large swaths of territory from Georgia toward the Persian Gulf along its eastern border. The Armenians of the Ottoman Empire were, however, not in decline. They had benefited from the reforms introduced by Selim III and Mahmud II and from considerable contact with Europe and Western ideas of progress and modern society.¹¹⁵

By the mid-nineteenth century Ubicini, the most renowned statistician of Turkey at that time, using the official census of 1844 and the Ottoman Yearbooks for 1849 and 1850, estimated the entire Armenian population of Turkey to be about 2,400,000, of which slightly less than 400,000 resided in Turkey in Europe and the remainder resided in Turkey in Asia.¹¹⁶ Of that Armenian population of Turkey in Europe more than half resided in Constantinople and its suburbs.¹¹⁷ Another 100,000 Armenians are counted residing in Constantinople and the cities of Turkey in Europe in Ubicini's updated statistics provided slightly less than a quarter-century later, which brings the total Armenian population of Turkey to approximately two and a half million around

¹¹⁵ Roderic Davison, "The Millets as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire I*, 319-37.

¹¹⁶ Ubicini, *Lettres I*, 19, 27.

¹¹⁷ Ubicini, *Lettres II*, 296.

the time of the Constitution of 1876.¹¹⁸ This is not a large increase in population for that length of time. Loss of territory, war, famine and emigration may account for the slow increase in population, but it is striking that the increase is registered, according to Ubicini, only in the capital and a handful of cities of Turkey in Europe.

Stanford Shaw and after him McCarthy and Karpat attempted, unsuccessfully, to explain the small number of Ottoman census reports in such a way as to account for the statistically improbable reduced numbers of Armenians after World War I.¹¹⁹ No one disputes the fact that the largest number of Armenians by far--around 2,000,000 according to Ubicini and about half that according to Shaw and his followers--resided in Turkey in Asia, where Ubicini explicitly cites the Taurus mountains, Zeitoun, and Cilicia as having sizable populations. To illustrate the validity of Ubicini's estimates over those of Shaw I give the following example. Shaw reports statistics from a census report issued in 1885-1886 that gives the city of Istanbul a population of only 873,565. This number clearly results from serious undercounting for one reason or another, since the population of Istanbul and its suburbs reported by Ubicini using the 1844 census data was 891,000. Ubicini's estimates were newly processed and based on contemporary inquiries, reports and investigations. He writes that approximately 194,000 were

¹¹⁸ Abdolonyme Ubicini and Abel Pavet de Courteille, *État présent de l'empire ottoman: statistique, gouvernement, administration, finances, armée, communautés non musulmanes* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1876), 40- 41.

¹¹⁹ Stanford J. Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 9, no. 3 (Oct. 1978), 325-38. Cf. Steven Rosenthal (who accepts the low Turkish figures presented by Shaw), "Minorities and Municipal Reform in Istanbul, 1850-1870," in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire I*, 370 and n. 5: "One-fifth of Constantinople's 159,511 Armenians...were domiciled in Galata."

Muslim males, a figure which, by the way, Shaw accepts as male numbers but not as “Muslim” male numbers when he compares these to the numbers of males in the city in 1854.¹²⁰

Shaw’s description of the census system and its development is valuable but the numbers he pulls from the reports are never given in their full context as to the areas included, the actual dates of the numbers reported, the breakdown of numbers by city, province, and ethnicity, and possible extrapolations for population increase or decrease in specific areas based on specific examples. Shaw does correctly state, “The substantial economic development of the city during the late nineteenth century also could be a logical reason for the population increase.”¹²¹ However, the “increase”—which he notes and which the economic situation indicates—is actually a “decrease” from the real numbers in the 1844 census data because Shaw fails to explain that the 193,692 males in that census represent only the Muslim males and not all males in Istanbul and its suburbs, as Ubicini does a century earlier.¹²² This and similar internal contradictions or inappropriate comparisons, coupled with his dismissal of earlier accounts such as those of Ubicini as no more than “rough estimates left by foreign visitors”—when they are based not only upon the very same Yearbooks but also upon direct and in-depth contemporary observation and investigative reporting by Muslims and non-Muslims alike—make Shaw’s population estimates extremely questionable. They also provide another proof of the reliability of Ubicini’s sources and his detailed and extensive statistics, which have been corroborated by numerous scholars and documents over the years. Statistics provided in 1913 by Krikor Zohrab, writing under the pen name Marcel Léart, using numbers collected by the Patriarchate in 1882,

¹²⁰ Shaw, “Ottoman Census,” 333.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Cf. Shaw, “Ottoman Census,” 332, and Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 2.

estimate the Armenian population of Ottoman Turkey at that time to be around 2,660,000 of which 1,630,000 reside in the six Armenian vilayets and 1,030,000 in Cilicia and different cities in Turkey.¹²³ This corresponds well with Ubicini's figures for 1844 and for 1876, showing a small increase. A larger increase might have been expected, had there not been so many detrimental circumstances in the intervening years. Ubicini readily admitted that his population figures in all likelihood greatly underestimated the rural Armenian population—which more or less corresponds to the majority of the “disappeared” part of the Armenian population.¹²⁴ Here it is important to remember that an extremely large and violent reduction in the Armenian population of eastern Asia Minor, or western Armenia, occurred following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78:

According to the British diplomatic sources, as a result of the internal displacement during the 1877-1878 Russian-Turkish war, the massacres and atrocities committed by the Kurdish irregulars, and the government-sponsored resettlement of the Circassians, Turks, and Lezgins in eastern Asia Minor, the Armenian population of the six easternmost provinces of the Ottoman Empire was reduced to 35 percent of the total population there in 1878.¹²⁵

According to statistics for 1912, Armenian sources report that there were only 2,100,000 Armenians in Ottoman Turkey in 1912, “... the 500,000 decrease presumably being the result of the massacres of 1894 to 1896 and 1909 as well as the continued Armenian exodus to the

¹²³ See Sarkis Y. Karayan, “The Fate of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey: From 1828 to 2000: A Demographic Research Study,” in *Massis Weekly*, Vol. 30, issue 14, April 24, 2010, 6-8, for a devastating rebuttal of Shaw and others who rely on falsely reported, doctored and fabricated statistics belatedly produced from the Ottoman archives for a select group of scholars; Cf. Marcel Léart, *La Question arménienne à la lumière des documents* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1913); Cf. Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 277.

¹²⁴ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 295.

¹²⁵ Arman J. Kirakossian, “Introduction,” in Arman J. Kirakossian, ed., *The Armenian Massacres, 1894-1896: British Media Testimony* (Dearborn, MI: University of Michigan- Dearborn, 2008), 23.

Caucasus, Europe, and the United States.”¹²⁶ To conclude, there is no reason to accept Turkish estimates of the Armenian population over Armenian estimates for the period from the Crimean War to the onset of World War I.¹²⁷

Armenian occupations in the nineteenth century

Ubicini divides the Armenian community of the nineteenth century into four classes and examines each in some depth: the clergy, the literary or professional class, the bankers (*sarrafs*) and the artisans and tradesmen.¹²⁸ He admits, however, that these are urban distinctions that belong to Istanbul and that the lesser cities of the Empire and the rural areas contained large numbers of Armenians who would better be described as agriculturists or pastoralists, “...continuent les moeurs de leurs ancêtres.”¹²⁹ In his day it had become customary for the unmarried Armenian males from poor peasant families in the provinces to flock in droves to Constantinople and the other big cities of the Levant to seek their fortunes for a few years, returning after two or three years with enough money to marry and purchase a little land or a few sheep, rather like guest-workers of our time.¹³⁰ American missionaries visiting Asia Minor in the late 1820s write that the genius of the Armenian nation is commercial and that they “...invariably

¹²⁶ Richard G. Hovannisian, “The Armenian Question in the Ottoman Empire,” in Hovannisian, *Armenian People* II, 234-235.

¹²⁷ Shortly before WW I the scholar and historian who spent four decades in Istanbul, Sir Edwin Pears, *Turkey and Its People*, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen & Co., 1912), 271, writes: “They [the Armenians] probably number about four millions, of whom two are in Turkey, one and a half in Russia, and the remainder dispersed throughout the world.”

¹²⁸ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 310.

¹²⁹ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 317.

¹³⁰ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 318; Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 28. He estimates the non-resident Armenian population of Istanbul in 1844, which included these *bekiars*, at 16,000; see Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 27.

work their way into some of the ranks of trade...ascending gradually to that of merchant, and finally, the more able or fortunate, reaching that of banker, the acme of their ambition.”¹³¹

Ubicini ranks the Armenians above all others of the Empire with respect to business; he writes that the Armenians, “étaitent et sont encore le peuple le plus commerçant de tout l’Empire. . .”¹³²

Here it is important to note that the economic success of the Armenian millet (like the other millets of the Ottoman Empire) was, in the words of Charles Issawi, owed, first, to the fact, that, “a minority that is excluded from certain avenues of power, like the army, church and politics, tends to concentrate on and excel in business and the professions.”¹³³ He identifies the millet’s clannishness in promoting its own business interests as a second important reason. Other reasons peculiar to the Ottoman Empire help to explain the millets’ economic ascendancy include foreign protection, a favorable situation following various reforms in the Empire, superior education and help from coreligionists outside the region. Issawi notes furthermore:

The millets participated actively in those sectors of the economy that expanded most rapidly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: foreign trade with Europe and the Americas, the various branches of finance, mechanized transport, export-oriented agriculture, and modern industry.¹³⁴

Yet the Armenians were not united as a community, even in Istanbul. Power resided in the hands of a few and a deepening resentment had begun to spread due to contact with the West and knowledge of the democratic reforms and movements in Europe and the United States.

¹³¹ Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 129.

¹³² Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 311.

¹³³ Charles Issawi, “The Transformation of the Economic Position of the *Millets* in the Nineteenth Century,” in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* I, 270.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 270-71.

An impressive analysis of the tensions and divisions within the Armenian community in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century was written by a contemporary Armenian notable, Mekerdich Dadian, in 1867 in the distinguished French journal *Revue des Deux Mondes* originally founded on the idea of international exchange between the Old World and the New, between France and the United States.¹³⁵ This article explains the events and underlying causes that eventually led to the introduction of various democratic reforms within the Armenian Patriarchate and the Armenian community as a whole during the period when two religious groups, the Armenian Catholics and Protestants, withdrew from their national millet and set up separate millets organized by religion. Interestingly, the article does not directly address religious divisions with the Armenian community but instead focuses upon class divisions and corruption in the hierarchy, both patriarchal and lay, that outraged the community and led to democratic changes. Dadian emphasizes that at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century “on voit pour la première fois les Arméniens en corps tenter de s’ingérer dans l’administration des affaires de la communauté.”¹³⁶ He likens the Armenian community to a man waking up enervated “d’un long sommeil” and then states unequivocally, “mais cette fois le réveil était bien caractérisé et manifeste.”¹³⁷ He therefore speaks of the “awakening” of the Armenian nation and is clearly proud of the fact that his people roused themselves for a moral question, the education of their children. From this point on the Armenians actively worked to achieve greater self-government and more democratic institutions

¹³⁵ Mekerdich Dadian, “La société arménienne contemporaine: Les arméniens de l’empire ottoman,” *Revue des Deux Mondes*, tome 69, 1 May 1867, 903-28, who is identified as “M. le prince” in n 1.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 911.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

within the Ottoman Empire. It is, however, important to remember that their rallying point was public education.

Armenian religious divisions in the nineteenth century

Persecution of Armenian Catholics by the Armenian Patriarchate continued throughout the eighteenth century but came to a climax in 1827 after the Battle of Navarino in which the Christian powers had intervened on behalf of the Greeks. Many Franks were expelled from Constantinople; others fled voluntarily to escape the anger of the Porte. The ambassadors of the three Christian powers, Britain, France and Russia, left Constantinople for a year and a half. Those who suffered the most were, however, the Armenian Catholics who were accused of betraying the Porte and conspiring with its enemies due to dreams of emancipation of their own.¹³⁸ The Armenian bankers whom the Porte employed in all its financial transactions were accused of being spies in the pay of the French, especially so since they had taken up residence in Pera with the Franks rather than stay in the Armenian quarter.¹³⁹ In early 1828 the Patriarch, after having linked the Armenian Catholics to suspected treasonable relations with Russia, identified them by name to the Sultan, which initiated immediate reprisals. Extreme measures, including deportation and confiscation, were initiated against Armenian bankers in particular and Armenian Catholics in general. According to the missionaries Smith and Dwight, “The persecution which came upon them, when thus placed in the predicament of an unacknowledged

¹³⁸ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 261-65 provides the most detailed account of these events, which occurred during his youth. The American missionaries also report on these events regarding the Armenians whom they identify as “papal Armenians.” See, Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 231; Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 14-15, 20.

¹³⁹ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 262.

dissenting sect, is well known. The banishment of the laity seems to have been almost peculiar to the capital and its suburbs . . .”¹⁴⁰ With the return of the ambassadors after Ottoman defeat in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828-1829, the Sultan was persuaded by the French ambassador to recall the exiled Armenians and to restore their property, the argument being that the loss of so many wealthy subjects would lead to the ruin of commerce and even of the government itself: “La ruine momentanée du commerce, les pertes qui résultaient de la proscription de tant de riches banquiers, achevèrent de produire sur l’âme du sultan l’impression qui devait naître du moindre sentiment d’humanité.”¹⁴¹ Under diplomatic pressure Mahmud II eventually granted the status of a separate millet to the Armenian Catholics in 1831.

Similarly, persecution of Protestants, whom the English and American missionaries had first educated and then organized was prevalent from the 1830s until their independent status as a millet was recognized with the granting of a charter in 1850. This persecution emanated from both the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates as Goodell observed:

These Armenian and Greek and Catholic communities [millets] are themselves so mighty, and they exert a mighty influence; and they are always exerting it against each other, each endeavoring to enlist the Turk on his side. Now, all these mighty communities united all their mighty energies to oppose Protestantism.¹⁴²

This persecution was fought by the English, American, and Dutch ambassadors in an attempt to protect their co-religionists, which Goodell duly notes:

¹⁴⁰ See Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 15, 19-20, for specific information: “The papal Armenians of Constantinople were estimated, at the time of their banishment, at 27,000; and most of them resided in Péra and Gálata, where they had the society and countenance of the Franks, and could attend the Latin chapels, of which there are six or seven in the two places.”

¹⁴¹ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 264.

¹⁴² Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 402.

The influence, then, which was, and which still is exerted upon the Turkish government against religious liberty is more powerful than can well be expressed... Whatever influence the representatives of England and of other Protestant governments have exerted upon the Turkish government in favor of Protestantism, has been mainly in opposition to other mighty influences of a most adverse character.¹⁴³

Discontent within the Armenian community was not, however, limited to the religious divisions separating Gregorian Armenians from Armenians of Catholic or Protestant persuasion. Mekerdich Dadian describes in 1867 striking detail the anger of the people in the 1830s over their long exclusion from decisions affecting the Armenian millet because all of the power up to that time rested in the hands of the Patriarchate and the National Council (*Azkain Joghov*) composed of “l’aristocratie arménienne,” namely the surviving members of the noble families who fled to Constantinople after the fall of their capital of Ani in 1169.¹⁴⁴ He explained that although the people in power changed due to the dying out of some of the old noble families and their replacement by men who, in imitation of the patricians of Venice, gained their fortunes through banking and commerce, the exclusion of the majority from power remained:

La masse du peuple n’eut aucune part à la formation de ce nouveau pouvoir, qui prétendait pourtant le représenter, quoique l’intérêt public fût la moindre de ses préoccupations.¹⁴⁵

1.12 Armenians, Missionaries, and Priests in the Ottoman Empire

Most of the European powers had maintained foreign embassies in the Frankish area of Constantinople, in particular Pera, from the earliest days of the Empire. As Christians they favored the non-Muslim Christian subjects of the Sultan, the Greeks and the Armenians for their

¹⁴³ Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 402-3.

¹⁴⁴ Dadian, “La société arménienne contemporaine,” 903-28.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 908.

commercial transactions.¹⁴⁶ These Greeks and Armenians became easy targets for the European missionaries welcomed to Istanbul and other Ottoman cities by their native embassies and consuls. The Catholic missionaries and priests wanted to unify the schismatic orthodox churches of the Ottoman East with the papal churches of the Latin West, and the foreign embassies of Catholic nations such as France and Austro-Hungary supported them in these efforts. Ubicini correctly observes that the political state of the Armenians under Ottoman rule was generally good and their absorption and integration into the Ottoman state steady until convulsions and persecutions, brought about, surprisingly, not by intolerance on the part of the Turks but by “les tentatives violentes de l’Eglise romaine pour detacher les Arméniens du schisme et les ramener à l’unité, firent explosion au commencement du dix-huitième siècle.”¹⁴⁷

In the nineteenth century both Catholic priests and Protestant missionaries converged on Armenia and on Turkey, where they vied for the conversion of souls in the Ottoman Empire, to the evident dismay of Ottoman officials:

American and English missionaries, Jesuit and Lazarist [i.e., Vincentian] priests . . . and many Italian and Russian individuals . . . are educating Muslim and Christian children gratis and seducing and convincing the children of those who do not send their children to their schools by any means available and are corrupting the subjects’ upbringing. In spite of this, so far no schools have been built by the [Ottoman] state as is necessary to be beneficial and to compete with them.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 39, who report in 1830 that the Turks “systematically regard Christians, whether native or Europeans, as inferior to themselves, universally refusing to enter their employ as servants...”

¹⁴⁷ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 252.

¹⁴⁸ Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 59, quotes from Yildiz Esas Evrâki, *Mütenevvi Mârûzat Evrâki* 29/48, 2.

By the nineteenth century many Armenians had become Catholic due to the Mekhitarists promoting Armenian culture and heritage along with their Catholic brand of religion throughout the eighteenth century. The Mekhitarist brand of Catholic Armenians soon outnumbered the earlier Jesuit brand of Catholic Armenians. The Catholic Armenians had a considerable community in Istanbul as well as significant communities in Ankara and Sivas and other cities in central and eastern Armenia. In Ubcini's time, however, a new division within the Catholic Armenians, which pitted those favoring Romish traditions and culture against those favoring Armenian traditions and culture, was threatening to tear the Catholic Armenians apart even though the Armenian Catholic millet had been created only a short while earlier.¹⁴⁹

Protestant missionaries began to arrive in the Ottoman capital only in the nineteenth century. Their efforts were supported by the ambassadors of the Protestant nations, England and Holland, and especially by the American ambassador, since most of the Protestant missionaries were American rather than European. American missionaries had begun visiting Ottoman and Muslim territory bordering the Mediterranean in 1820, under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, created in Massachusetts at the beginning of the nineteenth century for the purpose of spreading Christianity worldwide. The ABCFM was a Protestant organization begun by Congregationalists but accepting missionaries from other Protestant denominations, particularly Presbyterian and Dutch-Reform. By 1829 ABCFM missionaries had traveled to the Seven Churches of Revelation (all located in western Anatolia), ascended the Nile to Thebes, explored all of Palestine and most of Syria, journeyed from Smyrna to Cappadocia, visited the Morea along with the principal islands of the Ionian and Aegean Seas, and even toured Tripoli and Tunis. They had intended to convert Jews to Christianity but

¹⁴⁹ Ubcini, *Lettres* II, 330-41.

discovered that Jews were unlikely to convert. They had also gathered a mass of information about the condition of the Greek, Coptic and Maronite churches. From the beginning the Protestant missions were interested in the relics of the Oriental Churches: “While papists are hedged around by inveterate prejudice, and moslem by their intolerant law against apostasy, *those churches are accessible*.”¹⁵⁰ Among the Oriental Churches the Protestant missions were especially interested in the Armenian Church because of its large size and members scattered along the coast of the Levant, which led the ABCFM “to hope, that in *Armenia itself* might be found some promising fields for missionary culture.”¹⁵¹

The creation and early missions of the ABCFM happened to coincide with the Western powers’ recognition of the Eastern Question and the geopolitical problems emerging from the decline of what later came to be called the “Sick Man of Europe.” Not surprisingly, a large number of Protestant missions were sent to the Ottoman Empire, where two missionaries scouting out the territory, admitted, “...by laboring among Christians, we gain an easy entrance into the heart of our enemy’s territory.”¹⁵² The two missionaries in question, Eli Smith and Harrison Dwight, wrote a book about their arduous sixteen-month long travels across Turkey in 1830 and 1831, which is most interesting for its observations about the much better state of the Armenians in Istanbul and Smyrna as compared to that of Armenians in the towns and villages in central and eastern Anatolia, where, “It can be nothing else than the blighting influence of Mohammedan oppression that has caused them thus to wither away.”¹⁵³ Of course, since these

¹⁵⁰ Smith, in his Preface of Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, lxiii.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid., 465.

¹⁵³ Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 75. It is interesting to contrast this view with that of Ubicini about a quarter-century later where the usually impartial and skeptical Ubicini, following Lamartine and others of his French countrymen who matured in the heyday of

were the emigrating Armenians following in the wake of the Russian army as they left Erzerum in 1830, there is some explanation for their beggared appearance and despondent countenances. The fact that “they are in a perishing state” is, according to Smith and Dwight, the most important reason for taking on the task of educating these Christians.¹⁵⁴ It is striking that Smith and Dwight refer to the Armenians as “nominal Christians,” which they emphasize by italicizing the words. They regard the Armenian form of Christianity as corrupted, being cut off from the vine, and therefore a bad example of Christianity for Mohammedans. Their proposal is: “Let every missionary station raise up from the corrupt mass of nominal Christians around it, a goodly number of true followers of the Lamb . . .”¹⁵⁵

Smith and Dwight’s records of their travels are important because they paint a picture of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, both in Istanbul and in the outlying provinces, at a particular point in time, 1830-1831, that can be compared to others in the five decades that follow. The customs and habits of the people whom they encountered were of great interest to the two missionaries. They describe a church service in which they had witnessed barefoot clergy prostrating themselves and idolatry of images, with the words, “the whole will seem to you a mummary and an abomination.”¹⁵⁶ They had little respect for the Armenian clergy they met, most of whom--especially those outside of Istanbul--were woefully uneducated and less knowledgeable than the merchants in their provinces. The Armenian Patriarchal system seemed

French romanticism, writes about the noble peasants and the degenerate city-dwellers of Armenian ancestry, comparing them to peasants of Greek ancestry who exhibit the same noble character in the wilds and degenerate character in the cities; see *Lettres* II, 341-43. Perhaps this is just Ubicini acknowledging the much admired French writers of his time.

¹⁵⁴ Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 461.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 465.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 139-41.

to them full of venal men without vocation. The missionaries considered the convents full of corruption and reported that parents did not like to send their sons to be educated there due to vice.¹⁵⁷ Despite the fact that they dislike all things popish, papal, and Romish, they admit praise of Mekhitar and his achievements, especially his publication of the Bible in 1733.¹⁵⁸ Even so, they seem glad to report that Mekhitarist influence in Armenia itself is small and that the publications of the Venice society are extremely rare and difficult to be obtained. They realize that dangers exist for Protestant missions to Turkey, noting the case of the papal Armenians and their persecution in 1828 by the Patriarchate, which they believe is “full of instruction.”¹⁵⁹ One of the curious facts that Smith and Dwight point out more than once to illustrate the isolation and backwardness of the Armenian peasantry, and even their clergy, in central and eastern Anatolia is that these Armenians do not understand who Smith and Dwight are and where they come from. They understand that the missionaries are not Russians but not that they are “Americans.” The Armenians knew of the discovery of the New World, but not the name of the continent:

...although they had heard of the New World, they had not the least information respecting it, not even of its situation. For they supposed it to be near Constantinople, that being the *ultima Thule* of their geographical knowledge, and knew not whether it was inhabited by Christians, Turks, or Pagans.¹⁶⁰

William Goodell, who spent over forty years doing active missionary work, thirty-four of them in Istanbul, has left a series of letters describing his work, the most interesting of which have been collected by his son-in-law and organized within a historical framework in a volume

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 235-36.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 163-64.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 14-15.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 109.

subtitled *Memoirs* published in 1877.¹⁶¹ There the son-in-law, E.D.G. Prime, describes the scope of the missionary's task:

When Mr. Goodell went to Constantinople, his mission was to the Armenians, who were descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Armenia. The nation embraced Christianity about the commencement of the fourth century; but, like all Oriental churches, the Armenian had become exceedingly corrupt. It was almost wholly given up to superstition and to idolatrous worship of saints, including the Virgin Mary, pictures, &c.¹⁶²

Goodell was a contemporary of Smith and a close friend of Dwight with whom he worked for many years in the movement known as the Protestant Reformation in Turkey.¹⁶³ A transformation of Ottoman society occurred during the four decades covered by the letters in Goodell's *Memoirs* commencing with his early missionary years in Beirut before Navarino up to 1865 when he departed Istanbul for Boston at the end of his active missionary work. Goodell describes fleeing Beirut with his family after the Battle of Navarino as the French and English consuls and countrymen are doing the same, hoping to escape the anger of the Sultan against the Christian powers; the Goodells spent well over a year on Malta before heading to Istanbul when Sultan Mahmud II's anger had cooled and the foreign ambassadors had returned.¹⁶⁴ There he set up residence in Pera, with the other Franks, only to flee once again due to the major conflagration that swept through Pera that year.

Goodell's missionary work was primarily as a scholar, linguist, and educator more than as a religious authority. He devoted his life to translating the New Testament and the Old

¹⁶¹ Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 126.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ The movement is identified in Prime's "Introduction" to Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, vii.

¹⁶⁴ Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 112, reaching Constantinople 9th of June, 1831.

Testament into Armeno-Turkish so that the people of his mission, namely, the Armenians, could read the Bible and learn the word of God and the Gospel. Goodell was “the farthest possible from indulging, or encouraging in others, a spirit of proselytism,” according to his son-in-law, and he steadfastly refused to baptize Greek or Armenian Christians:

...being anxious that not only the people, but the priests, and all the ecclesiastics of the Greek and Armenian churches, should see and feel that the missionaries, in coming among them, were not actuated by any desire to gather around themselves a company of followers, but that they simply wished to persuade men to become followers of Christ.¹⁶⁵

Goodell wanted to put the truth of the Gospel before people who had no knowledge of it, despite being, “nominal Christians.” With Armenian assistants, Goodell had started translating the New Testament into Armeno-Turkish in Syria before fleeing to Malta after Navarino. Malta, being under English control, was a safehaven for ABCFM missionaries in the Levant, where they had some years earlier set up a printing press for the use of their Levantine operations. Goodell ran the press after his arrival in Malta in 1828 and it was there that his New Testament in Armeno-Turkish began to be printed under his direct supervision.¹⁶⁶ In 1841 after working for over a decade in Istanbul Goodell completed his translation of the Old Testament into Armeno-Turkish, and two years later he produced a revised edition of his New Testament.¹⁶⁷ He described this work as “preparing the Scriptures for those who are comparatively enlightened; who as a nation have access to them in at least two languages already, though neither of them is generally understood...”¹⁶⁸ He goes on to state that, “... as nearly all can read the Armeno-

¹⁶⁵ E.D.G. Prime in Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 315, 320-21.

¹⁶⁶ Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 103-10.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 266, 281.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 267.

Turkish, and very many thousands among them can read nothing else, the translation of the Bible into this language is imperiously demanded.”¹⁶⁹ Over the course of his life Goodell spent as much time helping to set up and organize schools for students of all ethnic and religious affiliations.

Towards the end of his stay, in 1857, Goodell wrote a paper for the ABCFM detailing “The Importance of Constantinople as a Missionary Field.”¹⁷⁰ There he lists a number of points, including the fact that Ottoman capital is a “great world in itself,” that “all nationalities of the empire are represented at the capital,” that every sect “has here its civil and ecclesiastical head...where all its business of any importance is transacted,” that “all the pashas and acting bishops go out from the capital, that the city is the “centre of Eastern and Western Turkey,” standing “on the margin where European civilization terminates, and where Asiatic barbarism commences,” and finally that there are fifty thousand foreigners from the major countries of Europe, most of which “are never reached by any evangelical influence.”¹⁷¹

Goodell clearly understood the importance of Istanbul and argued for the continuation of missionary effort there despite the cost (the Ottoman capital being more expensive for missions than India, China, and other ABCFM sites) and despite the considerable achievements already made in the Ottoman Empire since Sultan Abdülmecid (r.1839 – 1861) held the Sultanate. His letters describe all of the major legislative changes made by the Sultan which affected religious liberty in the Ottoman Empire. His enthusiasm for these changes is evident. He described the *Hatt-i Şerif* of *Gülhane* of 1839, which the young Sultan proclaimed soon after his accession, the

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 26.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 388.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

first formal Bill of Rights, the “Magna Charta of Turkey,” even though, in his words, “it did not touch on the question of religious liberty which was considered in later firmans, nor, indeed, the subject of religion in any form.”¹⁷² He describes the fierce persecution of Protestants, continual excommunications of evangelicals by the Armenian Patriarch and the English ambassador’s intercession with the government.¹⁷³ He relates the evangelical Armenians uniting in 1846 and the acknowledgment of their independence in a firman issued by the Porte in 1847 at the instigation of the English.¹⁷⁴ Finally, in 1850 Sultan Abdülmecid granted a charter to the Protestants, which Goodell calls a “Magna Charta” for the Protestants.¹⁷⁵ In it the Sultan confirmed the Protestant organization as a civil community, a millet which included Protestants of all ethnicities and which secured them religious rights equal to those of the two other Armenian millets (the large Orthodox millet and the much smaller Catholic millet) and the Greek and Latin millets. Armenians were the most numerous ethnicity in the Protestant millet so the Armenian Patriarchate had put up the greatest resistance to its formation, but the Greek Patriarchate had also opposed its formation for the same reason, losing some of its members to another millet.

Goodell’s son-in-law relates an encounter that the missionary had in 1862 towards the end of his work in Turkey when he was on his way to speak at the annual meeting of the Central Turkey Mission in Aleppo. After another party of missionaries traveling to the meeting had been attacked and a friend killed near Alexandretta, Goodell’s party was required to overnight *en*

¹⁷² Ibid., 240.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 301-23.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 317, 330, 483.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 352-53.

route in a Turkish café, where in the morning Goodell insisted on holding their morning worship even though surrounded by Turks. He knelt and began praying in English but then continued in Turkish, and when he said “Amen,” the Turks, who had been listening intently, echoed his “Amen” and inquired what they were, asking if they were Protestants. Dr. Goodell asked them what Protestants were and heard from one that Protestants were those who do not tell lies and from another that Protestants were those who do not cheat and from another that Protestants were those who believed only in the Bible, and try to live as it tells them. At that point Dr. Goodell admitted that his party was Protestant. This story illustrates the transformation of Ottoman society over the four decades of Dr. Goodell’s missionary work.

A younger associate of Dr. Goodell, Cyrus Hamlin, was instrumental in the founding of Robert College in Istanbul.¹⁷⁶ He arrived in Istanbul in 1839 at a time when the Armenian Patriarchate was very hostile to “evangelical” missionaries despite the *Hatt-i Şerif* of *Gülhane* of that same year. He set up a boarding high school known as the Bebek Seminary in 1840; though forced to close several times, Hamlin managed to reopen it. It occasionally admitted Turkish and Jewish students but was primarily composed of Christian students, both Greek and Armenian. Its curriculum resembled that of American college-preparatory schools except that it emphasized modern and classical Armenian, Turkish and English rather than classical Latin and Greek.¹⁷⁷ Over the course of his forty years in Istanbul, Hamlin had been vocal about the need to improve modern Armenian, first by translating and publishing material in modern Armenian, beginning

¹⁷⁶ See Barbara J. Merguerian, “Cyrus Hamlin and American Education for Armenians in Constantinople,” in *Armenian Constantinople*, edited by Richard G. Hovannisian, Simon Payaslian and Robert W. Thomson (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2010), 199-225.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 204.

with the Bible, and subsequently by promoting Western Armenian as a literary language. In writing his autobiography in 1893 Hamlin reported:

The modern Armenian is now wholly transformed; it has become a beautiful and cultivated language. The books and translations presented fifty years ago are considered obsolete unless they have been carefully reedited. The Bible has gone through repeated revisions to keep it up with the growth of the language.¹⁷⁸

In 1895 in the journal *The Outlook* Hamlin wrote a descriptive account of Abdülhamid's efforts over many years first to repress the Armenians and then to eradicate them, leading up to the great massacres of 1894-96, with the European Powers saying a lot but doing nothing.¹⁷⁹

1.13 Conclusion

This journey through Turkish and Armenian history has shown the historical framework that supported the confluence and merging of two radically different societies beginning with the Battle of Manzikert in the eleventh century and continuing through the fall of the Cilician kingdom in the fourteenth century, the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, and the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774. Emboldened by Ottoman recognition of the Christian powers in the East and West after Karlowitz and Küçük Kaynarca, many Armenians perceived new opportunities not just in the Ottoman Empire but also on the global stage. Some learned to think of themselves as Christians in a global world comprised of Catholics and Protestants, encouraged by foreign missionaries and merchants working to proselytize or profit. Others renewed their dreams of independence and of eventual nationhood, encouraged by Russian hopes of undermining the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁷⁸ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times* (Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1893) 211.

¹⁷⁹ Cyrus Hamlin, "The Armenian Massacres," reprinted in Kirakossian, *Armenian Massacres, US Media*, 95-99.

The Ottomans used religion to divide and classify people, giving preference to Islam as the religion of state and to Muslims as their co-religionists. Yet they were astute enough to allow other religions to flourish in service to the state and to create institutions such as the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople as an intermediary between state and subject peoples. Though separate and unequal within the Ottoman state, the Armenians slowly developed a sense of themselves as a functioning nation, due in large part to two things, the survival of the Armenian Church as an individual entity and revival of Armenian cultural and literary heritage under the Mekhitarist Catholic priests. Despite such horrors as the *devşirme* system that deprived Christian fathers of their sons and the general lack of access to state office and civil service jobs, Armenians and other Christians learned to deal with these obstacles and deprivations by entering into business and pursuing education that could lead to professional careers. Some even profited by emigrating and engaging in international business and trade while using their co-religionists at home and abroad as partners and employees.

The Ottomans recognized the importance of good international relations as they began to recognize their own limitations in their confrontations with foreigners and foreign nations. They even tried to play East and West against one another at home and abroad with some success. However, they could not escape the feeling that they had been left behind militarily and economically in a Napoleonic world. They initiated reforms targeted first toward the military and second toward education, utilizing French innovations. Nevertheless, the Ottoman ship of state was adrift in a post-Napoleonic world, and the Tanzimat became a necessity.

CHAPTER TWO

ARMENIANS AND OTTOMANS 1839 – 1909: REFORM AND REVOLUTION

In this chapter I will discuss the Ottoman attempts under Mahmud II and his successors to reform and strengthen the state, which was facing severe economic distress and considerable civil unrest throughout the empire. I pay particular attention to the account of a French contemporary of the Tanzimat, Abdolonyme Ubicini whose work was uncommonly thorough, relatively unbiased, historically and statistically oriented, and based on his own and others' scholarly and firsthand investigations. The expansion of secularization in Ottoman society will be examined, principally through the lens of education and civil law. Reform efforts such as the *Hatt-i Şerif* of *Gülhane* and the *Hatt-i Hümayûn* will be discussed from both an Ottoman and Armenian point of view. The Armenian National Constitution and National Assembly will be examined as significant steps toward democratization. The short-lived first Ottoman Constitution will be compared to the Armenian Constitution, primarily with respect to individual liberties and education. Contemporary accounts of the events leading to the creation of these constitutions by Armenians such as Dadian and foreigners such as Burnaby will be introduced. The oppressive regime of Abdülhamid II will be examined especially for its treatment of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire but also for its suppression of progressive movements and ideas.

2.1 The Tanzimat: 1839 – 1876

The military and education reforms of Mahmud II ushered in a period of intensive bureaucratic reform and recentralization in the Ottoman Empire commonly known as the *Tanzimat* (the Reorganization). By far the best contemporary account of the Tanzimat period is

that given by Abdolonyme Ubicini in the definitive French edition of his *Lettres sur la Turquie* of 1853-54 and his subsequent update entitled *État présent de l'empire ottoman* of 1876.¹ In the Introduction to his *Lettres* Ubicini outlines his goal:

C'est ce tanzimat, ou organisation nouvelle de la Turquie, que j'entreprends de faire connaître, en parcourant successivement et en détail les différentes parties dont il se compose : politique, administration, gouvernement, culte, instruction publique, armée, marine, finances, etc.; toutes choses peu connues ou mal appréciées jusqu'ici parmi nous, et qui montrent comment la Turquie, que nous parlons de rejeter au delà du Bosphore, tend au contraire . . . à se détacher de Asie pour compléter l'Europe qui restait in achevée, et finir dans cette direction . . .²

He explains why the rest of the world cannot simply watch Turkey reorganize or disintegrate:

La disparition ou la régénération d'un empire aussi considérable que la Turquie, et qui tient une aussi grande place dans l'histoire, n'intéresse pas seulement par la grandeur du spectacle, elle sollicite puissamment l'attention par la perturbation qu'elle peut apporter dans l'équilibre général des forces des Etats.³

Ubicini hopes that his studies, of the Turks themselves and of their *reayas* (Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Bulgarians, etc.) and tributaries (Serbians, Romanians, etc.), will together present “un

¹ For this dissertation I have consulted and compared various editions in Italian, French and English of Ubicini's principal study of the Ottoman Empire. These include: Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Lettere sulla Turchia; o, Quadro statistico, religioso, politico, amministrativo, militare, commerciale, ecc. dell'Impero ottoman* . . . (Milano: Presso l'Ufficio del Cosmorama pittorico, 1853); *Lettres sur la Turquie; ou, Tableau statistique, religieux, politique, administratif, militaire, commercial, etc. de l'Empire ottoman*. . . *Première partie: Les Ottomans* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1853) and *Lettres sur la Turquie; ou, Tableau statistique, religieux, politique, administratif, militaire, commercial, etc. de l'Empire ottoman* . . . *Deuxième partie. Les Raïas*. . . (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1854); and the (slightly abridged) English translation by Lady Easthope entitled *Letters on Turkey: An Account of the Religious, Political, Social, and Commercial Condition of the Ottoman Empire* . . . *Part I. Turkey and the Turks* (London: J. Murray, 1856) and *Letters on Turkey: An Account of the Religious, Political, Social, and Commercial Condition of the Ottoman Empire* . . . *Part II. The Raïahs*. . . (London: J. Murray, 1856) I have also consulted his travelogue of around the same time entitled *La Turquie actuelle* (Paris: L. Hachette, 1855) as well as the updated addition to his *Lettres*, co-authored with Abel Pavet de Courteille entitled *État présent de l'empire ottoman: statistique, gouvernement, administration, finances, armée, communautés non musulmanes* . . . (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1876).

² Ubicini, *Lettres*, I, 11.

³ Ibid.

tableau succinct, mais exact, de l'empire ottoman dans toutes ses parties.⁴ He asks whether the non-Turk nations are centrifugal or centripetal forces in the empire, whether they threaten the integrity of the empire or add stability. He hopes that his investigations will help clarify the true nature and character of Turkey.

Mahmud II is praised by Ubicini as being the first among the sovereigns of Islam, “qui entreprit d'arriver à la régénération de son empire par une interprétation plus large des doctrines renfermées dans le Coran.”⁵ According to Ubicini, Mahmud II managed this without changing anything in the text of the law but only modifying the interpretation according to the needs of his policy. This was an important point for Ubicini, one which he repeats throughout his work as instruction or advice for those wishing to achieve future reforms in Turkey. Emulating the reformist ideology of his predecessor, Sultan Abdülmecid I (r. 1839 – 1861) issued two major reform edicts of the modern Ottoman state known as the *Hatt-i Şerif* of *Gülhane* (lit. Noble Rescript of the Rose Chamber) in 1839 and the *Hatt-i Hümayûn* (lit. Imperial Rescript) in 1856.⁶

The architect of the first of these edicts, the *Hatt-i Şerif* of *Gülhane*, was Mustafa Reşid Pasha, an Ottoman diplomat who was stationed in Paris and London at the beginning of his career. Mustafa Reşid Pasha was a staunch advocate for European-style reform in the empire. Along with Mustafa Reşid Pasha, two other Ottoman statesmen, Emin Âli Pasha and Mehmed Fuad Pasha, drafted the edict of 1839 with the intention of revolutionizing the Ottoman legal system by establishing equal rights for all of the empire's citizens.

⁴ Ibid., 16.

⁵ Ibid., 9.

⁶ For the purposes of this dissertation I will refer to the *Hatt-i Şerif* of *Gülhane* and the *Hatt-i Hümayûn* by their Ottoman-Turkish transliterations.

The *Hatt-i Şerif of Gülhane* was just as much of an attempt to transform the Ottoman legal system and bureaucratize the state as it was a conciliatory effort towards European powers which feared the collapse of the Ottoman state. As Şükrü Hanioğlu points out,

...those Ottoman bureaucrats who drafted the document [*Hatt-i Şerif of Gülhane*]...directed [the edict] both inward and outward, at once a serious commitment to reform out of self-interest and an appeasing gesture directed at Europe.⁷

The architects of the *Hatt-i Şerif of Gülhane* had clearly borrowed from the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, and it bore resemblance to the American Bill of Rights of 1776.⁸ From the missionary Goodell's point of view, the praiseworthy bill included only three major provisions: 1) a guarantee to all subjects of the Porte life, honor, and property, 2) a regular system of levying and collecting the taxes, and 3) an official system of recruiting the army and defining the period of service.⁹ Christians in the Ottoman Empire still felt threatened because of their religion, especially after the public beheading of a Christian apostate, a young Armenian who had converted briefly to Islam and then recanted.¹⁰ The outrage was so intense and the pressure from foreign ambassadors so great that the Porte issued a pledge in 1844 saying that, "The Sublime Porte engages to take effectual measures to prevent, henceforward, the execution and putting to death of a Christian who is an apostate."¹¹ One day later the Sultan made a

⁷ M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 73.

⁸ For the articles of the *Hatt-i Şerif of Gülhane*, see J.C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record I* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1956), 113-16; William Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire: Or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell by his son-in-law E.D.G. Prime, D.D.* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1875), 480-82. Cf. Hanioğlu, *Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 73.

⁹ Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 240-41.

¹⁰ Ubicini, *Lettres II*, 266-68; Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 291-92.

¹¹ Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 483.

declaration to Sir Stratford Canning, the English ambassador, “Henceforth neither shall Christianity be insulted in my dominions, nor shall Christians be in any way persecuted for their religion.”¹² Religious persecution continued, however, but it was exercised by the Orthodox Christian nations against their dissenting members, much as had been the case for decades if not centuries. Ubicini, writing in 1854, reports that even in his day, “pauvre chrétiens,” were being victimized with civil and physical punishments, and in their ignorance blaming the government and asking for foreign intervention, when they should in fact be blaming the Greek and Armenian Churches that were exercising abusive ecclesiastical authority.¹³ Neither the Protestant Charter of 1847, which recognized the latest group of persecuted Christians nor the Imperial Protestant Charter of 1850, which added Sultan Abdülmecid’s official recognition and provided permanent recognition of the Protestants, provided full protection. Another firman of 1853 attempted to reinforce the protections.¹⁴ It was not until the *Hatt-i Hümayûn* of 1856, which Sultan Abdülmecid issued at the prodding of the British ambassador before the Treaty of Paris (1856), which set the peace terms of the Crimean War, that steps were taken to confirm and enhance the equality of the non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire along democratic lines:

The guarantees promised on our part by the Hatti-Humayoun of Gulhané, and in conformance with the Tanzimat, to all the subjects of the empire, without distinction of classes or of religion, for the security of their persons and property, and the preservation of their honor, are to-day confirmed and consolidated, and efficacious measures shall be taken in order that they may have their full entire effect.¹⁵

¹² Ibid., 484.

¹³ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 181.

¹⁴ For the English text of this firman, see Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 485.

¹⁵ For articles on the *Hatt-i Hümayûn*, see Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East* I, 149-53, esp.150.

Article IX of the Treaty of Paris takes note of the Sultan's *Hatt-i Hümayûn* firman, "which, while ameliorating their condition without distinction of religion or of race, records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his Empire."¹⁶ It also states that the Christian powers do not have the right to interfere, "in the relations of His Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his Empire." Together the *Hatt-i Hümayûn* and Article IX of the Treaty of Paris were an attempt "to weaken Russian claims to the right of protecting all Greek Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire," which had been one of the catalysts of the Crimean War.¹⁷

The equalization of Ottoman law for all citizens of the empire was an attempt to denationalize the empire and transform all subjects regardless of religious affiliation into "Ottomans."¹⁸ In other words, the *Hatt-i Şerif* of *Gülhane* was the first effort to encourage subjects of the empire to identify as Ottomans and move away from circumscribed identities set forth by the *millet* system. This was more than a mere shift in identity; it was a recategorization of the legal designation of Ottoman subjects. Terms such as "*dhimmi*"¹⁹ and "Muslim" were officially replaced with "the term "*Osmanlı*" (Ottoman) in official government documents. This

¹⁶ Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East* I, 154.

¹⁷ For articles of the Treaty of Paris, see Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East* I, 149, 153-56.

¹⁸ Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000). Cf. Orit Bashkin, "'Religious Hatred Shall Disappear from the Land'—Iraqi Jews as Ottoman Subjects, 1864-1913," *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3 (2010), 305-23, which shows how Ottoman Jewish subjects advanced secular, non-sectarian politics in Iraq.

¹⁹ *Dhimmi* is a legal term used to denote non-Muslims protected classes such as Christians and Jews, see *EI*², s.v. *Dhimma*, by Claude Cahen.

change in legal designation was codified in the Ottoman Law of Nationality of 1869.²⁰ Hanioglu, like other historians, argues that the reforms of the Tanzimat exemplified by the changes in terminology was a general “inclination” towards the secularization of the state and society.²¹

Among the various reform efforts of both the *Hatt-i Şerif* of *Gülhane* and the *Hatt-i Hümayûn* the most significant for the purposes of this dissertation are the legal, financial and educational reforms that these edicts set into motion in the mid-nineteenth century. The most tangible of these reforms was the attempted secularization of the Ottoman judicial system with the creation of new courts and a reworking of Ottoman jurisprudence. These legal reforms lay the groundwork for other societal reforms such as those in education and finance. Additionally, the transformation of the Ottoman legal system during the Tanzimat allowed for the reorganization of non-Muslim communities, which had a direct impact on the Armenians, among other non-Muslim nations, of the Ottoman Empire.

Though the Ottomans maintained *sharī‘a* courts until the dissolution of the empire in 1922, new “civil” or *Nizamiye* courts were established under the *Mecelle*—an abridgement of the voluminous Hanafī school of Islamic jurisprudence—which borrowed heavily from the French civil code of 1804. Hanioglu points out that many reformers of the Tanzimat believed the French civil code provided a “common sense” approach to centralizing the Ottoman government and unifying its subjects. Unfortunately, the reformers were unable to completely remove Islam and

²⁰ Hanioglu, *Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 74.

²¹ For the secularization of the Ottoman empire in the nineteenth century, see Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1963); and Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam : Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, Studies in Middle Eastern History (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

its backward legal systems from the Westernizing and secularizing legal reform efforts of the Tanzimat.²²

Though the ulema remained the largest voice against the secularization of the Ottoman state in the nineteenth century, many non-Muslim clergy and Christian and Jewish community leaders felt that Tanzimat reforms undermined their position in Ottoman society. Placing Christians and Jews on equal legal footing with Muslims had its disadvantages. Taxation rates, legal representation, and the communal identity of the millets were challenged by the equalization of all Ottoman subjects, especially after the second reform edict, the *Hatt-i Hümayûn* of 1856.

This and its successive legal reforms, such as the Ottoman Penal Code of 1858 and the Council of Judicial Ordinances (1868) which brought about the formalization of the *Nizamiye* courts, clarified the efforts of Ottoman reformers to establish equal representation of all Ottoman citizens before the courts of the empire. Together these reforms brought about financial and social changes that may have appeased the European interests in the reformation of the Ottoman Empire but did not produce the intended benefit for the Empire's non-Muslim subjects as Europe had hoped. This is a clear case of a misplaced but well-intentioned effort by European interests in the modernization of Ottoman government and society. Basically, what worked in Europe did not have the same effect in the Ottoman Empire.²³

Though the legal reforms were met with criticism at once by both the ulema and the non-Muslim religious classes, the reform edicts of 1839 and 1856 managed to revolutionize Ottoman

²² Hanioglu, *Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 74 –75.

²³ Malcolm Yapp, *The Making of the Modern Near East, 1792-1923*, A History of the Near East (London: Longman, 1987), 111-13; and Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 81-113.

systems of land tenure and tax administration. The promulgation of the Provincial Reform Law (1864), commonly referred to as the “vilayet law,” was the mechanism through which the Ottoman government hoped to extend the centralization and modernization efforts of the Tanzimat to the provinces of the empire.²⁴ The Provincial Reform Law established *vilayets*—large provincial administrative units—that replaced the old system of *eyalets*. Along with this new *vilayet* structure greater power for administering the province was handed to the governor of each province with the intention on creating a stronger link between the administration of the province and the Ottoman Porte. The powers entrusted to the governor were vast in that they included authority over the social, financial, political, and military security of the province. By placing significant authority in the hands of the governors of each *vilayet* the Porte increased its ability to directly tax and efficiently manage the use of the lands in the provinces. Unfortunately, this reform effort did not solve the financial woes of the empire as the restructuring of the tax system and land administration came too late for the empire to recover much of what it had lost to the corrupt *timar* system.

The modernization of Ottoman education developed steadily throughout the nineteenth century. After the *Hatt-i Şerif* of *Gülhane* the Temporary Commission of Education was quickly established and made permanent in 1846 as the Council on Public Education, an office operating under the Ministry of Trade. Soon after a full Ministry for Public Schools was established and finally a Ministry of Public Education was established in 1866. Though the bureaucratization of education took place relatively quickly and without much opposition, a new secular system of

²⁴ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 89.

education was very slow to develop during the Tanzimat.²⁵ As Shaw points out there were many factors hindering development during the Tanzimat besides ideological resistance to the secularization and modernization of education. The various political and military reforms, as well as the successive military losses of the eighteenth and nineteenth century led the empire into full-fledged financial crisis. Financial pressures placed on the Ottoman treasury negatively impacted the development of a modern educational system during the Tanzimat. Though a ministry for education had been established and a bureaucratization of education had occurred, funding schools was a local matter. Many communities supported the establishment of their own schools through special taxes collected by local administrative councils.²⁶

2.2 Armenians during the Tanzimat era

Failure to support the educational system financially was emblematic of the ineffective nature of the Tanzimat when it came to cultural and civic institutions and mechanisms. This in turn allowed for greater independence of the *millet* in managing its own affairs. Dadian explains in 1867 that the Armenian *millet*'s failure—despite the promises of the notables in charge—to support the secondary school (*djemaran*) in Scutari that the entire community wished to see expand and prosper was the spark that turned discontent into smoldering resentment, with the

²⁵ Ibid., 106.

²⁶ See Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). Cf. Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 195-211 (on Greek schools) and 303-7 (on Armenian schools), where distinction is made between the better schools available at various levels and the elementary schools for the indigent; and Ubicini and Courteille, *État présent de l'empire ottoman*, 198-200 (Greek schools) gives no information on Armenian schools. See also, Hagop Barsoumian, "The Dual role of the Armenian *Amira* Class within the Ottoman Government and the Armenian *Millet* (1750-1850)," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* I, edited by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), 177-78.

result that “l’irritation devenait générale et profonde.”²⁷ The national council was blamed for the bad intentions and misunderstandings of its members. The Ottoman Porte was aware that its inability to manage the affairs of the various millets led them to encourage community leaders to push for reform within their respective millets.²⁸ When the Patriarch turned to the corporations for a solution to his funding problems, he gave them a voice in the millet’s affairs, which Dadian describes as an innovation that had unexpected consequences, a taste of “self-government,” that would give rise to “d’autres pretensions.”²⁹ He goes on to explain that “le mouvement, qui avait son point de depart dans le lycée, commençait à se faire sentir dans toute la population arménienne de Constantinople.”³⁰

In *Reform in the Ottoman Empire: 1856 – 1876*, Roderic Davison carefully links efforts on the part of laymen within the Armenian millet to end the authoritarian rule of the Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate over the administration of the millet. Davison argues that the reforms in the Armenian Orthodox millet were encouraged by the Ottoman government in order to observe the process and results of such a movement on a specific community. In essence this was a “trial run” for the establishment of a constitution for the whole of the Empire.

Beginning in 1839 the Ottoman Porte suggested to Armenian leaders that they reform the administration of their millet. Through the *Hatt-i Şerif* of *Gülhane* and *Hatt-i Hümayûn* the

²⁷ Mekerdich Dadian, “La société arménnienne contemporaine: Les arméniens de l’empire ottoman,” *Revue des Deux Mondes*, tome 69 (1 May 1867) 910.

²⁸ See Hagop Barsoumian, “The Eastern Question and the Tanzimat Era,” in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times II*, edited by Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: Palgrave, 1997), 182-84 for the reorganization of the Armenian *millet* brought about by the *Hatt-i Hümayûn* of 1856.

²⁹ Dadian, “La société arménnienne contemporaine,” 910.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 911.

reformers called for equality before the law and the palace for all subjects of the empire. A part of this process was a call for the end to corruption in the administration of the millets. The goal of the Porte was to allow the greater community of the millets to take control over the millets' administration and no longer allow the millets to be completely controlled by the elites of the millet. As discussed earlier, the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul, which was heavily influenced by the Armenian *amira* (elite) class, had complete control over all aspects of administration of the Armenian millet. After the reform edicts of 1839 and 1856, however, the Armenian middle class interpreted these declarations as an invitation by the Ottoman government to reform and put into place a representative system of administration.

Davison's study illustrates that the real reason for the push for a "constitution" and the establishment of a representative form of administration within the Armenian Orthodox millet was not an act of goodwill on the part of the Ottoman government. It was not an attempt to relieve the Armenian masses from the exploitative control of the Patriarch and *amira*. Rather, the reforms urged by the Porte were due to Ottoman self-interest.³¹ Davison elaborates by pointing out four specific reasons. First, the Porte hoped that by establishing a representative administration within the Armenian millet would alleviate some of the pressure European powers placed on the Ottoman Empire. Second, the adoption of a national "constitution" and a representative form of administration would lead to the decline of the power of the church and clergy within the millet. Subsequently, this would allow the Porte to impose the burgeoning ideology of Ottoman patriotism and citizenship that was slowly developing over the course of the nineteenth-century reforms. Third, the constitutional experiment within the Armenian millet would be a "trial run" for the establishment of a universal Ottoman constitution. Finally,

³¹ Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 114-16.

encouraging reform in the non-Muslim millets would help put an end to the sectarian divides within all of the millets.³²

In 1844 the Armenian Patriarch, Matteos, formed a combined council of tradesman and bankers to help manage the affairs of the millet. Shortly before the establishment of this council, there were two groups within the Armenian millet that were in conflict with one another. The *sarrafs* (bankers and moneylenders) and the Armenian *amira* class (cultural elites). These two highly influential groups within the Armenian millet entered into a feud over the management of an Armenian school in Istanbul. This quickly led to a deep split within the millet, and the attention of *amira* and *sarrafs* was turned away from the Patriarchate and towards their own dispute. While the *amira* and *sarrafs* were at odds, the Armenian merchant classes noticed that there now existed an opportunity to take the place of the old elite and attempted to sway the Patriarchate under their control. Eventually the merchants decided to side with the *amira* in order to solidify their influence over the Patriarchate. However, the Patriarch decided that this growing dispute between the various classes in the Armenian community needed to come to an end. The Patriarch therefore decided to create a bicameral council to manage the affairs of the millet, composed of the *amira* and merchants on one side and *sarrafs* on the other. Soon after the creation of this council, the *sarrafs* began to dominate the affairs of the millet. In 1847, the Patriarch made an effort to minimize the control the *sarrafs* had over this bicameral council and created two separate councils, one ecclesiastical and the other civil. These two councils would together manage all the affairs of the millet, but each would have specific powers and

³² Ibid., 120-23.

responsibilities. With the approval of the Ottoman government, the new system lasted for ten years.³³

2.3 The Armenian National Constitution and National Assembly

In the mid-nineteenth century the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire were granted two basic elements of a democratic society, namely, a constitution and a representative assembly, modelled on the rules of the small Protestant millet recently formed under foreign influence. The Protestant millet rules, which were based on popular sovereignty, had been printed in Turkish and in Armeno-Turkish and distributed throughout the entire Armenian community.³⁴ This was a definite blow to the Armenian Patriarch and ruling elite because their existence empowered Armenian laymen psychologically into asserting control over the Armenian millet. Dwight emphasizes the unusual importance of the open letter to the Armenian Patriarch printed in *Masis*, in which the lay committee threatens to resign if their proposed rules were not adopted.³⁵

Three major factors led to the establishment of the Armenian National Constitution and National Assembly, namely, the interest of the Porte in the reforms of the non-Muslim millets, the cultural revival of the Armenian community, and the increase in the missionary influence on the Armenian community. In 1853 French-trained Armenians began drafting a constitution for the Armenian Orthodox millet. After they received the approval of a number of committees, a

³³ Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 114-35.

³⁴ Roderic H. Davison, "The *Millets* as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire I*, 329-30.

³⁵ ABCFM, vol. 284, no. 260, Harrison Dwight to Anderson, 28 February 1860.

draft was presented to the Armenian millet assembly in 1857.³⁶ However, this draft was short-lived and a new constitution was drawn up in 1860. Again, strife within the millet led to a freeze on the constitution in 1861, but in 1862, the Porte ordered the Patriarch to have the civil and ecclesiastical councils appoint a seven-member committee to review and amend the draft. This committee then presented the new draft to the Porte and the final constitution was approved in 1863.³⁷ Ubicini succinctly describes the major steps leading to the adoption of the Armenian National Constitution in the spring of 1860 and the imperial sanction given to it three years later in 1863.³⁸ He states that these steps were taken, “sous l’influence des idées liberales qui gagnaient chaque jour du terrain et tendaient ouvertement à séculariser le gouvernement.”³⁹

The Armenian National Constitution called for the creation of a General Assembly, and for the two councils that had previously existed to be subordinate to the new assembly. The Armenian Patriarch remained at the head of the millet, but his power was limited, and he mainly acted as a medium between the General Assembly and the Porte. The decision-making power of the millet was at first split between the two councils. All matters relating to the church and religion were addressed by the ecclesiastical council, and all matters of a non-religious nature (education, hospitals, other millet property, finance, justice, etc.) were the responsibility of the civil council. The final decision in all matters was, however, the responsibility of the General Assembly.

³⁶ It is not clear what Davison means by assembly here. Possibly he is referring to the two councils established by the Armenian Patriarch.

³⁷ Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 124.

³⁸ Ubicini and Courteille, *État présent de l’empire ottoman*, 201-2.

³⁹ Ubicini and Courteille, *État présent de l’empire ottoman*, 201.

The Armenian General Assembly was composed of 140 members. It is important to point out that only around 20 of its members were clergymen, and the merchant classes held a large percentage of the seats. Though it may seem that representation was more balanced after the establishment of the constitution, the Armenian community was still unevenly represented geographically. Only seven percent of all the seats in the General Assembly were held by Armenians from outside of Istanbul despite comprising two-thirds of the population of the Armenian millet.

Elections were also another area of shakiness in the new system. The electoral process was direct, but elections were based on a list of candidates that was prepared by the appointed electoral council. In the provinces, a 'metropolitan' (local community leader) was elected by the provincial assembly. It is unclear whether any additional reforms took place within the provinces. The Armenian National Constitution was extremely vague regarding the provinces, and it therefore might have had a little effect on them.

Despite all the reforms that occurred within the Armenian Orthodox millet in an effort to create a more representative form of millet administration, the millet remained divided. The constitution and assembly focused attention on and gave power to the Armenian community of Istanbul, but they did little to change the administration of the Armenian Orthodox millet in the provinces. Therefore, the Armenians outside Istanbul and other major port cities continued to experience the same injustices imposed by their own community leaders as they had before the reforms.

2.4 The Ottoman Constitution of 1876

One of the greatest impacts of the Tanzimat on Ottoman society was arguably the introduction of liberal and Western political ideologies into public discourse. Unfortunately, the Western-influenced opinions of liberal-minded Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals were suppressed by strict censorship in journals and newspapers. By the 1860s a new political voice emerged, that of the Young Ottomans, who shared a distaste for the cumbersome approach of the Tanzimat reforms on the empire. The Young Ottomans were not a strongly unified group since many resided outside the borders of the empire and were writing from European capitals such as London and Paris. It was the aim of the Young Ottomans to shift the discourse of the reform movement away from the mere reorganization of the old administration and toward the implementation of a representative government.⁴⁰

In 1867 many leaders of the Young Ottomans fled for Paris where they penned letters to Sultan Abdulaziz and published pamphlets and newspapers that found their way through underground channels into the empire.⁴¹ At that time that Cyrus Hamlin had been trying unsuccessfully to get firman to build Robert College on a site that was not his first choice. To his delight new developments in the Ottoman government seemed ready to bless his initiative:

In the winter of 1867-68, Midhat Pasha, the most intelligent and able patriot Turkey has had in this century, was made grand vizier, to the surprise and delight of all the Liberal friends of Turkey. He had entire confidence in me — had on one occasion shown me a singular favor — and I felt sure of success with him. I waited until he should get well into his place, and then sent him a statement and petition, which he received in the most friendly manner, and had he remained in

⁴⁰ For the most comprehensive study of the Young Ottomans, see Mardin, *Young Ottoman Thought*.

⁴¹ For an excellent account of the dramatic decade leading up to the First Constitution, see Mardin, *Young Ottoman Thought*, 10-80.

office two weeks longer, our permission to build would have been granted. I now rejoice in what was then a great disappointment to us.⁴²

A few years later Hamlin through a strange combination of circumstances received permission to build and managed to purchase the piece of land on the shores of the Bosphorus that was his first choice for Robert College. Neither the Sultan nor the Porte were ready to keep Midhat Pasha at the helm, however. The Young Ottomans continued to cause a great deal of political agitation through publications such as *Hürriyet*, published Paris in 1868. Articles advocating Western-inspired political ideologies were published by prominent writers such as Namık Kemal, who is often considered the forefather of modern Turkish political identity.⁴³

By the 1870s the Ottoman Empire experienced significant setbacks despite the Tanzimat reform efforts. Financial crises and rebellions in the Balkans crippled the empire and undermined the rule of Sultan Abdülaziz. Dissatisfaction among the intelligentsia due to the limited progress made by the Tanzimat reforms, along with skyrocketing debt, provided an audience for the Young Ottomans, who led a coup d'état and deposed the sultan in May 30, 1876. Sultan Abdülaziz's successor, Murad V, was not fit to rule due to mental illness; after three months as sultan, he was replaced by his brother Abdülhamid II in September 1876.

The Young Ottomans seized on the ascension of Sultan Abdülhamid II to throne as an opportunity to bring their aspirations of a representative government to fruition. Many both feared and celebrated the new sultan. The Young Ottomans, however, felt that the young sultan

⁴² Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times* (Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1893), 442.

⁴³ For the life and accomplishments of Namık Kemal, see Mardin, *Young Ottoman Thought*, 203-10, 283-336.

would be receptive to substantial reforms, and under his Grand Vezir, Midhat Paşa, they witnessed the realization of their dream of a constitution and representative government. Unfortunately, this dream was short-lived.

On November 23, 1876—nearly three months after his ascension—Abdülhamid promulgated the *Kânûn-ı Esâsî* (The Basic Law), the first constitution of the empire.⁴⁴ Some scholars believe that much of the framework of the constitution was borrowed directly from the Armenian National Constitution of 1863. While some references to the Armenian National Constitution were made by the framers of the Ottoman constitution, a direct link between the two constitutions has not been fully examined.⁴⁵

Aware of the anti-Turk feeling that had been aroused not only by massacres in Bulgaria but also by unconfirmed reports by English clergymen of Christians being impaled in Armenia, Captain Frederick Burnaby, a larger-than-life figure of the time—not only a British officer of extraordinary capabilities but also a traveler, adventurer, writer and military analyst—determined to see for himself the actual state of affairs in the eastern Turkish provinces where Armenians were most numerous. When he reached Ankara shortly after setting off on his five-month long

⁴⁴ For the most detailed account of this Constitution, see Robert Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period: A Study of the Midhat Constitution and Parliament* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1963).

⁴⁵ Davison's argument that Midhat Paşa was directly influenced by the Armenian National Constitution of 1863 is based on the introduction to Mik'ayēl Kazmararean's compilation of Grigor Ōtean's (1834 - 1887) speeches and sermons on constitutionalism published in 1910 as a memorial; see Grigor Ōtean, *Sahmanadrakan khōsk'er u charer: dambanakanner, maheru art'iw gruatsner*, ed. Mik'ayēl Kazmararean (Constantinople, 1910). Ōtean was a prominent Ottoman-Armenian politician who was an advisor to Midhat Paşa. Kazmararean's introduction to the book (p. xiv) states only that Midhat Paşa discussed constitutional questions in private with Ōtean and others. Davison uses this remark to claim that Ōtean directly influenced Midhat Paşa but there is no further information to substantiate Davison's claim in any other contemporary sources. For an analysis of the Armenian National Constitution, see Ubinini and Courteille, *État présent de l'empire ottoman*, 200-4.

horseback ride across Asia Minor, Burnaby met the English Vice-Consul at the home of the Turkish governor and was told by the Vice-Consul, “that a telegram had just been received from Constantinople referring to the proclamation of a Constitution.” When told that this probably meant a Parliament in Constantinople, Burnaby wondered how it was possible since only one in 300 could read and write. The Pasha believed a Parliament “was possible in theory, but impossible in practice.” His well-educated twenty-year-old son’s opinion was even more pragmatic about the probable failure of the Constitution:

...not only the electing class, but the men who will probably be chosen to sit in Parliament are only half-educated. We shall have ignorant legislators legislating for an equally ignorant nation. We want time ...we require roads and railways. If there were means of communication, the people would travel and see that there is a good deal to be learnt away from home, and even from you Christians. Give us roads and railways, they will be worth fifty Constitutions, for the latter, in my opinion, will soon be found impracticable.⁴⁶

The English Vice-Consul was not more encouraging in his statements to Burnaby: “It [the Constitution] has been drawn up as a sop to the plenipotentiaries at the Conference... A great deal of noise, and a great deal of smoke: *voilà la Constitution*,” was his conclusion upon hearing the cannonade after the announcement of the proclamation.⁴⁷

The articles of the Ottoman constitution of 1876, which the Pasha of Ankara and his son had not yet seen, clearly stated the supreme authority of the sultan. Articles 3 through 6 make this clear. Article 7 details the ultimate authority of the sultan and undoubtedly undermines the democratic nature of a Western-style constitution:

Among the sovereign rights of His Majesty the Sultan are the following prerogatives: He makes and cancels the appointments of ministers; he confers the

⁴⁶ Captain Frederick Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, first published 1877; revised 1898 edition with preface and epilogue by Peter Hopkirk (Oxford: Oxford University Press pbk, 1996), 63.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

grades, functions and insignia of his orders, and confers investiture on the chiefs of the provinces, according to forms determined by the privileges granted them; he has the coining of money; his name is pronounced in the mosques during public prayer; he concludes treaties with the powers; he declares war and makes peace; he commands both land and sea forces; he directs military movements; he carries out the provisions of the Şeriat (the sacred law), and of the other laws; he sees to the administration of public measures; he respites or commutes sentences pronounced by the criminal courts; he summons and prorogues the General Assembly; he dissolves, if deems it necessary, the Chamber of Deputies, provided he directs the election of the new members.⁴⁸

The final two lines of Article 7 is what ultimately led to the end of the 1876 constitution experiment. Later, in Yozgat, staying in an Armenian house, Burnaby learns what the Armenians think of the new Constitution, when his host is about to sign a letter from the notables of the town thanking the Sultan for allowing the Constitution:

None of the Armenians believed in the reform. Most of them held the same opinion as the inhabitants of Angora, namely that the projected Constitution was thrown out as a bait to catch some of the plenipotentiaries at the Conference and that when the Conference was forgotten the Constitution would be numbered with the past.⁴⁹

The Armenians' assumption proved correct. On February 13, 1878, fourteen months after Abdülhamid promulgated the constitution, he enacted his power to "prorogue" the General Assembly and never recalled its members. As Robert Devereux concludes in his discussion of the first constitutional period: "With the prorogation of Parliament and the suspension of the Constitution, the Ottoman Empire entered upon thirty years of autocratic and authoritarian rule

⁴⁸ For complete text of the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 see, *Düstur*. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1873-1876, v 3.

⁴⁹ Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 94.

which history records as the Hamidian Era.”⁵⁰ Abdülhamid exiled Midhat Paşa, the architect of the constitution, but he never declared the constitution invalid. In this way Abdülhamid put a permanent end to any of the real parliamentary powers that were outlined in the Ottoman constitution of 1876.

2.5 The Armenian Question in the Ottoman Empire

After the Constitution appeared and disappeared in 1876 the leading political question of the day all the way up to the beginning of World War I was “The Armenian Question.”⁵¹ The Armenians were in a difficult position due to their status as non-Muslims and to deficiencies in the millet system. Charles Issawi sums up the problem in his discussion of the transformation of the economic position of the millets in the nineteenth century:

The downfall of the millets may be briefly described. Essentially, it was due to the fact that they had been too successful, absorbed too large a share of the fruits of economic progress and, to make matters worse, began to forget the traditional wisdom of their fathers and to take seriously the dangerous slogans “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.” In the latter they were abetted by foreign well-wishers, or interested parties who naturally let them down in their hour of need.⁵²

⁵⁰ Devereux, *First Ottoman Constitutional Period*, 251.

⁵¹ Richard G. Hovannisian, “The Armenian Question in the Ottoman Empire,” in Hovannisian, *Armenian People II*, 201-38. Cf. chapter XIX, “La question arménienne” in Karapet J. Basmadjian, *Histoire moderne des Arméniens, depuis la chute du royaume jusqu’au Traité de Sèvres (1375-1920)*, préface by Jacques de Morgan, nouv. éd. et augm (Paris: J. Gamber, 1922) 113-46, which details how The Eastern Question becomes The Armenian Question. See also, Arman J. Kirakossian’s “Introduction” in *The Armenian Massacres, 1894-1896: U.S. Media Testimony*, 20-45, for Sultan Abdülhamid’s repression and slaughter of his Armenian subjects as well as the U.S. government’s involvement with the Armenian Question during the Hamidian era.

⁵² Charles Issawi, “The Transformation of the Economic Position of the *Millets* in the Nineteenth Century,” in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire I*, 278.

It was not just the sarrafs of Galata who were reaping benefits that Turks resented but also the Christians in the eastern provinces, among which the Armenians were the majority. Burnaby reports about Divriği in 1877:

The Armenians supplied the people of the town with the few goods that which 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 that I visited I found that the leading Christians in the community had made their money by usurious dealings.⁵³

The fact that these practices had ruined old Turkish families in the process cannot have failed to produce hard feelings among the dispossessed that could easily surface with the right catalyst.

Shortly after his appointment in 1877 as H.M. Ambassador to Constantinople (1877-1880), Sir Austen Henry Layard, the eminent archaeologist, Assyriologist, politician and diplomat, wrote an official dispatch to the Earl of Derby about one month after Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire in April 1877, detailing the vital importance of the survival of the Ottoman Empire to England.

The position is this. Russia has succeeded in Asia, and thus she holds a material guarantee for what she may require on behalf of the Christians of Turkey in the shape of a province ... If her real object is, as she asserts, the improvement of the condition of the Christian populations, she has surely now the means of obtaining a satisfactory guarantee for it ... If, on the other hand, Russia has the ambitious designs generally attributed to her, and has entered upon this war for the purpose of territorial aggrandizement, her professions of humanity and disinterestedness can now be gauged, and Her Majesty's Government will be able, at least, to judge what her real objects and intentions are, and how far the interests of the British Empire may be affected or endangered by them. . . Should Russia desire to annex at this time any of the European provinces of Turkey, European interest would probably be called into play, and she would be prevented from carrying out her intentions. . . but as regards the acquisition by her of territory in Asia Minor the case is different. The interests of England would then be alone concerned. It

⁵³ Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 168.

would probably signify little to the rest of Europe whether Russia retained Armenia or not, but England has to consider the effect of the annexation to Russia of this important province upon the British possessions in India. Russia would then command the whole of Asia Minor, and the great valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, which would inevitably fall into her hands in the course of time... It must not be forgotten that the possession of Armenia by Russia, as regards any designs that she may have upon India ... In Armenia and the north of Persia she would have a hardy and abundant population, affording her excellent materials for a large army, ready at any time to advance upon our Indian frontier, and resting upon a convenient and sure base of operations, in direct communication, by the Caspian Sea and by Batoum, with the heart of the Russian Empire.⁵⁴

The Ottoman Empire was at that time, the spring of 1877, suffering a loss of international prestige and support after the Bulgarian massacres of up to 15,000 the previous year carried out by irregular Circassian and Crimean Tatar militia under Ottoman auspices in an attempt to suppress a revolt. Burnaby rightly notes the English state of mind in the autumn of 1876:

“... the news of some terrible massacres in Bulgaria had thoroughly aroused the public. The indignation against the perpetrators of these awful crimes became still more violent, when it was remembered that the Turkish government had repudiated its loans, and that more than a hundred millions sterling had gone for ever from the pockets of the British taxpayer.”⁵⁵

The Pasha of Ankara in 1876 provides the Turkish response to the massacres:

People in England blame us for the massacres ... What could we do? Our regular troops were employed elsewhere. This was owed to the intrigues of Russia; we were obliged to employ Circassians. The Circassians hate the Russians... Those whose own mothers and sisters have been ravished and butchered, cannot be expected to love their oppressors. The Circassians looked upon the Bulgarians as Russians, hence the bloodshed.⁵⁶

The threat that Russia posed to European interests and specifically to England's interests had not been resolved by Russia's defeat in the Crimean War but had grown larger because the European

⁵⁴ Austen Henry Layard, “H.M. Ambassador at Constantinople,” a dispatch to the Earl of Derby, dated 30th May, 1877, from Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 332-33.

⁵⁵ Burnaby in his “Introduction” to *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, ix.

⁵⁶ Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 61.

powers had failed to deal with Armenian grievances and hopes at the end of that war. During Burnaby's short stay in Sivas in 1876, the Pasha of that city told him,

... twenty-five years ago the Turks and Christians got very well together, but ever since the Crimean war the Russian government has been actively engaged in tampering with the Armenian subjects of the Porte, and has been doing its best to sow the seeds of disaffection amongst the younger Armenians, by promising to make them counts and dukes in the event of their rising in arms against the Porte.⁵⁷

2.6 The Armenians and Abdülhamid: 1876-1909

Abdülhamid's reign was a tumultuous period for the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁸ The sultan was faced with rebellions in the Balkans, war with Russia, loss of European territories, and uprisings in eastern Anatolia. Additionally, the Ottoman debt crisis had reached such astronomical proportions. Because nearly thirty percent of revenues went directly to pay and manage the public debt of the empire, Abdülhamid created the Public Debt Administration in 1881.⁵⁹ Burnaby provides a detailed accounting of financial crisis and its effects on the daily lives of

⁵⁷ Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 145-46.

⁵⁸ Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism: The Emergence of an Ottoman Public Sphere," in *Public Islam and the Common Good*, edited by Armando Salvatore and Dale F. Eickelman (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 99-125, has an interesting analysis of the development of the modern public sphere in Turkey beginning as early as the 1890s under Abdülhamid II and the similarity of policies based on "a rhetoric of public good" and often carried out through "despotic reform" which he and his revolutionary successors, the Young Turks, as well as Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey, all employed. Cf. the standard account of the Hamidian period given in Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire II*, 172-272, although his discussion of the Armenian question, and particularly his incredibly low figures on the Armenian population of Turkey, should be read with considerable skepticism.

⁵⁹ See Halil Inalcik, with Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300—1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 774. Cf. Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Women in Late Ottoman Intellectual History," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, edited by Elisabeth Özdalga, SOAS/ RoutledgeCurzon Studies on the Middle East 3 (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 144.

peoples in the Ottoman Empire in 1876-1877, citing the costs and availability of various goods and services at all major stops on his travels across Asia Minor:

Caime [paper bank-notes] in Sivas had fallen to 165 piastres the lira. It was formerly 125. . . Many of the Turks were alarmed at the constant fall in the value of their paper currency. They objected very strongly to being paid any large sums in Turkish bank-notes. . . ten years previous the Government had issued an immense amount of caime, and had said that in the following month of March this paper would be accepted in payment of taxes.⁶⁰

Burnaby was told that when the people took the caime to the tax-collectors, it was not accepted--which is why everyone subsequently wanted to be paid in silver.

Political agitation among the Armenians of the eastern provinces was dealt with swiftly by the Sultan. In 1894 the sultan began a two-year campaign to quash Armenian rebellions in the eastern provinces, which led to the massacre of tens of thousands of Armenians.⁶¹ In his old age, back in the United States after having spent four decades in Istanbul, the missionary turned educator who founded Robert College in the Ottoman capital, Cyrus Hamlin wrote this description Abdülhamid's long term policy toward his Armenian subjects after the massacres of 1894-1896 had begun:

He [Adulhamid] very early took upon himself the entire care of his Empire. He resolved to govern it alone. He went into every department—army, navy, construction, public works, education, finance—in order to have everything exactly right. Finding a great many Armenians in these departments, he cleaned them all out and put in Turks...A still worse habit is his sending commands direct, superseding the orders of any of his cabinet ministers, without their knowledge...This personal administration of every department has caused general confusion and dissatisfaction, and poverty and ruin...The department of education

⁶⁰ Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 144.

⁶¹ An exact figure is unknown. For contemporary accounts of the massacres, see Georges Clemenceau, *Les massacres d'Arménie: témoignage des victimes*, 3rd éd. (Paris: Édition du Mercure de France, 1896). Cf. Arman J. Kirakossian, ed., *The Armenian Massacres, 1894-1896: U.S. Media Testimony* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2004) and *The Armenian Massacres, 1894-1896: British Media Testimony* (Dearborn, MI: University of Michigan-Dearborn, 2008).

early attracted his attention. He saw that his *rayahs* were better educated, more intelligent, and more thrifty than his Moslem subjects. He resolved to change all that. He began to impose laws upon school-houses, text-books, and teachers. No school-house could be repaired without government permission, which was never given; no new school-house could be built. School-books once approved and bearing the imperial seal were subjected to a new censorship and utterly defaced... At the same time convenient school-houses were built for Mussulman schools and a great impulse was given to Moslem education. The *rayahs*, if they complained, were exhorted to profess the true faith, and these benefits would be theirs. Abdülhamid has all along had an eye to the conversion of his rayahs. ... He thought it would be well to have only one people, or at least one faith, on all his eastern border. The Armenians should have their choice, Islam or Gehenna! For this purpose the Kurds would serve him well... Their work was gradually to efface all the Armenian villages, saving all would profess Islam.⁶²

Hamlin by no means overlooked the part that Armenian revolutionaries played in rousing the Turks, Kurds and Circassians against all Armenians due to the general perception among Muslims of the Ottoman Empire that the Armenians were not only *giaours* (infidels) but also revolutionaries participating in treason against the Ottoman government. He states:

A revolutionary party, formed in Russia, and having branches in England and America, have formed, or claim to have formed, secret societies for promoting a revolution and securing "Armenian for Armenians. . . But this revolutionary movement is just what Abdul Hamid desires. He hails it as a justification of his plan to destroy the Armenians, except they repent and turn to Islam."⁶³

Hamlin urged the United States to act, "to send an ironclad to any Mediterranean port with a demand that can be enforced," noting that the Sultan fears America the way he does not fear the "Great Powers," since the contest between England and Russia has brought action against the Sultan to a standstill.⁶⁴ No intervention occurred and the

⁶² Cyrus Hamlin, "The Armenian Massacres," in the journal *The Outlook*, reprinted in Kirakossian, *Armenian Massacres, US Media*, 98-99. Edwin Pears, *Turkey and Its People*, 2d ed. (London: Methuen & Co, 1912), 277, confirms many of the details provided by Hamlin.

⁶³ Hamlin, "Armenian Massacres," 98.

⁶⁴ Hamlin, "Armenian Massacres," 99.

Armenians were left to their fate—an unhappy one described in some detail by Sir Edwin Pears: “Notwithstanding a long series of massacres, in one of the latest of which, that under Abdul Hamid in 1894-7, probably at least two hundred and fifty thousand of them were killed or died from exposure, the race has continued to increase.”⁶⁵ Pears is known today principally as a scholar and historian of the early twentieth century, but early in his career he worked in the Ottoman Empire as a correspondent for the London *Daily News* around the time of the Bulgarian massacres just before the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. Subsequently, his four decades living and working in Istanbul made him intimately acquainted with “Turkey and its people,” the title of his most important book. He tells us that during the reign of Abdülhamid II the Armenians were “so fiercely persecuted as to lead many to suppose an intention to exterminate all who belonged to it.”⁶⁶ Pears has a chapter on the Armenians that details how, “The Sultan, in a hundred ways, had shown his dislike of the Armenians” before the massacres in 1894-7.⁶⁷ In it he provides harrowing descriptions of the massacres from first-hand investigators and discusses the four principal causes of the massacres, namely, the traditional feeling of superiority that Moslems held towards Christians, the Christians’ industry and thrift that made them wealthier than their Moslem neighbors, the Christians’ superiority in intelligence due to their thirst for instruction, and petty persecutions by their Moslem neighbors, especially the Kurds, for which no redress was possible.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Pears, *Turkey and its People*, 270.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 276.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 270-95.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 276-77.

The Ottoman Empire struggled on in this manner under Abdülhamid until the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. During the short-lived Counter-Revolution in 1909 Abdülhamid unleashed yet another massacre of Armenians in Adana and Constantinople.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the Young Turk Revolution ushered in a new era and dramatically transformed the Ottoman system of government. This transformation—which will be discussed in subsequent chapters in the context of the Armenian newspaper press—did not arrive early enough or evolve quickly enough to save the Armenian population of Turkey. It did, however, bring about a return to Western concepts of individual liberty and human rights embodied in the Ottoman constitution of 1876.

2.7 Conclusion

Despite “human rights” concessions to the Christians of the Ottoman Empire, instigated by foreign embassies of the Christian powers, religious divisions among the Christians of the Ottoman Empire significantly retarded their progress politically and economically. Serious clashes between the Armenian Church and Catholic Armenians and Protestant Armenians arose as the latter attempted to gain millet recognition of their own.

Class divisions began to assert themselves into Ottoman and Armenian relations. These reflected to some extent the heated competition between the French (Catholic) and English (Protestant) nations that trickled down into the educated class of Armenians. The economic ascendance of the Armenian bankers and wealthy businessmen challenged the old order of Armenian notables and high clergy of the Armenian Church. The former’s majority allegiance to the “Frankish” religions, whether Catholic or Protestant, of the Frankish neighborhood of Galata-Pera that they inhabited, rather than to the Armenian Church, distanced them from their less well

⁶⁹ Ibid., 290-94.

to-do Armenian neighbors in Istanbul, Smyrna, and other urban centers, and completely separated them from the illiterate Armenian peasants of the countryside and Armenian homeland.

Russian attempts to use the Armenians, particularly in the eastern part of the Ottoman Empire, was responsible for many of the Red Sultan's attempts to remedy the Armenian Question by forced resettlement and massacre. The failure of European and American nations to address the Armenian Question in any serious way and to safeguard the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire was due to their own political and economic interests.

CHAPTER THREE

OTTOMAN PRINTING AND ARMENIAN PRINTING

In this chapter I will begin with a discussion of Abdolonyme Ubicini as the first reporter or chronicler of the Ottoman press. I will show how the early Ottoman interest in Qur'an and theological manuscripts slowly gave way to a broader interest in more secular subjects such as science, history, geography and naval and military treatises. I will examine the first Ottoman press and its publications, comparing it to early printing by other groups, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, Arabs and Persians within the empire. I will trace the evolution of printing in the Ottoman Empire from religious to secular subjects and from instructive to entertaining books. Within this printing revolution I will focus upon the introduction of periodicals and the actual news press, with reporting on contemporary events and developments within the Ottoman Empire and internationally.

3.1 Jean-Henri Abdolonyme Ubicini, the first reporter or chronicler of the Ottoman press

In 1727 the Ottoman Empire opened, by imperial decree, its first Turkish printing bureau.¹ The first significant scholarly account of this monumental event and of the introduction

¹ The earliest detailed accounts of the introduction of printing to the Ottoman empire are provided by the mid-nineteenth century accounts of Abdolonyme Ubicini and Charles White. See Ubicini's *Lettres sur la Turquie; ou, Tableau statistique, religieux, politique, administratif, militaire, commercial, etc. de l'Empire ottoman . . . Première partie: Les Ottomans* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1853), 243-55 and White's *Three Years in Constantinople; or, Domestic Manners of the the Turks in 1844*, vol. II (London: 1845), 197-209. These accounts appear to have been written independently and provide different details and perspectives. Together Ubicini and White provide the best early accounts of official printing in the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century. Cf. Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk matbaacılığı: iki yüzüncü sene-devriyesi müasebetiyle* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1928).

For an early general history of printing and the press in the Ottoman empire, see Ahmet Emin Yalman, *The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, no. 142 (New York: Columbia University, 1914). For a succinct and

of printing to the Ottoman empire remains that provided by the scholar, journalist and respected Tanzimat historian, Jean-Henri-Abdolonyme Ubicini (1818-1884) in his two-part work, *Lettres sur la Turquie* that explored all aspects of Ottoman Turkey in the mid-nineteenth century and was considered particularly remarkable for its detailed statistical approach to analyzing the successes and failures of the Tanzimat reforms up to that period. Part I of Ubicini's *Lettres*, entitled *Les Ottomans*, was first published in book form in Paris in 1852 (after having appeared in installments in the *Moniteur universel* beginning in 1850) before being greatly enlarged and republished in a definitive second edition in Paris in 1853; several months later Part II of Ubicini's *Lettres*, entitled *Les Raïas*, was published for the first time in Paris in 1854.² Ubicini's second edition of Part I was considered so informative about the state of Ottoman Turkey just

contemporary account of the Ottoman press up to 1876, see Abdolonyme Ubicini and Abel Pavet de Courteille. *État présent de l'empire ottoman: statistique, gouvernement, administration, finances, armée, communautés non musulmanes . . .* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1876). For a discussion of the Hamidian press, see Paul Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid* (Paris: M. Rivière, 1907). All later scholarly studies of the Ottoman news press of Istanbul are based on Ubicini, Fesch and Yalman. Cf. Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk gazeteciliği yüzüncü yıl dönümü vesilesile* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbassı, 1931). For a short modern summary of the Ottoman press, see Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 3rd ed., (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 94-96, 187-94.

² Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie; ou, Tableau statistique, religieux, politique, administratif, militaire, commercial . . . Première partie: Les Ottomans*. (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1st ed. 1852, rev. 2nd ed. 1853) and *Deuxième partie: Les Raïas* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1854), translated by Lady Easthope as *Letters on Turkey: An Account of the Religious, Political, Social, and Commercial Condition of the Ottoman Empire . . . Part I. Turkey and the Turks and Part II. The Raïahs . . .* (London: J. Murray, 1856). The English translation by Lady Easthope has an author's Preface in Part II which explains among other things that Ubicini's definitive French 2nd edition of Part I in 1853, (also translated into Italian by F. Zappert and published in Milan in 1853), had been frequently referred to and plagiarized more than once between the appearance of the French edition and the English translation. Part II of the English translation includes in addition a Preface and Note by the Translator (Lady Easthope) as well as a revised Conclusion that are quite instructive. Lady Easthope (Preface, p. xviii-xix) is forthright in explaining that she has edited Ubicini's discussion of Protestantism not only because of changes that have occurred in Turkey since he wrote his account but also because Ubicini wrote through the lens of a Roman Catholic and employed Roman Catholic sources of a "rival mission."

prior to the Crimean War that it, together with the more recent Part II, was quickly republished in London in 1856 in a slightly abridged English translation by Lady Easthope. Ubicini was considered *the* authority on Ottoman Turkey immediately before the Crimean War, not only by the reading public but by the French and English governments due to his *Lettres*. He continued to write extensively on Ottoman Turkey, European Turkey, the Serbs, the Romanians, the Armenians, the Eastern Question and the First Ottoman Constitution throughout his life. Having worked as a journalist, Ubicini was particularly interested in the power of the press to inform the public and focus attention on the problems of the day, whether they were political, social or economic. His history of Ottoman printing is included in his tenth letter on the Ottomans, which discusses public libraries and provides a “sketch” of Ottoman literature prior to the introduction of printing. In the opinion of Ubicini (and all subsequent scholars) Ottoman history changed, along with Ottoman literature, because of the introduction of printing, just as European history and literature had changed because of the introduction of this new technique. Fatma Müge Göçek provides a very interesting account of how the “Ottoman cultural interest in books in the eighteenth century” led to the Ottoman interest in the relatively new technology of printing in the Ottoman Empire.³ New themes and discussions with a more literary character and more popular subject matter began to appear alongside the earlier limited foci of Ottoman literature—theology, jurisprudence, philosophy and science, poetry and history.

The evolution of Ottoman literature is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but an attempt will be made here to trace the evolution of Ottoman printing from the introduction of the earliest presses to the introduction of periodical printing and finally to the introduction of daily

³ Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 108-15.

newspapers throughout the Ottoman empire, with a special emphasis upon the Armenian dailies of Ottoman Istanbul in the Hamidian period. This evolution was much slower and more fragmented than the evolution of Western printing, but the leaders and laggards in the evolution of Ottoman printing are emerging more clearly through the efforts of modern scholars examining extant printed materials, including early books and newspapers, printed in a variety of languages in Istanbul and elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire. An excellent recent article by Nil Pektaş not only collects and summarizes twentieth-century scholarly investigations of early printing and book production in Istanbul but adds new information and perspective on a number of relevant issues.⁴ Pointing out the omission of Turkey in the major modern histories of printing and the characterization of printing as a “Christian” development in those histories, Pektaş states that “the various reasons behind the Ottoman reluctance to adopt this technology for the production and dissemination of Islamic texts are yet to be fully understood.”⁵

What began as a European export of the printed word to the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century turned into an Ottoman import of printing presses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These presses produced books and journals by both Ottoman authors and European authors (often in translation) which led to an explosion in reading, the introduction of periodicals and eventually of newspapers in all the languages of the Ottoman empire, including not just Turkish in its various forms, Ottoman-Turkish (Turkish in Arabic script), Armeno-Turkish (Turkish in Armenian script), and Karamanli (Turkish in Greek script), but also Arabic,

⁴ Nil Pektaş, “The Beginnings of Printing in the Ottoman Capital: Book Production and Circulation in Early Modern Istanbul,” *Osmanli Bilimi Araştırmaları*, XVI/2 (2015) 3-32.

⁵ Pektaş, “The Beginnings of Printing,” 4. See also the excellent article by Muhsin Mahdi, “From the Manuscript Age to the Age of Printed Books,” in George N. Atiyeh, *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East* (Albany: State University of New York Press; Library of Congress, 1995), 1-15.

Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek, Hebrew, Persian, and three Western languages, French, English and German. It is within the context of this history of printing and the press in the Ottoman Empire that the Armenian dailies of the Hamidian period must be examined and understood. Before turning to an examination of the periodical news press of the Ottoman Empire it is necessary to consider the introduction of printing itself in the various communities of the empire, Muslim and non-Muslim, and in the many and various languages of the empire.

3.2 The official Ottoman Bureau of Printing

It was a trip to France in 1720 by the Ottoman ambassador to France and his son that inspired the establishment of a Turkish printing office in Constantinople.⁶ The father, Çelebi Mehmed, and son, Said Mehmed, seem to have spent their four months visit investigating everything Paris had that could be useful to Ottomans and their advancement. The father afterwards wrote a book of memoirs describing what he had seen, which seems to have served as a road map for the Westernization and progress. According to the eminent historian, Niyazi Berkes, “It is apparent from Mehmed’s memoirs that he was familiar with the printing of books . . . presses existed in the Turkish capital, but the Muslims do not seem to have used them . . . the ground was ready for planting the idea of printing in Turkish.”⁷ Çelebi Mehmed’s son Said

⁶ Ubcini, *Lettres* I, 243-47, as well as White, *Three Years in Constantinople* II, 197-204, discuss the trip and its importance for the introduction of printing but later scholars have filled in many important details of the trip and the figures involved. See especially Göçek, *East Encounters West*, 3-81, and Niyazi Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, (New York: Routledge, 1998), 34-36. See also Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 21-22.

⁷ Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 34. Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 20, even notes the unsubstantiated account of a foreigner importing duty-free a Turkish press into Istanbul in order to print books in Turkish during the late sixteenth

Mehmed appears to have been the first Ottoman statesman to learn and speak French, and it is he who partnered with a man frequently described as a “Hungarian renegade” of great ability, to found the first Turkish printing house in Istanbul. Berkes gives more credit to the father than the son, unlike Ubicini and Yalman, but he, along with Ubicini and all recent scholars, give the primary credit to the Hungarian renegade. This Hungarian, known today as Ibrahim Müteferrika (d. 1745), was an extremely influential figure in the establishment of the first official Turkish printing press in Istanbul.⁸ Müteferrika’s life and printing activities on behalf of the Ottoman Empire have been the subject of extensive scholarly investigations since the mid-twentieth century, among which those of Berkes are most illuminating. Ibrahim Müteferrika, whose original name is unknown, is identified by the name he assumed as a convert to Islam and the title Müteferrika, which stands for the rank of royal quartermaster to which he was promoted, probably between 1705 and 1711 when in Ottoman service. Müteferrika’s conversion occurred after he was captured and enslaved in 1692 or 1693 in the Magyar Prince Teleky’s war against the Hapsburgs. Long considered a young man studying to become a Calvinist minister, Berkes has made a convincing argument by studying the history of religious conflict in Transylvania along with a 1710 treatise, extant in manuscript only, written by Müteferrika, that he was actually of Unitarian and not Calvinist persuasion. Ibrahim Müteferrika’s conversion to Islam initiated his extraordinary rise in Ottoman service, where he worked as an envoy and diplomat

century and the unsubstantiated existence of a Turkish book printed 1588. Berkes and other Turkish sources accept the reports as true.

⁸ Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 36-45. William J. Watson, “Ibrāhīm Müteferrika and Turkish Incunabula,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88 (1968), 435-41. Klaus Kreiser, “Causes of the Decrease of Ignorance? Remarks on the Printing of Books in the Ottoman Empire (cat. 15-34),” in Klaus Kreiser, ed., *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians and Muslims*, exhibition catalog Lehrstuhl für Türkische Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur, Universität Bamberg (Wiesbaden: 2001) 13-17.

before establishing the first official Turkish printing house.⁹ Müteferrika was interested in reform within the Ottoman Empire and believed that the introduction of printing would encourage learning and help to secure the future of the Ottoman state.

How and when Müteferrika and the father and son, Çelebi Mehmet and Said Mehmet, met and started working together to promote progress through the press remains unclear. A treatise that Müteferrika wrote on “The Means of Printing” (*Wasîlat al-Tibâ‘a*) in 1726, which enumerated the reasons why the Muslims needed a press of their own, was presented to the enlightened Grand Vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, the Şeyhülislâm Abdallah, and the *ulema* or lower clergy in 1726.¹⁰ The list of reasons included the loss of important books through fire and war, the decline of book copying, and the errors introduced by copyists. Müteferrika argued that printing would stimulate a revival of learning, ensure preservation, reduce cost, increase availability, facilitate the founding of libraries, and, significantly, prevent the printing of Islamic books by Europeans. With support assured in advance, Müteferrika submitted his formal application in 1727, in which he asked for both a firman from the Sultan and a *fetva* from the Şeyhülislâm authorizing him to print books.¹¹ He got both and started printing around the same time that Benjamin Franklin’s press commenced operations in Philadelphia. The alliance between the Grand Vizier and the Şeyhülislâm sought by Müteferrika managed to overcome the opposition of copyists and calligraphers who feared the loss of their jobs and also of religious

⁹ Pektaş, “The Beginnings of Printing,” 4, seems to suggest that the Christian background of Müteferrika is overemphasized in order to underline the “Christian” nature of printing, which overlooks the simple fact that because of his Christian origins he was familiar with the technology of printing even though he chose to print secular material.

¹⁰ Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 39-40. A translation of Müteferrika’s treatise on “The Usefulness of Printing,” by Christopher M. Murphy can be found on 286-292 in *The Book in the Islamic World*, edited by George N. Atiyeh.

¹¹ Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 40.

authorities who regarded Western printing practices as decadent and profane. The copyists were placated by a promise to ban the printing of the most respected books of Islam and the religious authorities were placated by a *fatva* obtained from the Şeyhülislâm recognizing printing as permitted by canon law and conforming to religious principles. Berkes aptly sums up the significance of the *fatva*:

When the *fatva* was issued permitting the printing of books except the Kur'an and books on Prophetic traditions (*hadith*), theology (*kalam*), Kur'anic exegesis (*tafsir*) and law (*fiqh*)—that is, permitting the printing mainly of dictionaries and books on mathematics, medicine, astronomy, physics, geography, and history, neither the calligraphers nor the *ulema* made further trouble. They knew that most of the reading public was interested in the kind of book that would not be printed, and the *ulema* of the time did not care about secular learning.¹²

Together the promised ban and the *fatva* cleared the way for the imperial mandate of July 5, 1727 which authorized the printing of books in Turkish and assigned four censors to oversee the work of the newly established printing bureau.¹³ This imperial rescript, *Hatt-i Şerif of Gülhane*, which closely follows Müteferrika's treatise, states that:

...owing to the destruction which had been caused, partly by fire, partly by the barbarism of conquest, to the rare collections of books in various parts of the world, many precious works, of which no other copies existed, were forever lost to religion and science; that only a few copies of good works were now left, which were so dear as to beyond the reach of most men; and it was therefore a thing much to be desired, for the sake of learning and for society in general, that a printing press, which would remedy and prevent these evils, should be established.¹⁴

¹² Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 40-41.

¹³ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 24. Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 40-41.

¹⁴ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 244, mentions both Çelebi Mehmet's memoir of the trip (*une relation curieuse de son voyage*) in which his son Said was impressed by the French printing presses as well as Ibrahim [Müteferrika]'s "memoire" that praised the benefits of printing. The slightly later English translation (by Lady Easthope in 1856) of Ubicini's *Letters on Turkey* adds some additional material including a footnote on p. 236 in Part I, which quotes the imperial decree given here.

In the Ottoman Empire a new age was ushered in by this mandate, the age of the press, and eventually, the “news” press, which included the various Armenian daily digests of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries under investigation here. It has been pointed out by Muhsin Mahdi that:

The period of transition from the manuscript age to the age of printed books is the second and less important transitional epoch in the history of the book in the Islamic world. The first and more important epoch was the initial emergence of the book during the first two centuries of the Islamic era.¹⁵

Despite the truth of this appraisal the great importance of the introduction of printed books to the Ottoman capital cannot be overstated.

Understandably, as a purely government institution, the new press, which was placed in the hands of its two original promoters, Said Mehmed and Ibrahim Müteferrika, published secular material. Two examples of the publications from Ibrahim’s press are the history of the Ottoman maritime warfare and the modern Ottoman cosmography by the seventeenth-century polymath, Kâtib Çelebi (d. 1657), printed in 1729 and 1732 respectively, which included contemporary maps produced from copper engravings as well as tables and diagrams by Müteferrika himself.¹⁶ The government’s intention was to educate its population not to entertain it.

It is of some interest that the first book published by the official press was an Arabic-Turkish dictionary called *Vankulu Lugati*, and that it included Müteferrika’s treatise, the abovementioned *fatva* as well as several articles by respected religious figures concerning the

¹⁵ Mahdi, “From the Manuscript Age,” 1.

¹⁶ See the detailed catalogue entries nos. 15-16 by Gottfried Hagen in Kreiser, *Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*, 48-51.

benefits of printing.¹⁷ Klaus Kreiser calls the *Vankulu* “the most famous Arab dictionary translated into Turkish”; it was based on the *Sihah* of Gauhar (d. before 1010) but named after its translator, Mehmed ibn Mustafa al-Vani (d. 1592).¹⁸ Second and third editions were after Ibrahim’s death and later in 1803 to supplement the original printing of 1000 copies.

Even after the establishment of the Ottoman printing bureau, the Ottoman press remained quite limited in scope for nearly a century, particularly between 1756 and 1783. During this period the printing bureau was, according to Ubicini, “suspended for twenty-seven years” or “neglected,” according to Yalman, after which another imperial decree was issued reauthorizing the bureau of printing in 1784.¹⁹ Richard Clogg writes about an unsuccessful attempt to reopen a Turkish printing office during the period of suspension by an impoverished American loyalist assigned as secretary to the British Embassy in Istanbul who tried to reestablish printing in Turkey in 1779 because of the exorbitant cost of books.²⁰ The letters of the secretary reveal his belief that the earlier press was suppressed by the Sultan because of renewed social unrest among the calligraphers and copyists, but Ubicini and Yalman think ordinary circumstances including deaths, disturbances and wars provide sufficient reason.

¹⁷ One of the few additions to Ubicini’s pre-1876 accounts, which Yalman provides is the identification of this book as an Arabic-Turkish dictionary. Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 24. Interestingly, White, *Three Years in Constantinople II*, 202-4, provides a detailed list of the first seventeen publications of the press. Later scholars elaborate on this list and provide a facsimile of Ibrahim’s petition; see Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 40-41 and Kreiser, “Causes of the Decrease of Ignorance,” 13-17.

¹⁸ Kreiser, “Causes of the Decrease of Ignorance,” 14.

¹⁹ Ubicini, *Lettres I*, 247-48. Cf. White, *Three Years in Constantinople II*, 204-5, who describes the recovery of “the materials of the presses, which lay rotting and forgotten,” and the authorization to establish new presses. See also Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 24. Kreiser, “Causes of the Decrease of Ignorance,” 14.

²⁰ Richard Clogg, “An Attempt to Revive Turkish Printing in Istanbul in 1779,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10, no. 1 (1979): 67-70.

Before the temporary suspension in 1756 only eighteen works in twenty-five volumes had been printed, chiefly of geography and history, with a total of 16,500 copies.²¹ The titles included histories of Egypt, of the Afghans, of the West Indies and the discovery of America, of the naval wars of the Ottoman empire, as well as the annals of the Turkish empire and general historical tables (*Takvim-i Tarih*), which Ubicini correctly regards as the “l’unique essai de chronologie universelle que possèdent les Ottomans.”²² Berkes regards Ibrahim Müteferrika’s most significant work his book printed in 1731 called *Rational Bases for the Politics of Nations* which argued that Turkey had “to learn and adopt from Europe” and was submitted to the new ruler, Mahmud I, with the final remarks:

All the wise men of the world agree that the people of Turkey excel all other peoples in their nature of accepting rule and order. If they learn the new military sciences and are able to apply them, no enemy can ever withstand them.²³

By 1828 a total of only eighty additional works in ninety-one volumes had been printed by the official printing bureau.²⁴ Altogether the official Turkish press had issued ninety-eight works, with the greatest numbers on history and geography (18) and language, including dictionaries (16). Other subjects included religion (14), mathematics, astronomy and medicine (13), official yearbooks and related publications (13), jurisprudence (11), metaphysics (4), translations of European authors (4), rhetoric (4), military subjects (3), and metaphysics (2). During this early period most publications were educational rather than imaginative, and they were lacking in

²¹ Kreiser, “Causes of the Decrease of Ignorance,” 14-16. Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 41, esp. n. 31. Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 247.

²² Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 247; however, earlier (239), Ubicini is struck by the lack of critical analysis in Ottoman histories: “Une autre particularité aux chroniqueurs ottoman, c’est la manqué absolu de critique historique.”

²³ Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 42-45.

²⁴ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 248. Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 25.

“purely literary character.”²⁵ Ubicini remarks upon this lack as surprising considering the many collections of poetry in manuscript editions that customarily stand on Turkish bookshelves and concludes that, “la tendance des éditeurs à multiplier les livres de sciences et d’enseignement, à l’exclusion des ouvrages purement littéraires, appelés à un rôle tout à fait secondaire dans l’œuvre de réforme que poursuit le Gouvernement.”²⁶

Only 439 titles had been published in Ottoman Turkish by 1839, according to Jale Baysal, and acknowledged by Klaus Kreiser.²⁷ Estimates of books and brochures printed in Ottoman Turkish before the introduction of the Latin alphabet in 1928 are less than 20,000. Ubicini reports that in his time new printing presses have been established in Constantinople and introduced into the other cities of the empire.²⁸ He adds:

Pendant que l’ancienne imprimerie, fondée par sultan Selim [III] à Scutari, était restaurée et remise en activité, la création de la Gazette d’Etat nécessita l’établissement d’une nouvelle typographie, qui sert aujourd’hui d’imprimerie impériale, et qui peut, grâce au nombre et au choix de ses ouvriers, ainsi qu’au matériel considérable dont elle a été pourvue, exécuter des travaux dans les principaux dialectes de l’Europe et de l’Orient.²⁹

According to Davison, Greeks, Armenians and Jews were instrumental in helping to effect this change:

The profession of translator from Western languages (principally French and Italian, with the former rapidly becoming dominant in the nineteenth century) was one for which members of non-Muslim millets seemed to have a natural advantage...Their role in transmitting knowledge of the West to Turks included

²⁵ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 25, following Ubicini, *Lettres I*, 249.

²⁶ Ubicini, *Lettres I*, 250.

²⁷ Kreiser, “Causes of the Decrease of Ignorance,” 15-17, commenting on Jale Baysal, *Müteferrika’dan Birinci Meşrutiyete kadar Osmanlı Türklerinin bastıkları kitaplar* (Istanbul: 1968).

²⁸ Ubicini, *Lettres I*, 250.

²⁹ Ibid.

the translating not only of documents for the Sublime Porte, but of Western newspaper articles as well. Furthermore, they helped to teach French to the growing number of Turks who were trained in the Translation Bureau.³⁰

Despite the variety of languages represented by the printing houses of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the nineteenth century, the actual production was relatively small, considering that most titles had runs of only 2000 – 3000 and that the languages represented range from close to 3000 titles for Ottoman Turkish, over 700 titles for both Armenian and Greek, over 400 titles for Arabic, around 50 titles for French, Persian, and Armeno-Turkish, and just 23 titles for Karamanli.³¹

3.3 Early unofficial printing in the Ottoman Empire

In his comprehensive account of the development of the press in Turkey, Ubicini notes, but does not really investigate, the specialty presses that existed in Istanbul long before the Ottoman government established the first Turkish press. In the first part of his *Lettres*, which describes the introduction of printing, Ubicini specifically mentions a Jewish press in the late fifteenth century and Greek and Armenian presses flourishing in the middle of the seventeenth century; he notes that some of these early presses came into being soon after the introduction of printing itself and long before the introduction of the first Turkish press: “il existait déjà dans la capitale plusieurs presses hébraïques, grecques et arméniennes, dont quelques-unes dataient presque de l’invention de l’imprimerie.”³² In the second part of his *Lettres*, when he discusses

³⁰ Davison, “The Millets as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire,” in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* I (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982) 323.

³¹ Kreiser, “Causes of the Decrease of Ignorance,” 16.

³² Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 243.

the various nations in Turkey in detail, he adds a bit more information. It was, however, left to twentieth century scholars to uncover the history and influence of these early specialty presses, all of which were well-established before Turkish printing was introduced and which were operated by and for the non-Muslim populations of the Ottoman empire, among which were numbered the Jews, the Greeks, the Armenians, the Arabs and the Persians.³³ It is impossible to understand the Armenian press of Istanbul without placing it within the context of the other specialty presses operating at the same time in Istanbul and in the Ottoman Empire as a whole.

Early Jewish printing in the Ottoman Empire

Ubicini points out that in 1576, under Murad III (r. 1574 – 1595), the Jews obtained the privilege of having two printing presses in the Ottoman Empire, one in Constantinople and the other in Salonica.³⁴ This was more than a century after moveable type and the printing press had been introduced in Europe in the mid-fifteenth century. However, a Jewish press was operating in Ottoman capital long before receiving that official permission from Murad III.³⁵ The movable type and printing press were innovations carried to the Ottoman Empire by the Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal during the last decade of the fifteenth century at the height of the

³³ See Pektaş, “The Beginnings of Printing,” 12-32, for a discussion of the early Hebrew, Armenian and Greek presses in Istanbul. Cf. Göçek, *East Encounters West*, 110-12, who discusses Ottoman permissions and licenses given to foreigners and minorities to import, print and distribute books as well as various bans and suppressions of early printing in the Ottoman Empire.

³⁴ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 376.

³⁵ Pektaş, “The Beginnings of Printing,” 13-16, and Göçek, *East Encounters West*, 111, describe early Jewish printing in the Ottoman Empire.

Spanish Inquisition headed by Torquemada.³⁶ Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castille, the Catholic monarchs whose marriage began the concerted effort to drive the Moors and Jews from the Iberian peninsula, issued an edict on 31 March 1492, known as the Alhambra Decree or the Edict of Expulsion, that ordered the Jews to convert or to leave the Spanish kingdoms in the space of four months. More than 100,000 Jews fled; some estimates say as many as 800,000.³⁷

Many of these displaced Jews settled in Istanbul and the other cities of the Ottoman Empire, where population studies have shown large increases in the number of Jewish families from before the Edict of Expulsion.³⁸ The Jews of Iberia were formally invited to settle in the Ottoman Empire by Sultan Beyazid II (r. 1481 – 1512), whose alleged comment about the wisdom of his invitation to the Jews has been handed down to posterity, “Ye call Ferdinand a wise king he who makes his land poor and ours rich!”³⁹ These Sephardic Jews joined the Romaniote (Byzantine) Jews from Anatolia and the Balkans who had been resettled in Istanbul by Mehmed II immediately after the Conquest in his attempt to revivify the old Byzantine capital.

Modern scholarly research has determined that two of the Jews expelled from Spain, the brothers, David and Samuel Ibn Nahmias, established the first printing press in the Ottoman Empire. The first book they printed was Jacob ben Asher’s fourteenth century *‘Arba’ah Turim* (Four Rows), which was the only book they printed in Hebrew in Istanbul in the fifteenth

³⁶ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 351-55 for the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal and their resettlement in various parts of the Ottoman Empire.

³⁷ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 353, n 1.

³⁸ Bernard Lewis, *Cultures in Conflict: Christians, Muslims and Jews in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) 32-45.

³⁹ Attributed to Immanuel Aboab (c. 1555-1628); see *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: 1971) v I, 90, s.v. Aboah, and v 4, 350, s.v. Bayezid II.

century.⁴⁰ This four-volume edition about Jewish religious law is known to have been completed on December 13, 1493, at a time when Columbus's New World was barely a concept.⁴¹ The first Hebrew book to be printed in Salonica appeared in 1502; the first with the printer's name appeared a few years later in 1504, even though this Salonica press was apparently not authorized by the government until much later.⁴² An interesting book printed in the second decade of the sixteenth century was Yitzhak Abohav's *Menorat ha-Maor* (*The Lamp of Light*), which was printed in Istanbul by a named printer who identifies himself as "the youngest among the engravers/lawgivers/printers," who was an assistant to the earliest printers in the city.⁴³ This book is particularly noteworthy because it was translated into Ladino in the seventeenth century, Yiddish and Dutch in the eighteenth century, and German in the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁴ By the seventeenth century Istanbul had become one of the premier Jewish printing centers, ranking alongside Venice and Amsterdam.

The situation of the Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century is aptly summed up by Julia Cohen: "By the eighteenth century, Ottoman Jews had begun to lose hold of many of the economic niches they had filled during earlier centuries, including their once important role in textile production, international commerce, and at court."⁴⁵ Their numbers were

⁴⁰ Ittai Joseph Tamari, "Jewish Printing and Publishing Activities in the Ottoman Cities of Constantinople and Saloniki at the Dawn of Early Modern Europe (cat. 6-9)," in Kreiser, *Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*, 9.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Tamari, cat. no. 6 in Kreiser, *Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*, 30.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Julia Phillips Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 6.

much less, at most a quarter to a fifth of the Greek Orthodox and Armenian communities of the empire, and consequently they had become less important to the Porte.⁴⁶ Generally neglected by the Porte, the Jews were subjected in the early nineteenth century to several purges under Mahmud II during the pre-Tanzimat era due to the Jews' connections to the Janissary Corps and the royal mint.⁴⁷

Until the nineteenth century only a handful of Jewish printing houses were in operation in the Ottoman Empire, and these were principally in the main cities of Istanbul, Salonica and Izmir.⁴⁸ A wide variety of material was printed, not just religious publications in Hebrew and especially Ladino but also "literary works in the original language and in translation as well as a variety of journalist publications."⁴⁹ In light of changing attitudes in the Ottoman capital it is not surprising that in the early nineteenth century Istanbul ceded first place for Jewish printing in the empire to Salonica.⁵⁰ The printers of Salonica and Izmir continued to publish religious works in great quantity up to the end of the nineteenth century while Istanbul ceased to do so around the mid-nineteenth century.⁵¹ This apparently was due to a minority's desire to keep a low profile in order to avoid discrimination if not persecution in the Ottoman capital.

⁴⁶ The population estimates for Greeks and Armenians are from Ubicini's *Lettres* I, 25-27 and *Lettres* II, 364, refer to the mid-nineteenth century. Cohen's estimates for the Jews comes from the early twentieth century, but she notes (*Becoming Ottomans*, 147, n. 18) that others have estimated the early twentieth century Jewish population at half that amount.

⁴⁷ Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans*, 6-7.

⁴⁸ Yaron Ben Na'eh, "Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire," in Gad Nassi, ed., *Jewish Journalism and Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire and in Modern Turkey* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2001) 78.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁵⁰ Tamari, "Jewish Printing." Cf. Ben Na'eh, "Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire," 76-78, 84-85, 89-91.

⁵¹ Ben Na'eh, "Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire," 76-88, 84-85, 89-91. Cf. Orit Bashkin, "'Religious Hatred Shall Disappear from the Land'—Iraqi Jews as Ottoman Subjects,

In his discussion of the moral and intellectual condition of the Israelites Ubicini reports in the mid-nineteenth century that, “La plus ancienne, et, pendant longtemps, l’unique imprimerie de Constantinople, qui possédât des caractères européens, fut établie dans la maison d’un rabbin juif, nommé Inès Castro.”⁵² Interestingly, the missionary Cyrus Hamlin, who founded Robert College and saved Middlebury College, wrote a treatise called *Papists and Protestants* to counter Jesuit attacks accusing the “Protestants and their religion of everything base and criminal,” which he had printed “at the press of M. de Castro,” who “being a Jew and a foreigner,” cared nothing for the Jesuits.⁵³ It was printed in both English and/or in Armeno-Turkish.⁵⁴ Recently, an excellent account of Hebrew printing houses in Ottoman Istanbul by Yaron Ben Na’eh has clarified many details of the early history of a number of printing houses producing Jewish publications, including that operated by the Castro family mentioned by Ubicini and Hamlin.⁵⁵ Ben Na’eh states: “A new printing house was founded in the city by Yitzhak Ben Avraham Castro in 1808.”⁵⁶ That printing house ceased printing and became a type-setting establishment operating out of Castro’s house, with the actual books printed at a press belonging to the

1864-1913,” *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3 (2010) 305-23, for a discussion of the shift from writing in Judaeo-Arabic into writing in Arabic and Ottoman-Turkish among Jewish intellectuals due to the desire to become part of a secular, non-sectarian Ottoman nation in the late Ottoman period.

⁵² Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 376.

⁵³ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times* (Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1893), 253.

⁵⁴ Hamlin implies it was published in English and notes that it was translated into Armeno-Turkish.

⁵⁵ Ben Na’eh, “Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire,” 73-96. Whether this Castro press represents a continuation of an earlier generation’s press is not clear.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 84.

Anglican missionaries.⁵⁷ Castro's sons continued the printing after their father's death in 1848. Ben Na'eh characterizes the elder Castro's books as "mainly Ladino translations from Hebrew, a few rabbinical treatises, and two polemical works against Christianity and the English missionaries."⁵⁸ The description of "polemical works against Christianity and the English missionaries" seems improbable in light of Hamlin's printing of his treatise at the Castro press, which the missionary must have chosen because of its possession of European type as well as its perceived "impartiality" in the Papists vs Protestants controversy.

Early Armenian printing in the Ottoman Empire

In the second part of his *Lettres* while describing the schisms in the Armenian Church in Istanbul in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Ubcini discusses the closure around 1703 of an Armenian printing establishment in Galata, set up by the Jesuits under the protection of the French ambassador, "which inundated the city with libels on the patriarch and the non-Romish Armenians."⁵⁹ This was in response to the apparent collusion of the French ambassador in the abduction and death of the Patriarch Avedik who had been persecuting the Armenian Catholics since the Armenian Catholics did not achieve recognition and their own Patriarch until more than a century later. Ubcini mentions another Armenian printing press, but in Jerusalem, not Istanbul, which was attached to the richest Armenian monastery, that of St. James.⁶⁰ This

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ubcini, *Lettres* II, 256. Göçek, *East Encounters West*, 111-12, discusses early Armenian printing and the role it played in the religious divisions within the Armenian community between Catholics and Gregorians.

⁶⁰ Ubcini, *Lettres* II, 290.

press is identified as a gift of Bedros Youssouf, a wealthy Armenian merchant of Trieste; many of the valuable manuscript treasures of the monastery are said to have been given to the world by means of this press. Although Ubicini reports on eleven Armenian printing establishments in Europe during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, including that of Constantinople, giving the years of their founding, he does not report on the number of Armenian printing presses operating in Istanbul during his time. Ubicini lists Venice (1565), Rome (1584), Lemberg (Lviv in Ukraine, 1616), Milan (1624), Paris (1633), Leghorn (Livorno in Italy), Amsterdam (1660), Marseilles (1673), Constantinople (1679), Leipzig (1680) and Padua (1690) as the Armenian printing houses of Europe in the seventeenth century.⁶¹ These were the presses that printed not just earlier manuscripts but also Armenian authors of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁶²

Scholars have been able to establish that Armenian printing existed (if only briefly) in Istanbul in the 1560s, approximately one hundred sixty years before the Ottoman government authorized Mütetferrika to open the first official Turkish printing bureau. This was about fifty years after the first Armenian book had been printed in Venice and also about two hundred sixty years before the Armenian version of the Ottoman government's first periodical, *Takvim-i Vekayi*, appeared.

⁶¹ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, p. 306.

⁶² Kevork B. Bardakjian, *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature, 1500-1920: With an Introductory History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000). Bardakjian's introduction has excellent chapters on Armenian literature printed in the sixteenth (23-45), seventeenth (46-73) and eighteenth (74-98) centuries. For a more comprehensive look at all of Armenian literature, from the earliest times, tracing it from manuscript to book to modern times, see also Agop J. Hacikyan et al., eds., *The Heritage of Armenian Literature* I-III (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999-2005); for this dissertation, vol. III, which covers the period from the eighteenth century to modern times, is the most important.

Armenian printing began in Venice with the publication in 1512 and 1513 of five books by a priest named Yakob to whom the sobriquet “sinner” (*meghapart*) was later attached.⁶³ These books were the *Urbatagirk* (Friday book, a medical collection), *Pataragatetr* (missal), *Akhtark* (a collection of astrology, horoscope and medicine), *Parzatumar* (a calendar) and *Tagharan* (songbook). It was more than fifty years before additional Armenian books were printed, approximately simultaneously in Venice and in Constantinople, by Abgar Tohatetsi, who was sent to Rome in 1564 by an Armenian Katholikos to get the Pope’s approval to print religious books.⁶⁴ After getting approval he first started printing for the Armenians of New Julfa (Iran), but then transferred his press to Constantinople where he printed six religious books before 1569. Additional Armenian printings of the sixteenth century were made of Pope Gregory XIII’s Gregorian Calendar in Rome in 1584 and of a Psalter in Venice in 1587.⁶⁵

In the second quarter of the seventeenth century Armenian printing was introduced to New Julfa—which of course began as an expatriate community of Armenians carried off from the Ottoman empire approximately thirty years earlier—in an attempt to print the Armenian Bible since the Pope had forbidden the printing of any version but the Vulgate in Catholic Europe; this Bible was not published but a Psalter

⁶³ Jacques de Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arméniens depuis les temps les plus reculés des ses annales jusqu’à nos jours, préface par Gustave Schlumberger* (Paris and Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 1919), 323, identifies the Armenian press in Constantinople as having been founded by the Katholikos Mikael in 1565. Additional information about the printer and his history are provided in Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 27, and Hacıkyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 44.

⁶⁴ Hacıkyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 44. Cf. Pektaş, “The Beginnings of Printing,” 16-17.

⁶⁵ Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 27. Hacıkyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 44.

was published by Khachatur Kesaratsi in 1638.⁶⁶ In an effort to improve his printing Bishop Khachatur even sent one of his priests to Europe to study the niceties of the art of printing. This priest, Hovhannes Jughayets'i, traveled in Italy to Venice, Rome and Livorno, finally settling in the latter where he published the first printed book of that city in 1644.⁶⁷ Two years later he returned to New Julfa with a press and began printing there for the merchants and families of this prosperous Armenian colony. These Julfan Armenians, whom Shah Abbas I (r. 1587-1629) had removed from the Safavid-Ottoman border lands and resettled in the interior of his empire after the Safavid-Ottoman wars of 1603-1605, won the right to export Iranian silk in 1619.⁶⁸ This allowed the small settlement of New Julfa to grow throughout the seventeenth century and to become one of the most important commercial centers in Eurasia. As Sebouh Aslanian notes, the Julfan merchants were:

... arguably the only Eurasian community of merchants to operate simultaneously and successfully across all major empires of the early modern period, including the three "gunpowder empires: of Islamate Eurasia (Mughal, Ottoman and Safavid), Muscovite Russia, Qing China, and all the major European seaborne empires (the Portuguese, Spanish, British, Dutch and French).⁶⁹

In 1666 the Armenian Bible that the New Julfan congregation has been unable to print was printed in Amsterdam, for which reason Amsterdam holds a place of great

⁶⁶ For the intended Bible, see Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 27 and Hacıyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 45. For the creation of New Julfa, see Sebouh David Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa*, California World History Library 17 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011) 23-43.

⁶⁷ Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean*, 40. Hacıyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 45.

⁶⁸ Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean*, 2.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

significance in the history of Armenian printing.⁷⁰ In the last quarter of the seventeenth century Armenian printing was restarted in Constantinople more than once, for short and longer periods, but did not develop a continuous history. The distinguished printer, Grigor Marzuanetsi, born in in the late seventeenth century in Marzvan, a town in the province of Sivas, and active in his hometown and in Constantinople during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, is credited with publishing fourteen books, including the book of the history of Taron by the Syrian historian of the fourth century C.E., Zenob Glak.⁷¹ Presses were also established in Smyrna in the mid-eighteenth century, which an Armenian community dating back to the early seventeenth century.⁷²

Two early centers of Armenian printing that existed outside of the Ottoman empire in the eighteenth century were nevertheless so influential in the creation of an educated class of Armenians in the Ottoman empire that they must be discussed in some detail. These centers were located in Venice and Vienna, in the Venetian and Viennese monasteries of the Mekhitarist priests, an Armenian Catholic order, who due to historical circumstances, had established themselves in the west in order to pursue their goal of preserving Armenian heritage and educating their fellow Armenians, both inside and outside of the Ottoman Empire.⁷³ Ubcini

⁷⁰ Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 28.

⁷¹ Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 28; Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 47; and Ralf-Peter Ritter, cat. no. 10 in Kreiser, *Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*, 38. Cf. Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 330-31.

⁷² Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature*, 47.

⁷³ An excellent account of the history and contributions of the Mekhitarists to Armenian heritage through their press is provided by Kevork B. Bardakjian, *The Mekhitarist Contributions to Armenian Culture and Scholarship: Notes to Accompany an Exhibition of Armenian Printed books in the Widener Library Displayed on the 300th Anniversary of Mekhitar of Sebastia, 1676-1749*, exhibit and text by Bardakjian, Armenian Bibliographer in the Harvard College Library, Middle Eastern Department (Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library, 1976).

aptly sums up both the mission of the Mekhitarists and also the characteristic that distinguishes them the other Armenian Catholic priests, those of the Propaganda office of Vatican, who also owe their allegiance to Rome and not to the Armenian Orthodox Patriarch:

La nationalité chez eux [the Mekhitarists of St. Lazarus] n'est point exclue par la foi; bien loin de là, elle la domine. Sur les rives du Bosphore, come au sein des lagunes, les yeux tournés vers l' Ararat, ils rêvent l'affranchissement, la resurrection de l' Arménie.⁷⁴

This Armenian Catholic order was founded in Istanbul by an Armenian Catholic monk, who had been born Peter Manuk in Sivas in Central Anatolia in 1676 but took the name Mekhitar (The Comforter) upon entering the Surp Nshan (Holy Cross) monastery in that city.⁷⁵ After his ordination in 1696 Mekhitar went to Istanbul and founded an order with a small number of like-minded priests with a view to educating his fellow Armenians. While there his first publication, *Hokumn varuts*, was published anonymously in 1705.⁷⁶ Due to opposition both from the Ottoman government and from the Armenian Patriarchate the Mekhitarists moved to the Greek Peloponnesus (Morea) in 1703, which was then under Venetian control. In 1711 their order was recognized by the Roman church under Pope Clement XI. As the Ottomans advanced on the Morea in 1715 the Mekhitarists had to flee once again, this time to Venice itself. There the Mekhitarists found a new home under the protection of the Doge of Venice. The Venetian gift of the Island of St. Lazarus in 1717 gave the Mekhitarists the freedom not only to write the history

⁷⁴ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 337.

⁷⁵ For Mekhitar's life and published works, see Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 77-79, 419-22; Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 50-55; and Vahan M. Kurkjian, *A History of Armenia* (New York: Armenian General Benevolent Union, 1958) 407-9.

⁷⁶ Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 419. Cf. Kurkjian, *History of Armenia*, 408, who reports that Mekhitar translated and published several works while in Constantinople but only one of that period in Constantinople is recorded in Bardakjian.

of Armenia but also to explore the intellectual life of the western world in the sciences and the humanities. There on an island that had been a leper colony in the Middle Ages, the Mekhitarists built a monastery and created a repository of Armenian manuscripts and books. Despite their anti-papal sentiments the American missionaries Smith and Dwight acknowledge the important contribution made by Mekhitar's order:

One of its first measures was the establishment of an Armenian type foundry and printing press . . . While the mass of the nation has been slumbering under the incubus of Turkish and Persian ignorance, and only now and then producing a work, often badly composed and still more badly printed, from some little press at Constantinople or elsewhere; this convent has raised up a succession of learned men, who have sent forth publications that would not disgrace the press of London in learning or mechanical execution.⁷⁷

The Mekhitarists of St. Lazarus, who were recognized by Napoleon as an “Academy of Learning,” trained others who carried this body of learning to the various Armenian communities scattered throughout the Mediterranean world and even into the New World. Initially, their work was printed in Venice but in 1789 they set up their own publishing house on the island.

The Mekhitarists of Vienna were another branch who separated from their Venetian brothers in 1773 and settled in Trieste where they built a monastery and church with permission from the Hapsburg empress Maria Theresa in 1775.⁷⁸ There they published a good number of

⁷⁷ Eli Smith, H.G.O. Dwight, and Josiah Condor, *Missionary Researches 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* (London: G. Wightmann, 1834), 162. Hereafter, this book will be cited with only Smith and Dwight as authors because Josiah Condor was a British editor and author who compiled a 30-volume worldwide series of historical travel guides entitled *The Modern Traveller*, and Conder has attached his *Memoir of the Geography and Ancient History of Armenia* to Smith and Dwight's missionary travelogue.

⁷⁸ Bardakjian, *Mekitarist Contributions*, 4-6, discusses the split between the two groups and their printing presses; he notes, 13, that “the Vienna Mekhitarists paid little attention to belles-lettres, but they did publish monumental catalogues of the Armenian manuscripts which are scattered throughout the world.” Cf. Kurkjian, *History of Armenia*, 411, which discusses the history of the Vienna group in some detail.

Armenian works in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The Mekhitarists of Trieste were forced to flee during the French occupation but were granted refuge in Vienna where they set up a new monastery, research center and printing house in the early nineteenth century.⁷⁹

Thus it happened that the preservation of Armenian culture and heritage was largely in the hands of the Mekhitarists of Venice and of Vienna from the early eighteenth century until the early nineteenth century.⁸⁰

Together the Venetian and Viennese Mekhitarists not only preserved manuscripts and artifacts of Armenian heritage from the ancient, medieval and early modern periods. They also researched, compiled, and published Armenian history and literature in Classical Armenian as well as produced translations for the various languages represented by the Armenian diaspora. The missionaries Smith and Dwight report that the Mekhitarist publications, “are held in high esteem wherever Armenians are scattered, even in India, [and] are received by all classes apparently without suspicion, and are found in the hands of the highest clergy.”⁸¹ These same missionaries report on the general absence of operational Armenian presses in Turkey during their travels in 1830-1831 with the exception of one outside Istanbul, which will be discussed later.⁸²

⁷⁹ Bardakjian, *Mekhitartist Contributions*, 6-7.

⁸⁰ All authors who discuss Armenian history speak of the critical importance of the Mekhitarists. See Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 306-307, 334-339; Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 316-23; Karapet J. Basmadjian, *Histoire moderne des Arméniens, depuis la chute du royaume jusqu'au Traité de Sèvres (1375-1920)*, préface par Jacques de Morgan, nouv. éd, rev. et augm. (Paris:1922), 106-12; Kurkjian, *History of Armenia*, 407-12; Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 78; Hacıkyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 50-55.

⁸¹ Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 163.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 19, 163.

Translation was a key element of their mission to educate Armenians in general not simply in their own history but in the history of the world and in the modern sciences and humanities developing outside of the Ottoman Empire. Classical Armenian was gradually relegated to the realm of the church and learned scholars while Modern Armenian became the medium of the people.⁸³ Mekhitar himself, the founder of the Mekhitarist Order, who wrote extensively in Classical Armenian and created a new Armenian edition of the Bible in 1735, considered more pure than the Dutch Bible of the seventeenth century, was also the originator of the first dictionary of Modern Armenian.⁸⁴ Interesting, Lord Byron lived on the island of St. Lazarus briefly in 1816-17 and co-authored bilingual texts on Armenian and English grammar.⁸⁵

Although the dispute between traditionalists and liberals as to whether Classical or Modern Armenian should be the literary language of the nation continued well into the nineteenth century, even the staunchest proponents of Classical Armenian, such as the Mekhitarists, had for a long time been using and printing Modern Armenian for educational and religious purposes in order to reach the people in the language they spoke. In the second half of the nineteenth century it became clear that Modern Armenian had won out and that two different

⁸³ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 61-67. Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 26, 102-3. Kurkjian, *History of Armenia*, 365-368. Cf. Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 299- 324 and Basmadjian, *Histoire moderne des Arméniens*, 17-20, 106-12.

⁸⁴ His *Dictionary of the Armenian Language* which was the first volume of the first comprehensive dictionary of the Armenian language, was published shortly after his death in 1749. He had already published grammar books for vernacular Armenian in 1727 and for Classical Armenian in 1730. See Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 77-79, 419-22 and Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 54.

⁸⁵ See Arpena Mesrobian, "Lord Byron at the Armenian Monastery of San Lazzaro," *The Armenian Review* 27, no. 2 (1974): 131-140; Kurkjian, *History of Armenia*, 368.

standards had evolved, Modern Western Armenian and Modern Eastern Armenian.⁸⁶ Vahan Kurkjian makes the important point that the modern Armenian literature began to separate into two distinct groups, an Eastern group influenced by the Russian spirit and the German language and a Western group influenced by the French, Italian and Greek cultures.⁸⁷ This dissertation, which focuses upon the Armenian community of Istanbul, is concerned almost exclusively with Western Armenian language and literature.

Early Arabic printing in the Ottoman Empire

It was the Christian Arabs of the Ottoman Empire who introduced the newly discovered printing technique of Europe to the Arabs of the Middle East, apparently after first importing Arabic books printed in Europe. A bilingual Syriac and Karshuni (Arabic written with Syriac letters) Psalter of 1610, produced in the Maronite Monastery of St. Anthony at Quzhayya in Lebanon was the first book printed in the Arab world.⁸⁸ Interestingly, it was acquired a year later by a German traveler and scholar. This was approximately one hundred years after the first book in moveable Arabic type, *Kitab Salat al-Sawa'i*, a book of prayers, was printed in Europe. The *Kitab Salat al-Sawa'i*, which survives in ten copies, was printed by a Venetian printer in 1514 in Fano, Italy, about 300 km south of Venice, apparently “to avoid the privileges that were

⁸⁶ Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 102.

⁸⁷ Kurkjian, *History of Armenia*, 406-7.

⁸⁸ Carsten Walbinder, cat. no. 2 in Kreiser, *Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*, 22-23.

in force in Venice relating to the printing of books in Oriental type, according to Hartmut Bobzin.⁸⁹

The early press at St. Anthony's in Lebanon was short-lived and other attempts to have books printed in Rome for use by the Greek Orthodox communities of the Arab world failed probably because the Vatican, in the words of Carsten Walbiner, "wished to maintain a monopoly over the printing of Arab ecclesiastical books in order to keep a firm grip on church policy in the East."⁹⁰ Thus, the first actual printing house of the Arab world was not opened until the early eighteenth century. In 1706 the Greek Orthodox metropolitan of Aleppo, Athanāsiyūs al-Dabbās, managed to evade Vatican interference and open a printing house in Aleppo, with the gift of a press from the Prince of Wallachia, whom he had earlier visited.⁹¹ A Book of Psalms and a Gospel book attest to his success.⁹²

About two decades later, in 1734, a religious treatise by the Spanish Jesuit Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, originally published in Madrid in 1640, was translated into Arabic and published by the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in al-Shuwayr, Lebanon, the modern Dhour El Choueir in the mountains overlooking Beirut. However, it took another century until the first Arabic book with secular rather than religious content was published in the Arab world. This was a book on the grammatical rules of the Arabic language published in 1836 by the American Protestant missionaries who had opened a printing house in Beirut a few years earlier and among whom the

⁸⁹ Hartmut Bobzin, cat. no. 1 in Kreiser, *Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*, 20-21.

⁹⁰ Carsten Walbiner, "The Christians of Bilād al-Shām (Syria): Pioneers of Book-Printing in the Arab World (cat. 1-5)," in Kreiser, *Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*, 11-12.

⁹¹ Walbiner, cat. no. 3 in Kreiser, *Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*, 24-25.

⁹² Ibid.

scholarly linguist Goodell had worked prior to Navarino.⁹³ Walbiner notes the significant fact that, “The publishers tried to make the book interesting for all circles of readers by avoiding Christian symbols and formulas.”⁹⁴

Early Greek printing in the Ottoman Empire

Greek printing in Constantinople during the seventeenth century seems to have been much more limited than Jewish and Armenian printing.⁹⁵ This probably had something to do with the fact that a considerable number of Greek scholars and scribes migrated to the West after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and consequently were able to establish workshops for printing Greek liturgical, patristic and classical texts and grammars in the West, primarily in Italy, but also in Germany, France, England, the Netherlands and Spain, after the printing press was introduced in the mid-fifteenth century.⁹⁶ In 1627 a Greek Orthodox monk named Nikodemos Metaxas carried a font of Greek types and a printing press from England to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Loukaris (1572-1638), whose Calvinist tendencies caused the Catholic ambassadors of France and Austria to oppose him and the Protestant ambassadors of England and the Netherlands to support him.⁹⁷ His opponents won the struggle. The Patriarch was

⁹³ Walbiner, cat. no. 5 in Kreiser, *Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*, 28. Cf. Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 78- 105.

⁹⁴ Walbiner, cat. no. 5 in Kreiser, *Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 28.

⁹⁵ Pektaş, “The Beginnings of Printing,” 17-29, provides a detailed account of the short existence of the first Greek press in Istanbul, that of Nikodemos Metaxas.

⁹⁶ Pektaş, “The Beginnings of Printing,” 3.

⁹⁷ Cf. Pektaş, “The Beginnings of Printing,” 17-29, and Göçek, *East Encounters West*, 111-12, who briefly discusses early Greek printing and the Metaxas press.

strangled on the orders of Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623 – 1640) and Nikodemos's printing press temporarily confiscated but not before publishing in 1628 a work criticizing the primacy of the Pope by Meletios Pigas, former Patriarch of Alexandria and Loukaris' former superior.⁹⁸ Nil Pektaş reports that the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople did not acquire another printing press until 1756, more than a century later.⁹⁹ According to Johann Strauss, who has investigated the Greek community and its press during the Ottoman empire in great detail, Greek printing in the Ottoman Empire made "little progress until the Nineteenth Century."¹⁰⁰ Uprisings, revolts and the Greek War of Independence all serve as explanations for Ottoman control of the Greek press in their domain.

Ubicini credits Coray (1748-1833), an Ottoman expatriate born in Smyrna, who spent his adult life living in Paris, with the awakening of the Greek nation (*le réveil de la nation*) to their glorious past, which inspired Philhellenic movements both within and outside the Ottoman empire that led to the rebirth of Greek nationalism.¹⁰¹ Coray was a prolific scholar and translator of ancient Greek, who is also credited with the regeneration of the Modern Greek language by purifying it and discarding foreign words and idioms while restoring the grammatical forms and construction of ancient Greek. It is important to note here that the connection between the

⁹⁸ Evro Layton, *Nikodemos Metaxas, the First Greek Printer in the Eastern World.*, Harvard Library Bulletin; v. 15, No. 2 (Cambridge: Harvard University Libraries, 1967), 140-68. R. J. Roberts, "The Greek Press at Constantinople in 1627 and Its Antecedents," *Library: A Quarterly Journal of Bibliography* 22 (1967): 13-43.

⁹⁹ Pektaş, "The Beginnings of Printing," p. 29.

¹⁰⁰ Johann Strauss, cat. no. 21, in Kreiser, *Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*, 61-62. See also J. Strauss, "The Millets and the Ottoman Language: The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th-20th Centuries)," *Welt des Islams* 35, no. ii (1995): 189-249.

¹⁰¹ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 88-91.

regeneration of Modern Greek and Greek nationalism in the Ottoman empire previews that between the restoration of vernacular written Armenian (Modern Western Armenian and Modern Eastern Armenian) and Armenian national identity. Coray had wealthy Greek merchants of Leghorn (Livorno) as his patrons, who maintained him in Paris and underwrote the printing of his Modern Greek and French Lexicon in the printing house of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople in 1817. This family of merchants, seven brothers, natives of Yanina, who were “tous résolus à vivre dans le célibat, afin de server plus utilement leur pays,” educated Greek youths in foreign countries, published the finest classics, and supplied many cities of Greece with printing presses and libraries.¹⁰²

The revolution of 1821 dealt a fatal blow to the prosperity of Greeks in the Ottoman empire. Education for Greeks and publications by Greeks in the Ottoman Empire were curtailed; in contrast, schools, newspapers and printing were all flourishing in Athens by the mid-nineteenth century. At that time the Ottoman government not only allowed but supported the printing of a textbook in Greek. Since the contents of the textbook “Rudiments of the Ottoman Language,” by Constantine Adossides were meant to teach Greek subjects how to speak the Turkish language of its rulers, the textbook cannot be considered Greek in content but only in the language of instruction.¹⁰³

By the mid-nineteenth century Ubicini reports that three-quarters of modern Greek publications were being printed on Hellenic presses and that Greek printing in Istanbul was reduced to eight presses due to the fact that printing had shifted to the presses in Greece. He

¹⁰² Ibid., 200.

¹⁰³ Johann Strauss, cat. no. 22, in Kreiser, *Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*, 62-63.

laments the fact that the eight presses of Istanbul publish little more than, “traductions de nos romans français le plus en vogue, come *le Comte de Monte-Cristo*, qui faisait les délices du Fanar (Greek district of Istanbul) en 1847.”¹⁰⁴

Early Persian printing in the Ottoman Empire

A continuous tradition of Persian printing in the Ottoman Empire began only in the second decade of the nineteenth century, long after the Jewish, Arab, Armenian and Greek populations had set up printing houses and commenced publishing with regularity.¹⁰⁵ However, these early books printed with movable type did not appeal to Persian readers accustomed to the beautiful script of their calligraphers. Fortunately, the lithographic process invented in the late eighteenth century, which permitted facsimile reproduction, did appeal to Persian readers because it could reproduce handwritten Persian from the most admired calligraphers of the time. It could even produce the ornamental borders and drawings that the Persian readers delighted in from their long manuscript tradition. According to Ulrich Marzolph, lithographic printing so quickly dominated the market for Persian printing that not a single Iranian book was printed in movable type between 1855 and 1873.¹⁰⁶ Although Persian printing was introduced late in the history of Ottoman printing, it created a recognized genre of illustrated lithographed books. Marzolph sums up the Persian contribution succinctly: “Even though similar items were published in other Islamic countries, this genre may be regarded as a distinctly Persian one.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 206-7.

¹⁰⁵ Ulrich Marzolph, “Persian illustrated lithographed books (cat. 33-41),” in Kreiser, *Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*, 18.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

The largest group of these illustrated lithographed books are from the classics of Persian literature, namely the *Shahnamah* of Ferdowsi, the *Khamasa* of Nizami, and the poems of Sa‘di. Other groups include religious narratives of the Shi‘ite martyrs at Kerbala and narrative works such as the Persian translations of the *Arabian Nights* and even of European fiction and non-fiction. One of these books was *The Count of Monte Cristo*, which the Kashani grandfather of my father-in-law, said was his favorite book in the mid-nineteenth century, just as it was the favorite book of the Greek presses in Istanbul at that time, according to Ubicini.

3.4 General Character of Early Printing in the Ottoman Empire

Detailed information about the arrival of these early specialty printing presses in Istanbul and elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire do not exist, nor do exact records of their production in Hebrew, Armenian, Arabic, Greek, and Persian. Since these presses were not operating as an official arm of the Ottoman government, records of their founding and production are extremely spotty and rely almost exclusively on the survival of early books in the major museums and libraries of the world, as the early books, illustrated and described in such depth in *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*, demonstrate.¹⁰⁸ Most of the early books in all languages were religious in nature, as the preceding description of the publications in various languages has shown—which helps to explain “the Turkish indifference to printing” as Nil Pektaş points out:

... the Turkish indifference to printing cannot be solely explained by the economic threat to local scribes or the existence of an established and efficient system of document production. Printing in Western Europe flourished within the historical contexts of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, which saw opposing groups utilize printing technology for the immediate dissemination of propaganda material such as religious tracts, political treatises and periodicals.

¹⁰⁸ Kreiser, ed., *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*, 13-17.

There was no such grand-scale religious debate at an institutional level in the Muslim world in this period, hence no basis for widespread circulation of polemical texts.¹⁰⁹

It was only in the mid-eighteenth century that secular material, by and large non-fiction in character, began to appear. Informative books and pamphlets began to circulate more widely in the mid-eighteenth century as a result of the Ottoman government's reforms aimed at modernizing the empire, especially its military. The Mütferrika press led the way in this regard with its Turkish publications. Other presses followed suit. Even then, however, secular works remained small in terms of overall book production until the nineteenth century by which time popular literature had so engaged the reading public that the press itself was completely transformed from a religious vehicle for a select few to a secular vehicle for the many. One of the foremost scholars studying the introduction of printing and its effect upon society, Elizabeth Eisenstein, aptly entitles her work *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, and weaves the Reformation and Counter-Reformation into her history the early press.¹¹⁰ The Christian connection with early printing is undeniable as Eisenstein makes clear, but her emphasis on the distinction between "making discoveries" and "securing them" through printing multiple copies and her discussion of the fall of Constantinople as the first example of a revival of learning being associated with the dispersal of a major manuscript center due to the advent of printing are equally important facts of history.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Pektaş, "The Beginnings of Printing," 10.

¹¹⁰ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

¹¹¹ Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 210, 220. Pektaş, "The Beginnings of Printing," 4, laments the absence of Turkey in Eisenstein and others' discussion of the history of printing but is unable to disprove or discount her arguments. Pektaş collects and cites evidence of Ottoman learning, scholarship, libraries and appreciation of books in general (much of which

One of the most interesting descriptions of the early presses in Istanbul is found in Smith and Dwight's travelogue.¹¹² After noting that the Armenian Patriarchate in the capital possesses a printing press that is no longer in operation in 1828, they report on a visit to a fully operationable printing house in Ortaköy, one of the nearby villages, which had three presses operating at that time, printing in Armenian and Hebrew, among which was a Persian-Armenian-Turkish dictionary composed by a learned Armenian.¹¹³ The proprietor who was a man in his eighties, who with family, a "little clan of Aráb-oghloo," ran the shop, as his father did before him, so the establishment was about one hundred years old, making it a near contemporary of the Müteferrika press.¹¹⁴ The missionaries were told that this Ortaköy press was the only Armenian printing establishment in Turkey. However, the evidence of its attached foundry, "in which are cast a variety of Armenian, Greek, Roman, Hebrew, Rabbinical, Russian and Arabic types," shows that the printing house was producing a great deal in addition to Armenian publications. Interesting as well is the fact that the Ortaköy printing house, which appeared to specialize in private publishing in many different languages, also cast Arabic types in its foundry, "which they make only for the government press." The family operating the printing house and foundry

was known in the nineteenth century) although emphasis on the highly developed copyist tradition capable of turning out a multitude of copies seems somewhat overblown and does little to negate the obviously greater benefit of printing for book reproduction and distribution in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

¹¹² Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 19.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ This clan is to be identified with the Armenian printer Arapoğlu Bogos and sons, whose printing house published Jewish books prepared by the Castro family in the 1820s and 1830s: see Ben Na'eh, "Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire," 85.

had recently been granted the “Mohammedan privilege” of wearing yellow slippers because of a “cast for a new font after the model of Persian manuscript,” which greatly pleased the Sultan.¹¹⁵

All of these early publications were non-periodical publications. Publishers and printers were in the business of making a profit so they initially focused on traditional works. These works were often of a religious character (e.g., Bibles for Christians), which were already familiar from manuscript editions, in order to ensure a ready-made readership.¹¹⁶ Many of them were reprints and translations of manuscripts and books of an educational nature, the majority of which were in French since most of the modernization efforts involved French intermediaries of one sort or another.

Private printing increased dramatically in the nineteenth century as the owners of the presses realized the financial potential in private printing and the public demand for accessible and entertaining reading material rather than religious or scholarly treatises spurred the commercial enterprise of the publishing houses. Ubicini’s remark about French romances such as the *Comte de Monte Cristo* being the preferred reading in the Greek quarter of Istanbul shows that entertaining fiction was the reading public’s choice of the day.¹¹⁷ As a result, the development of the book in the Ottoman empire was not all that different from its development in Europe nearly three centuries earlier.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 19. For the significance of this privilege, see Charlotte Jirousek, “The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Later Ottoman Empire,” in Donald Quataert, ed., *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1558-1922: An Introduction*, (State University of New York Press, 2000), 225-26.

¹¹⁶ Lucien Febvre, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, (London, 1976), 249-50.

¹¹⁷ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 206-7.

¹¹⁸ For a history of the development of printing religious texts in early modern Europe, see Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, chs. 3 – 4.

3.5 The introduction of periodical publications in the Ottoman Empire

Once again Ubicini provides the first scholarly account of the introduction of the newspaper press in Turkey. His eleventh letter, entitled “Journalism in Turkey” traces the origin of the press from the late eighteenth century up to his time, 1853, when he says the number of newspapers had been progressively increasing with the encouragement of the Ottoman government.¹¹⁹ His discussion of journalism in Turkey is particularly interesting because of his familiarity with the news press in many countries and his own contributions to newspapers in Turkey and elsewhere.

In the late eighteenth century periodical publications begin to appear in the Ottoman Empire under French influence. Documentation about the arrival and use of printing presses in various parts of the Ottoman Empire becomes relatively abundant at this time. The earliest periodical publications were in French, not Turkish. Reymond du Verninac Sainte-Maur, the French envoy to Istanbul, published the *Gazette Francaise de Constantinople* between 1795 and 1797, operating out of the palace of the French embassy at Pera.¹²⁰ He had intended to publish in both French and Turkish but was unable to do so. This appearance of periodical “news” in the form of reports, announcements and bulletins marks a turning point in the history of printing in the Ottoman empire.

¹¹⁹ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 257-62.

¹²⁰ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 257. Richard Clogg, “A Further Note on the French Newspapers of Istanbul during the Revolutionary Period (1795-97),” *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten* 39, no. 155 (1975): 483-90. Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 28, mentions the Gazette but records Verninac’s name incorrectly.

Shortly after this Napoleon invaded Egypt. Two weeks after his conquest of Cairo, in August 1798, the first periodical to appear in an Arabic-speaking land, *Le Courier de L'Egypte*, was published by Bonaparte every five days to carry "official notices, local news and other reports," between his military and administrative officers.¹²¹ Of some note is the fact that the first account of the famous discovery of the Rosetta Stone by the French expeditionary force appeared in this paper in September 1799.¹²² *Le Courier de L'Egypte* was published in French, like *La Décade Egyptienne*, introduced a few months later and published quarterly by the French scientific expedition to Egypt.

The French took their printing presses with them when they left Egypt in 1801. Three years of printing those two periodicals in French with occasional proclamations issued in Arabic had, however, demonstrated the usefulness of this modern innovation. It had also awakened in Muhammad Ali, the former Ottoman officer who ruled Egypt from 1805 to 1848, an interest in continuing to harness printing for the benefit of the empire. Muhammad Ali set about acquiring the equipment, training men to operate it, and building a printing house in Cairo in the neighborhood of Bulaq.¹²³ By 1821/22 the *Jurnal al-Khidiw* (The Khedive's Journal), as it was named by Muhammad Ali, had begun printing bilingual Turkish-Arabic bulletins.¹²⁴ Initially, this was handwritten but later it was printed lithographically. At first it appeared irregularly but it

¹²¹ Ami Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 12. See also Kreiser, *Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East*.

¹²² R. B. Parkinson, *Cracking Codes: The Rosetta Stone and Decipherment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 20.

¹²³ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 251-55, discusses early printing in Egypt. The English translation wrongly gives 1842 instead of 1822 for the establishment of the press.

¹²⁴ For Muhammad Ali's interest in printing and his publications in Egypt, see Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 13-22. Cf. Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 201, who emphasizes rivalry with the Sultan in Istanbul as Muhammad Ali's motive in all his literary and scientific establishments.

later became a weekly and eventually a daily. An extremely interesting feature of this paper was its inclusion of stories from the *Thousand and One Nights* in the midst of official notices and dry reports.¹²⁵

By 1842 the Bulaq printing house had published 243 books, forty-five of which were Arabic or Turkish translations of European works, produced by students in the “embassies” that Muhammad Ali established in France in 1825.¹²⁶ The remainder of the books published by the Bulaq press were said to be “ouvrages originaux,” of which the majority were works on history, geography, politics and morals. Ubicini emphasizes that the Bulaq press also published “several works of a purely literary character,” including more than twenty *Divani* or collections of poetry from Turkish and Persian poets, ancient and modern.¹²⁷ He compares the press at Constantinople with the Egyptian press and finds it less developed with respect to book publication, probably because the Sultan did not set up a permanent embassy in Paris for young Turks as Muhammad Ali had for young Egyptians.¹²⁸ Ubicini does admit, however, that “la presse périodique en Turquie ont été couronnés d’un plein succès et ont laissé bien loin derrière eux les tentatives du même genre faites en Egypte.”¹²⁹ One expects that this was owed to Istanbul being involved in so many wars with Christian powers as allies or enemies as well as at the center of so many diplomatic endeavors by Western officials, all of which would have been heavily reported in foreign newspapers and confirmed or denied by papers published in the Ottoman empire. Early

¹²⁵ Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 14-15. Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 251-55.

¹²⁶ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 251.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 252.

¹²⁸ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 251-255.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 253.

examples of this were the extracts from the bulletins of the grand army that were printed during Napoleon's Russian campaign of 1811 and distributed from the French embassy in Pera.¹³⁰

Around the same time in the mid-1820s the first newspaper in Ottoman Turkey, *Le Spectateur de l'Orient*, soon renamed the *Courrier de Smyrne*, was founded in Izmir (Smyrna) by a Frenchman, Alexandre Blacque. It was heavily critical of Russia and Russian policies in the Ottoman Empire, particularly with respect to the Greek Revolt.¹³¹ Even though the Russian ambassador to the Ottoman Empire encouraged the Sultan to suppress the newspaper, warning of the dangers of a free press "in France and England where journalists can express themselves freely, even against kings," Mahmud refused since Blacque's paper was actually defending Ottoman interests.¹³² In fact, he invited Blacque to publish an officially sanctioned French-language paper, *Le Moniteur ottoman*, in Istanbul in 1831, having recognized the usefulness of periodical papers as a tool for public relations and government propaganda. In Egypt Muhammad Ali supported a similarly named French-language paper in Alexandria, *Le Moniteur Egyptien*, in order to counter the hostile press he was receiving in the Istanbul *Moniteur*. Both the Egyptian and the Ottoman *Moniteurs* were short-lived.¹³³

3.6 The first Turkish-language "newspaper"

¹³⁰ Ibid., 257.

¹³¹ Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 21; Ubicini, *Lettres I*, 247-248; Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 28-29; Ubicini and Courteille, *État présent de l'empire ottoman*, 167-68.

¹³² Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 21, quoting the translation given in Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 28, taken from A. Lufti, *Annals*, v 3, (Constantinople: 1874-86), 98.

¹³³ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 21-22.

It was only in 1832, a century after the creation of the official Ottoman bureau of printing in 1727, that the first Ottoman Turkish periodical, the *Takvim-i Vekayi*, was introduced during the period of reform under Mahmud II. In its first edition of 1832 the existence of *Takvim-i Vekayi* is justified in these words:

To know the events of the past serves to keep up the laws and the character of the Empire and the solidarity of the nation. It is for this purpose that the government has always employed historiographers and published historical works. However, if the daily events are not made public at the time of their occurrence, and their true nature is not disclosed, the people are apt to interpret governmental acts in ways which are not even dreamed of or imagined by the authors. Human nature is always inclined to attack and criticize everything, the character and truth of which it does not know. In order to check the attacks and misunderstandings and to give people rest of mind, and satisfaction, it is necessary to make them acquainted with the real nature of events.¹³⁴

The introduction of *Takvim-i Vekayi* (Calendar of Events), a name chosen by Sultan Mahmud II himself, provides an idea of the paper's contents and its uncontroversial character. Even so, it seems significant that the Sultan had permitted the publication of the French periodical *Le Moniteur ottoman* in Istanbul a year earlier.¹³⁵ Perhaps he was testing the waters, so to speak, in his capital before allowing a Turkish paper that would be circulated and read more widely. Or, more likely, he and the officials in charge of his newly established paper needed time to organize and implement the printing of this first Turkish-language paper. It was a massive undertaking to acquire and set up the machinery for a news organization with Turkish typesetting not to mention to train the operatives to run it.

Within months of the first publication of *Takvim-i Vekayi* an Armenian-language edition of the paper, as well as editions in other languages of the Ottoman empire (namely, Greek,

¹³⁴ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, May 14, 1832, as (translated and) quoted by Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 30.

¹³⁵ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 258. Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 29.

Arabic and French), were issued and distributed throughout the empire, in accordance with Mahmud's explicit approval, printed in the very first issue of *Takvim-i Vekayi*:

As the kindness of His Majesty regardings all of his subjects, and his will to all friendly powers are evident, the utility of the work [*Takvim-i Vekayi*] will be extended to them by making publications in languages other than Turkish.¹³⁶

Although an official arm of the government, *Takvim-i Vekayi* was intended to circulate internally for the most part. Its "news" consisted of announcements and reports of government decrees, events and activities. This information was intended for a select audience of government officials, religious authorities, and members of foreign consular or embassy units for which *Takvim-i Vekayi* was required reading. It functioned as a public relations tool, but with its limited circulation of about 5000 copies, was not meant "to be read by the man in street," as Ami Ayalon notes.¹³⁷ This was also true of the early French-language periodicals circulating in the Ottoman Empire.

Less than a decade later, in 1840, another Turkish-language periodical, *Ceride-i Havadis* (Register of Events), by William Churchill appeared in Istanbul.¹³⁸ This semi-official weekly was modeled on *Takvim-i Vekayi* but carried more international "news" than the official paper. Churchill's Turkish-language paper became known for its reporting on the Crimean War (1853-56) and as a result developed a loyal Turkish audience.¹³⁹ Because Churchill was already

¹³⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, May 14, 1832, as (translated) and quoted by Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 30.

¹³⁷ Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 22.

¹³⁸ Churchill's first name and the date his periodical was introduced are incorrect in Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 32. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 146-47, provides a good insight into Churchill's significance.

¹³⁹ Churchill's paper was published apparently half in Turkish and half in English; see G.H. Fitzmaurice, "The Turkish press and its influence," in *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914* (London: 1926), 24.

covering the war for English-language papers, it was easy for him to write reports and supplements featuring war news. As *Ceride Havadis*'s audience grew its language was simplified in order to be understood more quickly and easily by its readers.

3.7 The news press of the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century

When Ubicini enumerated the newspapers being published in the Ottoman Empire in 1853, the year that the second edition of *Les Ottomans*, the first part of his *Lettres*, was published in Paris, he remarked that the number might appear small in proportion to the population but that considerable progress had been made in the thirty years that had passed since newspapers first appeared in Smyrna.¹⁴⁰ He noted that Smyrna boasted five newspapers when he went to press, even though two of the three original French papers had moved to Istanbul and merged. Smyrna had, however, added two in Greek, one in Armenian (*Archalonis* or *Aurora*), and one in Hebrew, which together must have served the multi-lingual population of Smyrna better than three French papers had.¹⁴¹ Of the thirteen newspapers that Ubicini listed as being published in Istanbul in 1853 only two were in Turkish.¹⁴² Four were in French, four in Italian, and one each in Greek, Armenian and Bulgarian.¹⁴³ Compare that single Greek paper in Istanbul, namely the *Telegraph of the Bosphorus*, which was a weekly, with the sixteen daily papers in Athens at the same time, which Ubicini reports were accompanied by two literary journals, a law journal and a medical journal for a population of only 30,000, which was a fraction of the population estimated for

¹⁴⁰ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 260-62.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 260.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 260-61.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

Istanbul.¹⁴⁴ The Ottoman capital was clearly a laggard when it came to the periodical press. The single one Armenian paper being published in Istanbul, the *Hayastan (Armenia)*, was published weekly. Ubicini notes the transformation that has occurred in Turkey under the Tanzimat and asks if it has not been brought about in part due to “l’influence de la presse européenne à Constantinople.”¹⁴⁵ He clearly understood the importance of the press in transforming society. Although Ubicini is also aware of the constraints under which these newspapers operate, he asks why the news press could not play an even greater role in transforming and rejuvenating the Ottoman Empire than it is:

Je sais à quels ménagements elle est tenue, non-seulement en vers le Gouvernement, des bienfaits ou de la tolérance duquel elle vit, mais encore envers les légations de Pera dont elle doit craindre à chaque instant d’éveiller les susceptibilités ombrageuses. Mais, sans sortir de la réserve qui lui est imposée, ne pourrait-elle pas servir plus utilement qu’elle ne l’a fait jusqu’ici, la grande cause du maintien et de la régénération de l’empire ottoman?¹⁴⁶

The Crimean War proved a critical turning point in the development of the Ottoman press. No longer was the press simply a mouthpiece for the government. By publishing dispatches directly from the battlefield the press began to have an independent voice in an increasingly public forum. Ubicini describes this thirst for knowledge:

On n’s pas seulement cherché à la connaître par les livres, les journaux, les cartes, les notes et les correspondances diplomatiques; on est allé l’étudier chez elle, on

¹⁴⁴ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 173, estimates Constantinople and Thrace to hold one-half of the Greek population of European Turkey, or 425,000-500,000 in an estimated Greek population of 950,000-1,000,000; for the Greek weekly, see Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 261; for the Athens dailies, see Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 206.

¹⁴⁵ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 262.

¹⁴⁶ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 262. Cf. Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 59, who reports that *Terjuman-i Efkiar* (printed in Armeno-Turkish), published an article in August 1877 pointing out that the Turkish press had no prestige abroad and no influence among its readers; he adds that it was ridiculed and never quoted by the press of other countries.

l'a suivie jusque sur le champ de bataille, où l'on a vu le nouveau système turc à l'épreuve.¹⁴⁷

In this way, a modern style of journalism began to develop in the Ottoman capital.

It can be said that from this point on the presses were humming in the Ottoman Empire. Both periodical and non-periodical printing increased dramatically. War reporting had helped to create the concept of “breaking news,” serializations of fiction had helped to develop a literary taste, reports of inventions and innovations had helped to encourage an interest in science and technology, and historical digests and geographical summaries had helped to promote an interest in education of all kinds.

The Ottoman Printing Law of 1857 (January 6), *Nizam-i Matabi' ve Matbu'at*, which required licensing for all publishers, did not specifically mention the periodical press. This law did, however, set a precedent for future laws in that it allowed the Ministry of Police and the Council of Education (*Encümen-i Ma'arif*) pre-publications review and censorship in all publications in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁸

Churchill's *Ceride-i Havadis* encountered no real competition in Istanbul until 1860 when a second Turkish-language paper, *Tercümani-i Ahval* (Interpreter of Conditions) was founded. This new weekly was the first truly non-official and self-supporting paper in Istanbul. It had a recognized poet and modernist, Ibrahim Şinasi, associated with it as editor and journalist. *Tercümani-i Ahval* soon encountered government disapproval and was forced to close for two weeks, as the result of an anti-government article probably written by another modernist, Ziya

¹⁴⁷ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, vi.

¹⁴⁸ Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*. 23.

Paşa. In 1862 Şinasi left the paper and started publishing his own paper, *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, where he was later joined by Namik Kemal, another avowed modernist.

Additional official weekly papers were established in the provincial seats of government following the provincial administration law of 1864. These were published in Turkish as well as the dominant local language. A good example of these is *Tona* (Danube) published in the Danubia Province (Bulgaria) in Turkish and Bulgarian.¹⁴⁹

The Press Law of 1865, enacted by Sultan Abdülaziz, which established a Press Commission to control and censure printing activities in the Empire, was an early attempt to eliminate all criticism of the government and all opposition to its policies. The punitive measures attached to the law two years later initiated a period of warning, suspension, and suppression of undesirable papers.¹⁵⁰ Prominent activists such as the three writers mentioned above, Ziya, Şinasi, and Namik Kemal, who were agitating for reform in the Ottoman Empire, became targets of government suppression.¹⁵¹ In response, they and others of like mind created a movement that has become known as the Young Ottomans. As advocates for political and social reform, the Young Ottomans met with official resistance and suffered severe consequences, including exile and imprisonment on more than one occasion.¹⁵²

Quite a number of newspapers closed after the introduction of the Press Law and others reopened in cities to which the journalists had fled, such as Paris and London. Turkish, Greek

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 42.

¹⁵⁰ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 36. Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 149-50. See here Chapter 5, section on “Censorship and Content” in “Comparative Analysis.”

¹⁵¹ Mardin, *Young Ottoman Thought*, 253-56 (Şinasi), 283-86 (Kemal), 337-39 (Ziya).

¹⁵² Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 136-150, 173.

and Armenian newspapers produced abroad began to appear in Istanbul by virtue of the post so the reform movement continued, though from a distance. This was remedied several years later when the Young Ottomans were able to return to Istanbul. Namik Kemal had returned in 1870 and others followed in 1871 and 1872 after the death of the Grand Vizier who had tried to muzzle them through repressive laws, censorship and banishment.¹⁵³

As a result, by 1872 three dailies, two twice-weeklies, one semi-weekly, and four specialty weeklies in Ottoman Turkish circulated in Istanbul.¹⁵⁴ Newspapers in other languages also circulated in Istanbul. In French there were six dailies (two of them partly in English) and a weekly; in Armenian there were three dailies, two semi-weeklies and six weeklies. In Greek there was one daily, two thrice-weeklies, two semi-weeklies, and one bi-weekly; in Bulgarian there were three weeklies and a monthly. There was even one weekly in Ladino.¹⁵⁵

Contrast the apparent superfluity of papers in Istanbul by 1872 with the period before 1860 when there was only one official weekly (*Takvim-i Vekayi*) and one semi-official weekly (*Ceride-i Havadis*) in Istanbul, both supported by the government.¹⁵⁶ Clearly, a monumental transformation of Ottoman society was underway.

It was, however, premature to celebrate true reform in 1872. The government continued to suppress newspapers and threaten journalists. Namik Kemal's paper *İbret* was ordered closed

¹⁵³ Ibid., 150-59. Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 34-46.

¹⁵⁴ The 1872 statistics are given in Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 40, where he is quoting from the section on the press provided in the official almanac of 1872.

¹⁵⁵ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 41. The papers that Yalman calls "Hebrew" were, in all likelihood, Ladino publications; see Sarah Abrevaya Stein, *Making Jews Modern: The Yiddish and Ladino Press in the Russian and Ottoman Empires* (Bloomington, Indiana: 2004).

¹⁵⁶ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 40.

in 1873, and he and some of his associates were promptly arrested and deported after publishing a farewell editorial that the government viewed as defiant.¹⁵⁷ Kemal was released from confinement only after Sultan Abdülaziz was deposed in 1876.

In a subsequent publication, just prior to the promulgation of the first Ottoman Constitution of 1876, Ubicini lists the forty-seven newspapers being published in Istanbul. He is therefore the best general source for the newspapers of the Ottoman capital in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, even though he does not investigate the newspapers in depth.¹⁵⁸ Of the forty-seven newspapers seven were dailies.¹⁵⁹ Thirteen of the forty-seven papers were in Ottoman Turkish, nine were in Greek, nine in Armenian, seven in French, three in Bulgarian, two in English, two in Ladino, one in German and one in Arabic. All of the major language groups of Istanbul therefore had a least one paper. The nine in Armenian were *Masis*, which Ubicini characterizes as “journal national,” *Avedaper* (a missionary paper), *Djamanak* (a national, scientific and literary paper), *Manzoumeh-i Evkiar* (a political and literary paper), *Mecmua-i Havadis* (an Armeno-Turkish political, economic and literary paper), *Hayrenik*, and *Norakir* (both political and literary papers), and *Mémoul* and *Punch* (both humor papers).

Paul Fesch, writing in 1907, lists the newspapers of Istanbul during the last days of Abdülhamid II and describes the severe censorship under which they operated.¹⁶⁰ Ahmed Emin Yalman, writing in 1913 for his Columbia University dissertation of 1914, is the best general

¹⁵⁷ Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 158-59. Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 39-40. The most complete account of the Young Ottomans’ thought can be found in Mardin, *Young Ottoman Thought*.

¹⁵⁸ Ubicini and Courteille, *État présent de l’empire ottoman*, 173-75.

¹⁵⁹ The 1876 figures are given in Ubicini and Courteille, *Etat présent de l’empire ottoman*, 172-75; and Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 41.

¹⁶⁰ Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d’Abdul-Hamid*, 29-70.

source for newspapers of the Ottoman Empire in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, including ones in foreign languages, although his focus is primarily upon the Turkish language newspapers. He traces the development of the press in Turkey by summarizing Ubicini before entering into his own detailed investigation of the press in Turkey from the period of the first constitution of 1876 to the outset of World War I. While Yalman borrows heavily from Ubicini for the early history of newspapers in the Ottoman Empire, he contributes much new information, particularly about the organization, funding, content, distribution, circulation, and censorship of the news press from the accession of Abdülhamid II to the eve of World War I. Of special interest is the questionnaire that he circulated in Istanbul in 1913 in order to discover and analyze the habits and interests of the newspaper readers.¹⁶¹ This questionnaire provides a kind of social history of the newspapers in Istanbul and their readership immediately prior to World War I.

A short period of exhilaration followed during which the Constitution of 1876 was proclaimed and a parliamentary election held, the first election in Ottoman history and even in Islamic history. Neither the constitution nor the parliament lasted very long under the new Sultan Abdülhamid (r. 1876 -1908/9), who initiated a long period of despotic rule that ended with the Young Turk Revolution, which brought back the Constitution in 1908.

A large number of papers still circulated in Istanbul in 1906-1907, not only in Turkish, but in French, Greek, Armenian, Ladino, German, Italian and Serbian.¹⁶² Heavy censorship greatly restricted their content then as it had done throughout the Hamidian period.

¹⁶¹ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press*, 133-38.

¹⁶² Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid*, 62-69, lists these papers with their circulation number and general content.

Throughout the last three decades of the nineteenth century a large number of Armenian and Greek periodicals are always present alongside the ones in Ottoman Turkish in the official almanacs. In light of this, it is noteworthy that Yalman emphasizes the importance of Armenian and Greek “capitalists,” as he calls them, who went into business with Turkish “idealists” for the purpose of publishing papers during the rise of the Turkish press.¹⁶³ Although the principal Westernizers of the press and theatre were Turkish journalists and playwrights, Davison emphasizes the valuable part millet members played.¹⁶⁴ This cultural exchange and interplay between Turks and minority Christians is examined by Davison, who names the Greek editor (Theodore Kassap) of three Turkish papers and the Armenian owner (Sarafian) of *Ibret*, the newspaper that Namik Kemal edited in 1872-73 as well as the Armenian operator (Agop Vartovyan) of the most renowned Turkish theatre (Gedikpaşa) that produced Namik Kemal’s famous play *Vatan* as well as translations into Turkish of Molière by Ahmed Vefik Pasha, who sold the Bosphorus site for Robert College to Cyrus Hamlin.¹⁶⁵ It is easy to associate Armenian and Greek venture capitalists with money-lending practices in the growth of business in the Ottoman Empire. It is also tempting to identify Armenian and Greek minorities in the Ottoman Empire, especially in Istanbul, as having a higher percentage of literacy than the Turkish population amidst which they lived.

Slightly different views of the Hamidian press in Istanbul emerge when comparing the summary histories of the press in Yalman, Fesch and Lewis. Yalman considers the censorship and suppression of the press one of the principal reasons for the flourishing of the press at this

¹⁶³ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 45.

¹⁶⁴ Davison, “The Millets as Agents of Change,” in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire I*, 323.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

time because the arts always flourish when under attack.¹⁶⁶ Fesch praises their patience in surviving such a long period of diminished existence awaiting the day when their persecutor will disappear.¹⁶⁷ Lewis notes the explosion of printing presses in Istanbul between 1883 when only 54 were listed in the official almanac and 1908 when as many as 99 were listed.¹⁶⁸ Yet he regards the newspapers of the Hamidian era as “emasculated and ineffectual” while admitting that they made “some contribution to the modernization of Turkey, if only by increasing their numbers and readership . . .”¹⁶⁹

Thirty years before Abdülhamid’s accession Ubicini had noted the remarkable progress Turkey had made due to the periodical press even while acknowledging the censorship and suppression of the news press in Istanbul. Yet his recommendation for journalists then remains one that the best reporters still follow despite the dangers:

J’admets qu’ils ne lui soit pas loisible toujours de parler, elle [la presse] peut, du moins, se taire, et ne pas s’obstiner à voir le bien là où le mal est évident. Aujourd’hui surtout les illusions seraient dangereuses. Ce n’est pas en égarent à dessein l’opinion, c’est en l’éclairant, que l’on sauvera la Turquie, si la Turquie peut être sauvée.¹⁷⁰

3.8 The reading public: understanding the press in a pluralistic empire

¹⁶⁶ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 39. Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 306, “c’est aux époques les plus calamiteuses de l’histoire que paraissent les savants les plus renommés.”

¹⁶⁷ Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d’Abdul-Hamid*, 50.

¹⁶⁸ Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 188, n. 38.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 188.

¹⁷⁰ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 262.

A strong case has been made for a pluralist approach to understanding how people read and exchanged ideas in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷¹ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when printing was expanding throughout the Ottoman Empire due to an ever-increasing number of books and newspapers published, the Empire comprised a number of distinct nations with distinct languages. Nevertheless, the press as well as the reading public should not be compartmentalized into separate “reading nations,” according to Johann Strauss.¹⁷² There is a natural tendency for historians to try to place a work or a body of work into a nationalist camp. However, a novel written in *Karamanli* (Turkish written in Greek characters) is neither Greek nor Turkish literature; rather, it should be understood as a product of a multiethnic and multilingual society where the written word was fluid in its identity. As Johann Strauss points out:

In the 19th century...classical languages were gradually replaced by more vernacular varieties (diglossia). The most conspicuous case is Modern (Western) Armenian, where the classical variant (*krapar*) became more or less obsolete towards the end of the century....It also contributed to the rise of publications in Armeno-Turkish.¹⁷³

It is important to remember the pluralism of nations and tongues in the Ottoman Empire when considering the explosion in printed material in the last several decades of the nineteenth century. As the presses began to publish more and more private works, translations of European and American novels and histories into Ottoman Turkish began to appear. These works had often been published first in Armenian or Greek. One such example is William Robertson’s *History of America*, which was translated into Armenian from the Italian by the Mekhitarist priest, Mina

¹⁷¹ Johann Strauss, “Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire,” *Arabic Middle Eastern Literatures*, v. 6, no. 1, 39-76.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 41.

Kaspariants and then into Greek by George Vendotis. However, it was not until 1880 that Robertson's work was printed in Ottoman Turkish.¹⁷⁴ An original Turkish novel by Vartan Pasha, *Akabi Hiyakesi*, was first published in Armeno-Turkish rather than Ottoman Turkish for reasons not yet understood.¹⁷⁵

For the Armenian community of Istanbul it is important to point out that they were predominantly monolingual (Turkish) and in more educated circles bilingual (Armenian and Turkish). It has been suggested that those who were bilingual preferred Turkish and that some Armeno-Turkish publications received a Turkish audience, unlike Karamanli.¹⁷⁶ Here Diran Kelekian comes to mind. This Armenian was not only the translator of the Armenian novels of Krikor Zohrab into Turkish as well as the editor of *Sabah* (Morning), an Ottoman-Turkish newspaper published in Istanbul between 1876 and 1922. The other side of the coin, so to speak, shows Turkish authors being translated into Armenian for schoolchildren's textbooks at the beginning of the twentieth century.

A significant disparity existed, nevertheless, in the Turkish readers' understanding of the minorities living among them in the Ottoman Empire compared to the Armenian, Greek and other minority readers' understanding of the Turks among whom they lived. This is summed up by Johann Strauss, who states, "On the whole, however, one can say that the modern literature of the minorities remained to a large extent terra incognita for Ottoman men of letters."¹⁷⁷ Strauss uses the example of Vincenzo Cornaro (d. 1613/14), a Cretan poet born into an aristocratic

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 49.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 53.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 54.

Venetian-Cretan family in the second half of the sixteenth century. His romantic epic poem, *Erotokritos*, is considered a masterpiece of modern Greek literature and was certainly known to Greek readers living in the Ottoman Empire. When it was finally published in Ottoman-Turkish in 1873, however, the translators did not bother to include the author's name, and so Cornaro, the man as opposed to his work, remained virtually unknown to his Turkish readers.

According to Strauss, the same is true for modern Armenian literature in the Ottoman Empire. He emphasizes the reactions of several prominent Turkish writers, including Abdullah Cevdet, Sahabeddin Suleyman, and Suleyman Nazif, who wrote eulogies (*takriz*) for an anthology of Armenian short stories—the first collection of this kind—published in Turkish in 1913. To them this publication, as late as it was, appeared “almost as a revelation.”¹⁷⁸

Interestingly, the exchange of ideas between Armenians and Turks seems to have been primarily through drama. This is not surprising if one considers that drama belongs to the medium of entertainment, and it is achieved through performance. Successful public entertainment would have spread quickly and easily across cultural divides in Istanbul which was gifted with a basically bilingual audience. Plays were not only performed but also were often published; these play scripts, whether by Armenians or by Turks, were often translated into other languages. In this way, drama became a vehicle not just for cultural but also for intellectual exchange.¹⁷⁹ The dominant role of Ottoman Armenians in this arena has been noted. Strauss makes this point by that a fourth century C.E. Armenian king, Arsaces II, became the subject of one of the earliest examples of Turkish drama, *İkinci Arsas* (1865). This king, whose rise and fall, makes a wrenching tragedy that could compete with those of any of the great kings of Greek

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

or Shakespearean tragedy, had already figured in the works of prominent Armenian writers in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸⁰ His appeal was universal so that his story could be retold by Turkish writers familiar with this tragic king through Armenian works.

3.9 Armenian printing during the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire

It has already been reported that Armenian printing existed in Istanbul in the first quarter of the seventeenth century approximately one hundred years before the Ottoman government opened the first official Turkish printing bureau.¹⁸¹ This was about one hundred years after the first Armenian book had been printed in Venice and also about one hundred years before the Armenian version of the Ottoman government's first periodical *Takvim-i Vekayi* appeared.¹⁸²

During the nineteenth century book and pamphlet printing in Armenian flourished not only in Venice and Vienna, where it had been firmly established for a long time, but also in four other centers of Armenian culture, namely Istanbul, Etchmiadzin, Moscow and Tiflis.¹⁸³ In Istanbul we know that a printing press, founded in Ortaköy by the Armenian printer Arapoğlu Bogos and sons, ever printed eighteen books for the Jewish community of Istanbul between 1822 and 1833.¹⁸⁴ Like printing in general, Armenian printing in these centers steadily increased over time. Between 1830 and 1850 the American Protestant missionaries translated and printed a huge

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 54, lists four Armenian writers who wrote about Arsaces II: Mgrdich Beshiktashlian (1828–1868), Emmanuel Yesaian (1839–1907), Khoren Calfayan (c.1831–1892) and Thomas Terzian (1840–1909).

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid. The first Armenian book, the *Urbatagirk*, was printed by Hakob Meghapart in Venice in 1512, about six decades after the Gutenberg Bible was printed in Germany.

¹⁸³ See the short account of modern Armenian literature in Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 316-27.

¹⁸⁴ Ben Na'eh, "Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire," 84.

amount of religious books and tracts, first in Armeno-Turkish but subsequently in modern Armenian after they had created primary and secondary schools for both boys and girls and taught them how to read and write the modern Armenian dialect.¹⁸⁵ In 1854 Harrison Dwight boasted of the great number of copies of books and tracts printed by the ABCFM (1,043,210) and the number of pages (121,780,00), and states that “the greater part of these were in the Greek and Armenian languages, chiefly the latter.”¹⁸⁶

By the mid-nineteenth century an historic shift of emphasis away from religious to secular learning and away from classical Armenian to modern Armenian had occurred in the Armenian population due in part to the spread of printing and the resultant spread of primary education but also due in part to the ever-increasing Armenian diaspora and the resultant nationalist tendencies it inspired.¹⁸⁷ Conflicts between the three great powers, Tsarist Russia, Ottoman Turkey and Persia, which coveted the historic homeland of the Armenians, had spurred Armenian migration, primarily westward into the Mediterranean and Europe and even into the New World.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century Armenian periodicals had become common in Istanbul and other cities of the Ottoman Empire as well as in cities of the diaspora such as

¹⁸⁵ H. G. O. (Harrison Gray Otis) Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey: A Narrative of the Protestant Reformation in the Armenian Church* (London: J. Nisbet, 1854), 301.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 319.

¹⁸⁷ For the Armenian diaspora, see Ubicini, *Lettres II*, 293-94, 299; Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 279-98; Basmadjian, *Histoire moderne des Arméniens*, 189; Kurkjian, *History of Armenia*, 465-73; Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 230-36; Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature III*, 106-8. Doğan Gürpınar, *Ottoman Imperial Diplomacy: A Political, Social and Cultural History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 1-23, has an interesting discussion about the modern conceptualization of the ideas of “nation” and “nationalism,” which is directed toward the Ottoman state and the Turkish nation but has relevance for the developing sense of national identity among Armenians in the nineteenth century. Cf. Chapter 4 here for discussion of modernity and nationalism.

Paris, London and Geneva. Western advances in science and technology and European literature, particularly French literature, became regular subjects of discourse in the Armenian periodicals. Western concepts of freedom began to invade the intellectual life of Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire even if strict censorship forbade their appearance in the periodicals.

The number of Armenian periodicals published in Istanbul in the years 1872, 1876 and 1891 have already been given in the above account of the rise of printing in the Ottoman Empire. Of the eleven Armenian periodical papers listed in the official almanac for 1872, one, the *Avedepar* (Good Word), is described by Yalman as a publication of the American Board established in 1853 and still circulating in 1913 to thousands.¹⁸⁸ He notes that this family weekly carried cultural news and that it was also published in a Greek edition and a Turkish edition written in Armenian letters (Armeno-Turkish). According to Yalman, no Turkish periodical of his time had such a long history. While the American Board published dictionaries and textbooks in Ottoman Turkish, it published no periodical in Turkish. Clearly, the reading public in the Ottoman Empire during the second half of the nineteenth century was comprised to a large extent of people who were either Armenian themselves or people who read Armenian or Turkish in Armenian characters.

It is at this point that an explosion in the printing of books and periodical in modern Armenian occurred both in Istanbul and in the cities of the Armenian diaspora. The Armenian periodicals published in Istanbul from the last quarter of the nineteenth century up to and including the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 have a place in the history of printing in the Ottoman Empire and, more significantly, the history of Armenian printing in general. However,

¹⁸⁸ See Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 41, for a discussion of *Avedepar* and the American Board publications.

these periodicals also comprised a significant body of evidence about the life of Armenians living in Istanbul during this critical period in Armenian history as well as about the history of the Ottoman Empire in general.

In trying to figure out who was reading the Armenian dailies of Istanbul during the sixty-year period of this dissertation from 1852-1912, it is important to give some estimate of the Armenian population in Istanbul. Writing in the mid-nineteenth century, Ubicini estimates the total population of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire at 2,400,000.¹⁸⁹ He states, “The Armenians inhabiting Turkey in Europe are scarcely 400,000 of which more than half reside at Constantinople.”¹⁹⁰ That would suggest that Ubicini estimated the Armenian population of Istanbul in his time at less than 200,000. In 1907 Fesch states that there are more than 100,000 Armenians residing in Istanbul and that they have five daily papers to read in their own language. Because these are very rough estimates, it is not clear if there is a dramatic drop-off in the Armenian population of Istanbul itself over the half-century between Ubicini and Fesch.

In trying to figure out who was reading the Armenian dailies of Istanbul in the sixty-year period from 1852-1912, it is also important to remember the questionnaire Ahmed Emin Yalman distributed in 1913 in Istanbul.¹⁹¹ While this questionnaire focuses on Turkish papers and dates to a year shortly after the Young Turk Revolution and the lifting of censorship, it is still relevant

¹⁸⁹ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 298-99. He compares this to 900,000 in Russia, 600,000 in Persia, 40,000 in India and other countries of Asia, and 60,000 in Europe. Cf., Stanford Shaw, “The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 9, no. 3 (Oct. 1978), 325-38.

¹⁹⁰ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 296/*Letters* II, 295. The rest of the Armenians inhabiting “Turkey in Europe,” as Ubicini calls the area, reside in Thrace and Bulgaria. However, by far the majority of Armenians in the Ottoman empire reside in “Turkey in Asia,” as Ubicini calls the area; this area 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.

¹⁹¹ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 133-39.

for understanding the reading and purchasing habits of people living in Istanbul. Yalman's questionnaire, which was permitted by the Ottoman government, received 120 responses of which 104 were men and 16 were women. The questionnaire inquired about education, age, and party affiliations of the readers. It also asked how newspapers were obtained, where they were read, and how frequently they were read. It even asked what was done with the newspapers after the original reader was finished reading it. Of the 120 people surveyed only 17 kept their newspapers regularly and 27 threw their newspapers away or gave them back to newsboys who presumably resold them.

3.10 Conclusion

Ubicini stands out in his time, the mid-nineteenth century, for his understanding of the importance of the press and for honest, unbiased and impartial reporting of people and events in Turkey. He recognized journalism and the press as a significant "modern" development and was adamant about its role in regenerating and reinvigorating the Ottoman Empire.

Most early printing in the Ottoman Empire, except for that of the Ottoman Turks, was completely religious in nature, as had been true in the West. Printing of the Qur'an and Islamic texts was initially prohibited, which may help to explain why Christians and Jews in the empire began printing books earlier than the Turks though it does not explain why later on the Turks were so much slower to print books on secular topics than were the Christians and Jews of the empire.

The introduction of periodical publications leading to the introduction of the news press in the Ottoman Empire was begun by foreigners and subsequently adopted by the Ottoman rulers

who felt a need to compete with foreign nations, counter foreign propaganda and engage in internal and external public relations.

Armenian printing, which flourished under the Mekhitarist presses of Venice and Vienna, before being reintroduced in Istanbul was initially limited by two components of those presses, first, their heavily religious and instructive subject matter and, second, their initial reliance on Classical Armenian for many of their publications. As the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire became literate and developed Modern Armenian, their periodical publications and literature reached new heights and gained a global following among the expatriate Armenian population. The heavy hand of Ottoman control and censorship limited the Armenian news press just as it did the Turkish news press in the second half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, several Armenian newspapers circulated in Istanbul and their general character and significance will be studied in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ARMENIANS OF OTTOMAN ISTANBUL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In this chapter an attempt will be made to bring to life the incredible vibrancy of the people of Istanbul during the nineteenth century, the period of the Tanzimat, as the Ottoman Empire tried to remake itself as a prominent, if not dominant, member of the global community of nations. Citizens of all stripes realized that their country and they themselves had fallen behind in the global race to modernize and reap the rewards of technology and the benefits of innovation. The methods and means of war and of business had been transformed by discoveries and practices employed by more advanced nations which had focused on modernizing. The health, and even survival, of nations now depended on improvements in science, medicine, and agriculture as much as it did upon competent management of resources, trade, budget and finance. Education had become essential for progress. This realization transformed life in the Ottoman Empire, at first for officials and the military and eventually for the masses.

The Armenians of Istanbul were heavily involved in this race to modernize. They were already the most educated and prosperous Armenians of the Ottoman Empire since they had focused on education and business when other avenues of official advancement were barred to them. Ubcini's detailed historical portrait of the Armenians at mid-century, around the time of the Crimean War is used as a framework around which to build a multi-faceted picture of Armenian life in the Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century using their own and others' written accounts of their lives, hopes, and dreams. The Armenian intelligentsia of the nineteenth and early twentieth century provide a primary focus for this investigation. Only through them and their eyes can we begin to understand the Armenian newspapers of Ottoman Istanbul which are the focus of this dissertation. Global forces affecting the Ottoman Empire, and particularly

Istanbul, become increasingly strong beginning during the Crimean War and continuing up to World War I and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Their material and spiritual influence upon the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire will also be summarized.

More than one hundred and fifty years have passed since the mid-nineteenth century and more than a century has passed since the end of the nineteenth century. It is only one year since the day a century ago that a group of influential Armenians were rounded up in Istanbul for deportation and death in central Anatolia during the first year of World War I. The four years duration of that war encompassed the deaths of over a million Armenians in Ottoman Turkey and left the surviving Armenians from Ottoman Turkey spread over many countries and continents. Even at this distance of many decades when competing voices rise again to break the silence and write the history of this period, recriminations and denials are the predominant themes of converse. This is not the past which interests and intrigues this writer. The unfiltered past, as seen through the eyes of nineteenth and early twentieth century people who lived or loved, visited or worked, studied or taught, built or bought, in Ottoman Istanbul, is what occupies this writer. This is the past witnessed by contemporary people and represented by contemporary objects in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Later scholarly examinations, analyses and histories have a place in broadening our understanding of the Armenians of Ottoman Istanbul, but here in this chapter emphasis will be placed upon contemporary accounts and records—that is, upon the material evidence—of the people themselves, their friends and colleagues, their occupations and interests, their beliefs and hopes, and their daily lives in the Ottoman capital in the sixty-year period from appearance of the first Armenian newspaper through the Young Turk Revolution that ended with the outbreak of World War I.

4.1 Ubicini's Letters about the Armenians of Ottoman Istanbul

The best overall contemporary picture of Armenians in nineteenth-century Istanbul is provided by Abdolonyme Ubicini, principally in his *Lettres* on Turkey which describe all aspects of Armenian society at that time, the size of its population, its placement in the city, its civil and religious organizations, its interests and occupations, and its history vis-à-vis the Ottoman administration.¹ For this reason Ubicini's work is used as a foundation for the picture of Armenian society presented here, to which other nineteenth century sources, including the surviving Armenian newspapers, will be added.

Like many accomplished men of letters in the nineteenth century Ubicini wrote for newspapers and published some of his work in serialized form in newspapers before publishing in book form. Unlike many of his contemporaries, such as Charles Dickens and Arthur Conan Doyle in England, Mark Twain in the United States and Alexandre Dumas and Jules Verne in France, who also published serial installments of their works in newspapers and magazines, Ubicini was interested in fact, not fiction. In writing about Turkey about which there were so many prejudices as well as so many misconceptions, Ubicini stated, "le premier mérite, comme le premier devoir de l'écrivain, est l'exactitude."² He was not interested in making his name as a novel-writer. He was interested in history and politics, and his books and newspaper articles reflected that interest.

¹ Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie; ou, Tableau statistique, religieux, politique, administratif, militaire, commercial, etc. de l'Empire ottoman . . . Première partie: Les Ottomans* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1853) and *Lettres sur la Turquie; ou, Tableau statistique, religieux, politique, administratif, militaire, commercial, etc. de l'Empire ottoman . . . Deuxième partie. Les Raïas. . .* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1854). For the Armenians *Lettres* I, 17-28 and II, 245-347 are the most informative.

² Ubicini, *Lettres* I, viii.

Ubicini had the analytical mind of an historian and a scholar rather like that of his renowned nineteenth-century English contemporary Macaulay combined with the interests of an investigative political reporter rather like those of the Watergate reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein. In the mid-nineteenth century there was no book to compete with Ubicini's breadth of knowledge of the Ottoman Empire and no contemporary history of the Ottoman Empire up to his time that could compete with his in either depth of information or detail. Ubicini did not intend to serve as the Will Durant of the Ottoman Empire. He was more interested in the moment than in the span of history. He wanted to examine the most important contemporary problem of his time, specifically the political, military, economic and social condition of the "Sick Man of Europe" in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. His newspaper reports informing the world at large of the current condition of Turkey and its citizens and subjects were eagerly digested by governments, diplomats, scholars, travelers, merchants, and the reading public in general. With the appropriate languages, experience, skills and, most of all, contacts, Ubicini was uniquely situated to report on Turkey, but the great success of his publications was owed equally to his determination to produce a carefully documented and true picture of Turkey. He tried to verify his sources and keep facts foremost and opinion limited. Ubicini had some prejudices and personal opinions that surface in his work, for example, his belief that rivalries among Christian religions caused irreparable harm to Turkey and its Christian subjects, his somewhat overweight reliance on French sources, and his preference for Catholicism over Protestantism. These do not, however, unduly mar his work because Ubicini makes clear where fact and opinion diverge. Ubicini did not call his *Lettres a Histoire*, but he did provide a solid historical background for a wealth of contemporary information never before collected and analyzed. Knowledge of Ubicini's *Lettres* was *de rigueur* for governments and

businesses involved in Turkey both before, during and after the Crimean War because they provided the most complete picture of the inner workings of the Ottoman Empire in the mid-nineteenth century.³

Although his two-part *Lettres sur la Turquie* remains his principal work, Ubicini continued to produce many other studies and articles on Turkey and the Armenians before his death in 1884. He has received insufficient credit for his impressive study of Turkey for several reasons, among which are the following. The incomparable statistics on Turkey that Ubicini incorporated into his two-part *Lettres* were of singular value before the Crimean War but of less value afterwards. His work was widely used in the mid-nineteenth century, and even copied and plagiarized, not only by journalists but also by scholars and historians.⁴ Ubicini's work was frequently used with no reference to his authorship, so that later readers and writers interested in the Ottoman Empire did not necessarily return to Ubicini's definitive French edition or to his authorized (but incomplete) English edition for information, particularly if they were not fluent in either of those two languages.⁵ Many contemporary scholars list Ubicini in their

³ Frederick Martin, *The Statesman's Year-Book: Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the Civilized World for the Year: Handbook for Politicians and Merchants for the Year 1872* (London and New York: MacMillan and Co., 1872), 465-67, which cites Ubicini as the most reliable source on population statistics.

⁴ Frederick Martin, *The Statesman's Year-Book: Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the Civilized World for the Year 1878*, rev. after official returns (London: MacMillan and Co., London: 1878), 480, includes both Ubicini's *Lettres* and his earliest plagiarizer Edward H. Michelsen, *The Ottoman Empire and its Resources* (London: Spooner, 1854) in its non-official bibliography for its section on Turkey. Abdolonyme Ubicini and Abel Pavet de Courteille. *État présent de l'empire ottoman: statistique, gouvernement, administration, finances, armée, communautés non musulmanes . . .* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1876), vi, n. 1, shows that the population statistics given by Salaheddin bey in *la Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* are copied from Viquesnel in his *Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe*, who got his statistics from Ubicini's *Lettres*.

⁵ Here it must be pointed out that the authorized English version does not include several significant elements of the definitive French edition of 1853 (Part I, *Les Ottomans*) and 1854 (Part II, *Les Raïas*), which it otherwise follows. To begin with, it does not include Ubicini's

bibliographies as a nineteenth-century source but have overlooked his seminal importance; they have not read his work, do not know that it was widely plagiarized, and refer to the English translation without mentioning its incompleteness or Lady Easthope's additions. Ubicini's last major work, *État present de l'empire ottoman*, was published in 1876 shortly before the First Ottoman Constitution and during the lead-up to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, with the result that it was already out-of-date at the very moment of its publication because it did not cover those two critical events. When Ubicini died, his work, which was so seminal in its time, was ignored by subsequent generations of scholars, for whom the history of Tanzimat ceased to

Preface to the French publication in 1853 that explains 1) when and why he wrote the original letters comprising Part I on the Ottomans, 2) their publication successively in the *Moniteur universel* beginning in 1850, 3) their subsequent collection into a single volume, published as a first edition in 1852, and 4) the current publication in 1853 of a second edition (of Part I) that has almost doubled in length. In that Preface Ubicini explains (vi) that he himself was “au milieu des événements qui avaient agité une partie de l'Europe orientale en 1848” and closely involved in their subsequent relations with Constantinople. He also acknowledges there (vi-vii) his “connaissance personnelle des principaux hommes d'État qui dirigent les affaires en Turquie,” which allowed him to collect the material and statistics for his *Lettres*.

The English translation also does not include the last four letters in the definitive French edition, namely, the eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first letters, on the respective subjects of 1) transport by land and sea, 2) the army, 3) the navy, and 4) predestination, polygamy and ranks in Turkey. Nor does it include Ubicini's fifteenth letter that represents his fourth letter on the subject of Ottoman finances. Because of the omission of Ubicini's fifteenth letter, his sixteenth and seventeenth letters in the French edition become his fifteenth and sixteenth letters in the English translation.

Why certain letters were omitted from the English translation probably has something to do with a rush toward publication, due not just to the Crimean War but also to the recent publication of a plagiarized English version of a great deal of statistics taken from his French *Lettres* I. The omission of Ubicini's letters on transport and the army and navy was no doubt due to the fact that they had already been translated privately by the British government for internal use. The omission of Ubicini's last letter on Ottoman finances may have been due to the fact that it was principally Ubicini's prescription for reforming the finances and not appropriate for an English audience during the Crimean War just as the letter on predestination and polygamy may have been considered inappropriate for an English audience during the crisis. Ubicini's definitive French edition of Part I also has forty-five pages of supporting documents that do not appear in the English translation as well as a slightly different vocabulary list of foreign words and terms.

be a priority or even an interest. The French language was no longer *la lingua franca* that it had once been in the world at large and in Turkey itself. Moreover, new geopolitical realities after World War I and nationalist sentiments in Turkey encouraged Turks to regard Turkish histories of their country as trustworthy and “Frankish” histories of their country as suspect, with the result that good scholarship by outsiders, such as Ubicini who had diligently gathered his information from the best Ottoman sources, was ignored and lesser studies by Turkish scholars circulated in a vacuum of insularity.

4.2 The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century

Ubicini’s statistical tables for the population of Istanbul in 1844 show that the entire population of Istanbul and its suburbs is estimated to be 891,000.⁶ At that time the Armenian population was estimated to be 222,000, of which the majority, 205,000, were Apostolic or Gregorian Armenians and 17,000 were Catholic Armenians (whose millet status had been granted only thirteen years earlier). At the same time Ubicini estimated that there were 475,000 Muslims, 132,000 Greeks, 37,000 Jews and 25,000 non-Ottoman foreigners living in the capital. A quarter-century later, using statistics collected by the Ottoman Ministry of Finance, Ubicini reported that Constantinople had a population of approximately 1,200,000, of which 620,000 were Muslim and 580,000 were non-Muslim.⁷ He states that the number of Armenians in Turkey

⁶ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 27. Cf. Ronald T. Marchese and Marlene R. Breu, “Intersection of Society, Culture and Religion: the Constantinople Style and Armenian Identity,” in Richard G. Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian, eds., *Armenian Constantinople*, UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series, Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces, 9 (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2010), 107-8, for an interesting discussion of the immigration of Armenians from eastern Anatolia into Istanbul in the nineteenth century due in part to increased prestige and labor demands following the Greek War of Independence in 1821.

⁷ Ubicini and Courteille, *État présent de l’empire ottoman*, 20. Cf. Marchese and Breu (citing Kouymjian and Karpat), “Intersection of Society, Culture and Religion,” 112: “By the middle of

in Europe does not exceed half a million, most of whom live in Istanbul and its suburbs, “où ils forment une masse compacte” and in the large cities of Thrace and Bulgaria such as Adrianople, Philippopolis and Varna.⁸ For Istanbul itself, the Armenian population did not exceed 180,000 in 1876, according to Ubicini.⁹ Recent scholars sum up the nineteenth century statistics by stating, “From modest beginnings, the city’s Armenian population accounted for 17 to 22 percent (perhaps as high as 30 percent) of its more than 900,000 inhabitants at the end of the nineteenth century.”¹⁰ Other than the cities mentioned, there were scarcely any other recognizable Armenian groups residing in Turkey in Europe. In 1907 there were more than 100,000 Armenians said to be living in Istanbul according to Fesch.¹¹ Either a large portion of the Armenian population of the capital had emigrated following the Hamidian massacres of 1895-1896 or Fesch’s figures do not include all of the suburbs that Ubicini includes or Fesch’s sources in Istanbul have provided incorrect numbers for one reason or another.¹²

4.3 The Armenians of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century

the nineteenth century, the Armenian population of in the city numbered between 162,000 and 200,000 and perhaps as high as 300,000.”

⁸ Ubicini and Courteille, *État présent de l’empire ottoman*, 41.

⁹ Ubicini and Courteille, *État present de l’empire ottoman*, 202, n. 3, which is a reduction of at least twenty thousand even if one discounts the non-resident Armenians in his earlier table from the *Lettres* II of 1854. However, we do not know if all of the “suburbs” counted in the latter are included in the former.

¹⁰ Marchese and Breu, “Intersection of Society, Culture and Religion,” 114.

¹¹ Paul Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d’Abdul-Hamid* (Paris : M. Riviere, 1907), 66: “Les sujets ottomans de race arménienne résidant à Constantinople sont plus de cent mille, dit-on.”

¹² Cf. Marchese and Breu, “Intersection of Society, Culture, and Religion,” 102-14, for the steadily increasing population and prominence of the Armenians of Istanbul in the nineteenth century.

No one describes the Armenians of nineteenth-century Istanbul better than Lucy Garnett (1849-1934), who wrote extensively on the various cultures of the Ottoman Empire, with a special emphasis on folklore and the lives of women.¹³ Garnett states in 1911 that there is much truth in the observation that “an Armenian is but a baptized Turk.”¹⁴ In doing so Garnett confirms the earlier observation in 1841 made by the decorated German Field Marshal and army strategist Helmuth von Moltke (the Elder), who was authorized to accede to Mahmud II’s request to help modernize the Ottoman army. Molte had employed the description “christliche Türken” for the Armenians, likening them to the Turks and distinguishing them from Greeks who, in contrast, retained more of their native differences.¹⁵ Once dress distinctions had been abolished there was nothing that overtly distinguished an Armenian as Armenian. This point is underscored by Charles White (1793-1861), an English officer who had served under Wellington in the Peninsular campaign and subsequently as adjunct to the Duke of Cambridge before writing four Victorian novels and a travelogue of Constantinople. In 1846 in his three-volume travelogue White humorously compares the yashmaks worn by Armenian and Turkish women:

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.¹⁶

¹³ Her works include: *Greek Folk-Songs from the Turkish Provinces of Greece* (1890), *The Women of Turkey and their Folk-Lore* (1890), *Turkey of the Ottomans* (1911), *Mysticism and Magic in Turkey* (1912), *Ottoman Wonder Tales* (1915) and *Balkan Home Life* (1917).

¹⁴ Lucy M. J. Garnett, *Turkey of the Ottomans* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1911), 32.

¹⁵ Helmuth Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835-1839* (Berlin, Posen and Bomberg: Verlag von Ernst Siegfried Mittler, 1841), 32.

¹⁶ Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople: Or, Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844*, III (London: Henry Colburn, 1845, unrevised 2nd ed. 1846), 196.

Garnett, however, tells us that the Turks recognized two types of Armenian physiognomy, pure and coarse; other writers seem to agree since conflicting descriptions of Armenian appearance abound in travelers' accounts.¹⁷ The general consensus, however, was that "Armenians are thorough Orientals, and much more in touch with Turkish ideas and habits than are the Greeks or Slavs" and that they and the Turks "got on excellently well together," being called the *millet-i sadika*, "the loyal community" until the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁸ Before the Russo-Turkish War at the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Garnett reports that "a considerable degree of social intimacy existed between Armenian and Turkish neighbors," which she personally observed in the vicinity of Izmir. Only after that did things change and the loyal community began to be regarded "as seditious as the Greeks and Bulgars" with some justification due to Armenian revolutionaries driven out of Tiflis and Transcaucasia by the Russians and producing newspapers and journals (which Garnett calls "their organs") from western capitals.¹⁹

Over half a century earlier Ubicini had described the Armenians in much the same way, saying they were "liés d'intérêts avec les Turcs, dont ils adoptent volontiers la langue, le costume, les habitudes, tout en restant inébranlablement attachés à leur foi."²⁰ He goes on to say that the Armenians were so far removed from the memory of their "ancienne patrie" that it would have been lost entirely were it not for party rivalries or violent persecution.²¹

¹⁷ Garnett, *Turkey of the Ottomans*, 30.

¹⁸ Ibid., 31-32.

¹⁹ Ibid., 32-33.

²⁰ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 252.

²¹ Ibid.

In Istanbul Armenians spoke Turkish like the Turks even if the Armenian beauty in Krikor Zohrab's short story, says to her lover, "I could tell from the way you talk. Armenians...can never speak Turkish the way you do."²² The beauty, called "Armenisa" by others in the story who are aware of her true identity, rejects her Armenian identity in favor of a "Catholic" identity, obviously preferring to regard herself as sophisticated and Western (like the Frankish papists rather than the Mekitarists), whether out of self-hate or self-aggrandizement.²³ Her lover, the narrator, is, however, unbeknownst to her an Armenian pretending to be Turkish in order to curry favor—a fact which completely disproves Armenisa's contemptuous claim that Armenians could not speak elegant Turkish.²⁴ When the narrator of Krikor Zohrab's story eventually reveals his cowardice in refusing to acknowledge his Armenian ancestry to his lover, he (or Zohrab himself?) is subtly emphasizing his Turkish identity at the same time.

The Armenians of Istanbul: what they spoke and wrote

In the 1830s when the Rev. Goodell and his fellow missionaries started working in Istanbul, the Armenians spoke Turkish with an admixture of words drawn from the native Armenian dialect.

²² Krikor Zohrab, "Armenisa," in Grigor Zohrap, *Voice of Conscience: The Stories of Krikor Zohrab*, translated by Jack Antreassian, 1st ed. (New York: St Vartan Press, 1983), 44-57.

²³ Cf. Sir Edwin Pears, *Turkey and its People*, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen & Co., 1912), 122, where he explains that Greeks and Armenians will usually identify themselves as "Orthodox" or "Catholic" rather than Greek or Armenian. Pears concludes, "To them race and religion, or nationality and religion, are usually identical." He seems to believe that self-identification as "Greek" or "Armenian" implies that the person belongs to the much larger Orthodox Church rather than to the Greek Catholic or Armenian Catholic churches. Pears, however, seems to suggest that Greek Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox are one and the same—which they are not—when he states, "The Orthodox Church is by far the most important of the Christian *millets* or communities in Turkey . . ."

²⁴ Cf. Garnett, *Turkey of the Ottomans*, 32, who writes of the Armenians: "They also speak the language of their masters, often in preference to their own—though their accent and phraseology are not always those of the Osmalis...."

This is not surprising since the Armenians had been living and working among and for Turks in the Ottoman Empire for almost four centuries. Even at the time of the Conquest the Armenians' common dialect was far from the pure Classical Armenian of the first millennium that the Mekhitarists of the eighteenth century employed so much effort in preserving. Thus, the American missionaries began their mission to the Armenians using spoken Turkish and Turkish written in Armenian characters. They devoted great effort and many years to helping revive Armenian as a spoken and written language, albeit Modern not Classical, in Istanbul and elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire. By the mid-nineteenth century foreign scholars and journalists interested in the Armenians were aware not only of the origin of the Armenian language and alphabet but also its evolution from Classical to Modern Armenian and even its status as a developing language. In 1854 Ubicini reports that the Armenians have “une langue littéraire particulière,” of great antiquity (although not as great as that boasted of by Armenian writers), which had degenerated over time but which was restored and purified by the Mekitarists in the eighteenth century to form a literary language still in use in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁵ He emphasizes that the literary language is “tout à fait distincte” from the common Armenian dialect, which Ubicini describes as a “*mélange*” of the ancient language combined with idioms from of the different countries where it is spoken. In 1876 Ubicini reports that the Armenians generally speak Turkish or use the Armenian vernacular with a strong dose of Turkish words and confirms that true Armenian, the pure language, is only used in school and among men of letters: “Les Arméniens parlent en general le turk, ou se servent de l’idiom national qu’en y mêlant une forte doses de mots turcs. L’arménien littéral, la pure langue haïcane, n’est en usage que dans les

²⁵ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 308-9. Note: The French edition has a typographical error (corrected in the English edition) in a preceding sentence, *dix-huitième* for *dix-septième*, which would, if not corrected, push the Mekitarists into the nineteenth century.

écoles et parmi les lettrés.”²⁶ Thus, Ubicini confirms that the common Armenian dialect remained heavily influenced by Turkish at the beginning of the Hamidian era.

The reading public in the Ottoman Empire began to increase exponentially, however, after the middle of the nineteenth century due to the availability of more interesting reading material—i.e., novels, poetry, history, and other non-religious materials—which, of course, included newspapers. Niyazi Berkes offers critical insight into the increasingly secular mindset of the reading public in the Ottoman Empire who had learned to enjoy reading “trash,” with a “particular interest in crime, mystery, adventure, and science-fiction publications.”²⁷ In terms of language learning among the Armenian populace of Istanbul, it is particularly interesting to note that the Armenian newspapers were still teaching Armenians the Modern Armenian vocabulary on a daily basis, usually by defining an Armenian word by placing the French equivalent in parentheses next to it.²⁸ When French is better understood than Modern Armenian by nineteenth-century Armenians reading Armenian newspapers, it is clear that as a language Modern Armenian was still in the developmental stage.

Berkes makes the interesting point that Abdülhamid II failed to create a servile military and civil bureaucracy despite lavishing money upon the secondary schools and higher institutions training the next generation of officers, engineers, doctors, and civil servants.²⁹ This

²⁶ Ubicini and Courteille, *État présent de l’empire ottoman*, 41.

²⁷ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (New York : Routledge, 1998) 278-79.

²⁸ Cf. Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 26, who reports that Mehmed Effendi did a similar thing in his narrative of his embassy to Paris in 1720: “His use of words was systematic—whenever he encountered a French term, he explained the term in Ottoman and used the Ottoman equivalent. If there was no Ottoman equivalent, he used the French term.”

²⁹ Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 275-76.

failure of Abdülhamid's has been traced by Berkes to the fact that the curricula of the secondary schools and institutions of higher learning included "innocent subjects such as mathematics, physics, biology, political economy, even history, and above all, French."³⁰ Foreign language facility, particularly in French, the long-standing *lingua franca* of Europe, "opened new vistas for the younger generation" and brought them into contact with the rest of world, allowing them to compare and contrast their own country and its institutions to others.³¹ The critical importance of French for both the intellectual elite and the general reading public in the Ottoman Empire, whatever their ethnicity, cannot be overstated. French remained the primary European foreign language in Turkey until English replaced it in the twentieth century.

Government translators working for the Porte may have spent their days translating foreign newspapers and magazines in order to reveal the political intentions of other countries, but many, it seems, must have spent their nights translating foreign literature into Turkish for their own pleasure.³² Early in his career Ahmed Vefik Pasha (1823-1891) translated Molière's plays into Turkish and compiled educational books in French for use in Turkish schools.³³ Likewise, Ibrahim Şinasi (1826-1871) early in his career, while studying in France and associating with French intellectuals such as Lamartine and Renan, translated several works from French into Ottoman Turkish. His younger colleague and successor as editor of *Tasvir-i Efkâr*,

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., 276.

³² Cf. Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 206-10.

³³ Ibid., 209.

Namik Kemal (1840-1888), translated Montesquieu before concentrating on his own literary and political writings.³⁴

Similarly, Armenian intellectuals of the mid and late nineteenth century studied and perfected French before attempting to translate works of French literature into Modern Armenian for publication in Armenian periodicals and newspapers. The famous poet and playwright Beshiktashlean (1828-1868) was so gifted that he could translate not only Voltaire's *La mort de César* from the French but also Vittorio Alfieri's *Saul* from the Italian.³⁵ Early in his career Beshiktashlean also taught French as well as Armenian language and literature in the local schools of Constantinople. The journalist Karapet Utudjian (1823-1904), who was the first editor of *Masis*, never became an author of renown but did become a translator of considerable fame through his translations of French authors such as Jules Verne, Eugène Sue, Hector Marlot, Edmond About, and Ponson du Terrail.³⁶ All of the Armenian intellectual elite of Istanbul, Izmir and Tiflis spoke and read French with ease in the mid-nineteenth century, whether they are known today primarily for their contribution to Armenian literature as poets, playwrights, and authors; for their contributions to Armenian journalism for their social, cultural and political advocacy; or for their contributions to Armenian education for their work as teachers, activists, and authors of textbooks and dictionaries. Some of the better known journalists straddle the line between literature and journalism. For instance, Karapet Utudjian, Grigor Artzruni, Matteo Mamurian, Grigor Chilinkirian, and Hrant Asatur, who are best known for their contributions to

³⁴ Ibid., 286, 316. Cf. I. Nermin Menemencioğlu, "Namik Kemal Abroad: A Centenary," *Middle Eastern Studies* 4, no. 1 (1967): 29–49.

³⁵ Agop J. Hacikyan et al., eds. *The Heritage of Armenian Literature* III (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2005), 287.

³⁶ Ibid., 261-62.

journalism, do not merit their own entry in Bardakjian's *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature* but receive individual coverage in Hacıkyan's *Heritage of Armenian Literature*.³⁷

The Armenians of Istanbul: where they lived

Ubicini focuses on the large Armenian population of Galata in his time, which he traces back to Mehmet II's settlement of Armenians in Galata after the Conquest:

Le sultan [Mehmet II] ayant en outre assigné pour demeure à la nouvelle colonie un lieu vaste et commode dans le faubourg de Galata, elle s'accrut bientôt d'un nombre d'autres familles, que les persecutions et les malheurs des guerres avaient dispersées dans une foule de contrées, e qui jouirent, à l'abri du nouveau trône patriarchal et sous la protection tolérante de la Porte d'un calme de d'un bien-être inconnus depuis longtemps à leur nation.³⁸

The seventeenth-century traveler Evliya Chelebi refers to Great and Little Galata in his description of Mehmet II's distribution of Christians and Jews throughout Istanbul, with Great Galata being assigned to the people from Izmir (Smyrna), which would have included a great number of Armenians along with Greeks, both of the two groups comprised of relatively well-to-do urban merchants, tradesmen and artisans with foreign connections.³⁹ Interestingly, Mehmet II settled them next to the actual foreigners, the Franks, to whom he assigned Little Galata or Pera. Until the fall of the Ottoman Empire, these two suburbs remained the most sophisticated, wealthy, and international in character. Not surprisingly, all of the Armenian newspapers under discussion here were headquartered in cosmopolitan Galata, which became the premier banking,

³⁷ Kevork B. Bardakjian, *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature, 1500-1920: With an Introductory History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000). Hacıkyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III.

³⁸ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 251-52.

³⁹ For Evliya Chelebi, see Chapter One, note 7.

shopping and business district of Istanbul in the nineteenth century. The Galata businesses were, of course, conveniently situated next door to some of their best customers, the foreign embassies and residences of Pera, where the wealthy Franks lived and which author Hermann Melville described so unflatteringly in 1856 as: “Pera, the headquarters of ambassadors, and where also an unreformed diplomacy is carried on by swindlers, gamblers, cheats. No place in the world fuller of knaves.”⁴⁰ Guidebooks of the 1870s and 1880s identify three divisions of the city--Stamboul, or Constantinople proper, Galata and Scutari—and describe their principal sights.⁴¹ Galata is described as the “business quarter for Europeans” and the hill above it, Pera, as the place “where all the foreign ambassadors and consuls reside, and where are the hotels and shops frequented by Europeans.”⁴²

By the mid-nineteenth century when Ubicini was writing there were thirty Armenian Apostolic churches or parishes spread throughout the suburbs of Istanbul, nine within the walls and twenty-one without, with about seven thousand individuals per parish. Not long after the Conquest the area near Sulu Monastir (the Water Monastery) where the Armenians of Tokat and Sivas had been resettled by Mehmet II became the first seat of the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul when a formerly Greek church was reassigned to the Armenians by Mehmet II.⁴³ The Armenian population of Istanbul and its suburbs lived in close proximity to the thirty churches

⁴⁰ Bernard Lewis, *A Middle East Mosaic: Fragments of Life, Letters and History* (New York: Random House, 2000), 160.

⁴¹ *Appleton's European Guide Book for English-Speaking Travellers, Illustrated: Part II, Including Switzerland, Germany . . . Greece, Egypt, Algeria and the Holy Land*, 25th edition, completely revised and corrected (New York: D. Appleton and Co., and London: Sampson Low, etc., 1888), 833.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 833-34.

⁴³ See Evliya Chelebi, Chapter One, note 7. The Patriarchate was located near the Water Monastery until 1643/44.

just mentioned. After describing the nine churches within the city walls, including the relocated Cathedral Church and patriarchal palace in the Kumkapi neighborhood, Ubicini tells us where the twenty-one churches outside the walls are located.⁴⁴

The creation of the Armenian Catholic millet in 1830 had resulted in an additional seven specifically Armenian churches in Istanbul by Ubicini's time for a population of approximately seventeen thousand Armenian Catholics in Istanbul.⁴⁵ These Armenian Catholic parishes were located in Galata, Pera, Ortakoy, Yenikoy, Buyukdéréh, Kandili, and Scutari.⁴⁶ The foreign Catholic presence in Galata and Pera, composed primarily of French, Italian and Austrian Catholics, undoubtedly influenced the location of the Armenian Catholic parishes in Galata and Pera.

The Armenians of Istanbul: what they were taught

Among the Christians of the Ottoman Empire education was the exclusive domain of the religious or civil heads of each community. For the Armenians, schools were an obligatory annex of the parish and were often built within the courtyard of the church.⁴⁷ In the free schools connected to the Apostolic Armenian parishes children learned to read and write and received a rudimentary education. These public schools, originally supported by the Patriarchate but subsequently by the community, were for the poor; wealthier families sent their sons abroad,

⁴⁴ Cf. Marchese and Breu, "Intersection of Society, Culture and Religion," 108-14, for a discussion of Armenian Church foundations in Istanbul in the nineteenth century.

⁴⁵ The Armenian Catholics were also referred to as United Armenians because they had united themselves to the Church of Rome by recognizing the authority of the Pope. There were United Greeks and United Chaldeans for the same reason.

⁴⁶ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 329.

⁴⁷ Mekerdich Dadian, "La société arménienne contemporaine, les Arméniens de l'empire ottoman," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, tome 69 (1 May 1867), 918.

principally to Paris, and had their girls tutored by European governesses. Dadian describes the curriculum of the primary schools as the same as that in most European countries: catechism, grammar, calligraphy, and, to the degree appropriate for the age of the children, holy history, national history, geography, arithmetic and sacred music.⁴⁸ He boasts that Armenian education does not stop at the primary level as it does elsewhere, most notably in France, England and Germany, but that Armenian education continues in the same establishment to a higher degree. The secondary instruction includes literature, science, French, and “la langue arménienne ancienne,” which Dadian says is “comme le latin pour un Européen.”⁴⁹

Ubicini describes the education of Armenian females as even less advanced than that of males, noting that the few schools in the capital had appeared only in the previous fifty years and that, “Avant cette époque, une femme qui savait seulement lire et écrire était male vue parmi ses compatriotes, et trouvait difficilement à se marier.”⁵⁰ The Armenian Catholics preceded the Apostolic Armenians in the education of women, according to Ubicini, citing a female scholar of the early seventeenth century.⁵¹ Of course, the existence of one female scholar cannot be equated with the establishment of the first school for Armenian girls by the Apostolic Armenians in 1821, which Ubicini reports was founded and endowed in the quarter of Psammetia by the sister of an Armenian banker.⁵² In Istanbul the Armenian Catholics had two schools for girls, one of which,

⁴⁸ Ibid., 919.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 305.

⁵¹ Ibid., 305, names Mariam Karakachian, who translated several collections of sermons from the Latin. Of course, this preceded the establishment of the Armenian Catholic millet in the nineteenth century, and the existence of one female scholar cannot be equated with the establishment of the first school for Armenian girls by the Apostolic Armenians in 1821.

⁵² Ibid. Ubicini does not provide the name of the woman, only that she was the sister of M. Djanig.

founded and endowed by the Duz-Oghlou family in 1850, with instruction in French and Armenian, had fifty boarders in 1852, six of whom were educated free of charge.⁵³ Toward the end of the Crimean War Sultan Abdülmecid even granted two pieces of property on the main street of Pera to the English and the French respectively for the establishment of girls' schools, as a thanks for their aid and a recognition of their belief in female education.⁵⁴

By the mid-century similar schools existed in almost every parish in Istanbul as well as in major cities of the empire and in the principal towns of Armenia itself. Dadian explains that public education among the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire took a great leap forward beginning in 1844 only, but that this delayed interest in public education was characteristic of European countries at the time. He describes free public education as one of the primary obligations of a truly Christian society and a duty that Armenians understand perfectly, namely, to distribute “la nourriture de l’esprit et de l’âme à ceux qui n’ont reçu de créateur et n’ont en partage dans ce monde’autres biens que les dons de l’intelligence.”⁵⁵ Ubicini speaks of the poverty of the Turco-Armenian schools of the mid-nineteenth century but notes that this has not prevented Armenian men from excelling in literature and science even though their manuscripts are rarely published due to the lack “d’un éditeur qui se hasarde à les imprimer.”⁵⁶ Not only are Armenian writers too poor to publish their work at their own expense, they are hardly able to

⁵³ Ibid., 329.

⁵⁴ Sir Edwin Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople: The Recollections of Sir Edwin Pears 1873-1915* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1916), 95.

⁵⁵ Dadian, “La société arménienne contemporaine,” 919.

⁵⁶ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 307-8, where he also names his contacts and their positions in Armenian society.

support themselves, “s’ils n’occupaient une chaire dans une école, ou quelque employ dans l’administration civile.”⁵⁷

Reporting on the progress made in educational reform under the Tanzimat in 1852, Ubicini notes a slowing down in the reforms and reorganization of public education due to the Government’s turning its attention elsewhere--presumably to the threat posed by Russian ambitions that erupted in the Crimean War the following year.⁵⁸ He regards progress in public education as essential for the Ottoman empire: “...la question de l’enseignement est une question vitale pour la Turquie, et une de celles qui sont appelées à avoir le plus d’influence sur son avenir.”⁵⁹

Writing in 1866 a decade after the end of the Crimean War Dadian regards education for the Armenians as moving slowly but inexorably forward since the proclamation of the Tanzimat in 1839. He admits freely that it is impossible to deny that:

la lumière n’a pas pénétré dans la profondeur de la masse des Arméniens, et que l’expérience de la vie publique leur fait défaut; mais ils ont la ferme volonté de l’acquérir, et la preuve en est dans les efforts et les sacrifices qu’ils se sont imposés pour répandre l’instruction parmi eux.⁶⁰

Nevertheless, in Dadian’s opinion the populations of “l’Europe orientale” are too often regarded as plunged into stagnation and indifferent to progress.⁶¹ Even if they are captivated by material appetites, they nevertheless place higher value on the benefits of “la culture de l’esprit,” for which Dadian cites as proof, the Armenian perseverance and ardor for popularizing instruction.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 308.

⁵⁸ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 214-15.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 215.

⁶⁰ Dadian, “La société arménienne contemporaine,” 918.

⁶¹ Ibid.

The inclusion of articles regarding public education in the Armenian Constitution of 1860, and especially the inclusion in those articles of equal rights to public education for girls as well as for boys, easily prove Dadian's point.⁶² Because the Armenians believed in the benefits of education, they recognized the right to a free public education for all earlier than the Turks among whom they lived.

Berkes emphasizes that the foreign schools increased in number and affluence during the Hamidian period and names them as American, French, English, German, Austrian, and Italian.⁶³ The Catholic and Protestant schools which spread throughout the Ottoman Empire during this period were of particular importance for the Armenian youth.⁶⁴ Perhaps the best known Armenian educator of the Hamidian period was Reteos Berberian (1848-1907), later dubbed "the father of the learned" and "the head teacher," who founded the Berberian school in Scutari in 1876, a school with an advanced curriculum of foreign languages and social studies which prepared its graduates to enter foreign universities. He was a poet and essayist who emphasized the ideals rather than the material advantages of education in his best known work on education, *Dastiaraki me khoskere (Words of an Educator)* of 1901.⁶⁵

Many of the teachers in these Armenian schools are known through glimpses of them seen in Armenian periodicals and fiction and through memoirs of their students. Arpiar Arpiarian, remembered today primarily for his political activism and journalistic output, but considered a pioneer of realism for his contribution to Armenian literature, wrote a short story

⁶² Cf. Ohannes Kiliçdağı, "The Armenian Community in Constantinople," in Hovannisian and Payaslian, *Armenian Constantinople*, 229-41, esp. the section on the education of girls, 236-38.

⁶³ Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 276.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 428-29.

entitled “*Kaniner tesa*” (“I have seen so many”) that movingly describes the plight of several such teachers, destitute and wandering the streets of Istanbul:

Even now, after so many years, I feel sorry whenever I remember those teachers, begging or on the brink of beggary. . . . He was holding a book...written in classical Armenian... I do not remember the name of the author of that book, but he had been a teacher of classical Armenian...⁶⁶

In the same story Arpiarian reports that his teacher in Venice had given him “a wake-up call ... to resist the temptation of becoming an educator” by telling him that he could never be a better teacher than Beshiktashlean who died of hunger.⁶⁷ Arpiarian realized, of course, that Beshiktashlean, whom he calls “the great educator, the great talent,” had not actually died of hunger but rather had led an impoverished life and would indeed have starved if “his death had come a bit later, as a result of fatigue and old age.”

The teachers of the “pure langue” are portrayed in Tigran Kamsarakan’s novel, *The Teacher’s Daughter*, serialized in *Arewelk* and published separately in 1888. In the novel, which was initially controversial because of its unvarnished realism, the teacher, an Armenian specialist, is hired, relatively unvetted, through connections, only to find himself seven years later abruptly fired from all of his many positions by the School Boards of over ten Armenian schools in Istanbul after his students expose his ignorance of proper Armenian spelling and grammar. This was a man whose poetry had once been likened to that of the renowned Beshiktashlean and Durean, who had both died of consumption in the preceding two decades. This was a man who had for some years been generally lauded in the community. Kamsarakan paints an unflattering picture of the Armenian School Boards of Istanbul and their teachers of

⁶⁶ Arpiar Arpiarian, “*Kaniner tesa*” in *Patmvtatzkner u vipakner (Short Stories and Novellas)* (Paris: 1931), 64-70, translated by Ardasheshe Shelemian and excerpted in Hacıkyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 454-58.

⁶⁷ Hacıkyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 458.

Armenian. Similarly, his friend Krikor Zohrab, the celebrated writer, journalist and politician, wrote an article in *Masis* entitled “The Broom,” which advised the Board of Education to investigate and remove all of the incompetent teachers in the national public schools because the students were not receiving any real education.⁶⁸

The Armenians of Istanbul: what they read

In the Hamidian period educated Armenians, like the other educated inhabitants of Istanbul, primarily read periodicals and newspapers in their own language and in French and Turkish. They also read translations of popular French novels, many of them serialized in periodicals. Some of them even read the French originals. Multi-lingual ability was standard among the educated in nineteenth century Istanbul. Poorly and incompletely educated Armenians in Istanbul probably read one of the Armenian newspapers of the capital or listened to one being read aloud.

A great source for the everyday availability and role of newspapers in the Ottoman capital as well as in the far eastern provinces that were heavily Armenian is provided by the Englishman Frederick Gustavus Burnaby in his memorable account of his five-month long journey on horseback across Asia Minor from Istanbul to Ankara and on to Van and along the Russian border in the winter of 1876.⁶⁹ Burnaby was a linguist, fluent in at least seven languages, including Russian, Turkish and Arabic, who was an able analyst, especially for military

⁶⁸ Hrant Asatur, “Grigor Zohrap,” in *Dimastverner (Portraits)* (Constantinople:1921), 219-150, abridged and translated by the editors of Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 532-38.

⁶⁹ Captain Frederick Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, first published 1877, revised 1898 edition with preface and epilogue by Peter Hopkirk (Oxford: Oxford University Press pbk: 1996).

capabilities, as well as a keen observer of social and economic conditions. In Istanbul a friend and long-term resident, who was “a perfect master of Turkish” but otherwise unidentified, responds to Burnaby’s question whether or not there are many secret police:

No, there is, if anything, too much liberty in Constantinople; the papers write what they like, and abuse the government freely, hardly any of them being suppressed in consequence, whilst some English newspapers which are more bitter against Turkey than even the Russian journals, are sold at every bookstall.⁷⁰

In 1876, therefore, newspapers enjoyed freedom of expression and were not censored by the government.

At a later breakfast given by the diplomat Schuyler who wrote *Turkistan* Burnaby encounters the *Times* correspondent Gallenga and the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent Sala recently arrived from St. Petersburg and learns that his host has recently returned from Philippopolis, “where he had been staying with Mr. McGahan, the gentleman who wrote such harrowing accounts of the massacres in Bulgaria to the *Daily News*.”⁷¹ Clearly, investigative reporting was a feature of the day and there was a definite exchange of international news.

We hear, first, that the Turkish newspapers “were very divided in their opinions as to the Conference,” which was then taking place in Istanbul among the Great Powers in order to institute reforms in the Ottoman Empire (which had a presence at the Conference but not a role in the working out the agreements) in order to prevent war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire; we hear, second, that the majority of the Turkish newspapers were, however, “inclined to believe that it [the Conference] was a ruse of Russia to gain time for her military preparations,

⁷⁰ Ibid., 9. The “bitter” English newspapers are the ones that report atrocities for which the Sultan had little or no direct responsibility and that do not regard the Turks as an acceptable or necessary ally.

⁷¹ Ibid., 11.

of England to make Russia unpopular, and to sow discord between her and the other powers.”⁷²

In Sivas the Pasha tells Burnaby of the news telegraphed from Constantinople that the Conference is over. Burnaby asks what the results were, to which the Pasha replies, “Nothing! What else could you expect? Particularly when Russia, the cause and origin of all our difficulties, was permitted to have a representative at the Conference, and such a representative—for General Ignatieff is a cunning old fox!”⁷³

When Burnaby reaches Bayazid near the eastern frontier with Russia, the Pasha there picks up a Turkish newspaper that he has just received from Constantinople. He tells Burnaby, “The man who writes for this paper knows what he is about” and reads aloud an article about Russia wanting to drive the Turks out of Europe since they were Mohammedans “because in European Turkey, the Christians were in the majority.”⁷⁴ The clever Pasha thinks that is a good idea as long as the Russians and the English abandon their possessions in Asia because the Christians are a minority there and the Mohammedans the majority. Clearly, in 1876 Turkish papers were able not only to publish different opinions but also to interpret correctly European and Russian interests in their country.

After speaking to Armenian priests in Constantinople seeking information about his proposed route and contacts along the way, Burnaby is told that they do not want to attract attention leaving, and he observes, “throughout my journey, I frequently remarked the same dread of being seen speaking to an European on the part of the Armenian priests.” He then states that he does not know whether this is due to fear of being suspected of conspiring against the

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid., 147-48.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 254.

Turkish government or to a guilty conscience. After this he reports: “Armenian newspapers frequently publish news which cannot be agreeable to the Government, and they are not interfered with by the authorities. Armenians are not thrown into prison or banished from the capital without this being at once published to the world.”⁷⁵ Because of this Burnaby cannot understand the timidity of the Armenian priests and implies that they must be guilty of seeking to undermine the government. Throughout his account Burnaby, a Turcophile like Ubicini, seems more favorably inclined toward the Turks than towards the Armenians, though he notes good and bad qualities of both.⁷⁶

On the road to Ankara Burnaby stops at Istanos, a village with 400 houses, half Armenian and half Turkish, where he is met at his host’s house by a group of the town’s prominent residents, both Armenians and Turks, who came because: “. . . they wished to hear the latest news from Constantinople. No newspapers find their way to these out-of-the-way villages. The inhabitants can only learn what is going on in the capital through the arrival of a traveller.”⁷⁷ A Turkish engineer whom Burnaby encounters at the home of a Pasha in Erzeroum is indignant about English newspapers reporting on the 1876 atrocities in Bulgaria, accusing the English people of knowing “nothing at all about Turkey” and English newspapers of “writing a great many falsehoods about us in Bulgaria” after the writers were bribed by Russia. He compares the Englishman’s knowledge of Turkish unfavorably to the Turk’s knowledge of English: “Our

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Dogan Gürpınar, “The Rise and Fall of Turcophilism in Nineteenth-Century British Discourses: Visions of the Turk, ‘Young’ and ‘Old,’” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 39, no. 3 (November 28, 2012): 347–72.

⁷⁷ Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 55.

newspapers say that you receive your information from people who are sent to travel for different English journals, and that hardly any of these men can speak Turkish...”⁷⁸

In Divriki, a town of 3400 homes (3000 Turkish, 400 Armenian) between Sivas and Erzeroum, Burnaby meets an Armenian professor from the Armenian school, who tells Burnaby that the people in Divriki want newspapers after Burnaby questions a rumor about mistreatment of Armenians in another town: “If we only had newspapers we should then know the truth. How fortunate you must be in England to have so many newspapers!”⁷⁹ The Armenian professor had no skepticism about the truth of what appeared in newspapers despite Burnaby’s remark that newspapers sometimes contradicted each other.

The Armenians of Istanbul: the intelligentsia of the Hamidian period

It must be remembered that the intelligentsia were not a homogenous group nor were they the majority of educated Armenians. Just as the daily life of urban Armenians was very different from that of rural Armenians, that of the Armenian intelligentsia in the Ottoman capital and in other Ottoman urban centers was very different from that of most other educated Armenians living and working in the very same Ottoman cities. The intellectual elite were a small, heterogeneous group of writers, entertainers, educators and activists. In numbers they were only a fraction of the educated Armenian population and were greatly outnumbered by the merchants, financiers and men of power and position. Typically, the intellectuals are described as “liberal” and the businessmen, magnates, nobility and high clergy as “conservative.”

⁷⁸ Ibid., 222.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 181.

Robert O. Krikorian has written an interesting article on the Armenian intelligentsia of Ottoman Istanbul in the years between the Revolution of 1908 and the deportation of the Armenian intellectuals from the capital on 23-24 April 1915.⁸⁰ Krikorian attempts to show why the intelligentsia were “targeted” for destruction before World War I but in the process he also manages to draw a fair picture of the make-up and place of the intelligentsia in Constantinopolitan life during the preceding Hamidian period. Krikorian defines “intellectuals” and “intelligentsia” as “those who create, distribute and apply culture.”⁸¹ He states that they had a “cosmopolitan worldview” and were “the interpreters and bearers of foreign cultures and influences,” many of them having been educated in Europe. Their dual role—representing the best and brightest of their kind, a unique type of Armenian Christian, and at the same representing “instruments of foreign influence and interference in Ottoman affairs” made them both visible and powerful within a paranoid state.

Recently, S. Peter Cowe has made an effort to redefine Armenian literary identity using two Armenian poets of the post WW II “Istanbul school” (as opposed to the Soviet Armenia school) whose work illustrates the tensions involved in evoking an Armenian identity in the old Ottoman capital.⁸² In doing so, he begins by tracing the Armenian literary identity back to the *Imagined Communities* of Benedict Anderson in which “the role of the intelligentsia and of print capitalism was of seminal importance in promoting nationalist yearning.”⁸³ During the

⁸⁰ Robert O. Krikorian, “The Ottoman Empire and the Armenian Intelligentsia in Constantinople, 1908-1915,” in Hovannisian and Payaslian, *Armenian Constantinople*, 352-68.

⁸¹ Ibid., 354.

⁸² S. Peter Cowe, “Redefining Armenian Literary Identity in Istanbul,” in Hovannisian and Payaslian, *Armenian Constantinople*, 430-43.

⁸³ Ibid., 432. Cf. Benedict R. O’G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London ; New York: Verso, 1991), 67-82.

nineteenth century when the historical homeland of the Armenians was partitioned between the Ottoman and the Russian Empires, literature became the preferred vehicle for articulating Armenian identity. Then as now literature remains the province of the intelligentsia.

In his *Armenisa* short story Krikor Zohrab makes the point that educated Armenians are indistinguishable from educated Turks, which begs the question as to whether uneducated Armenians are equally indistinguishable from uneducated Turks. The concentrated effort made by Zohrab and his fellow Armenian writers to raise the consciousness of social and economic injustices in their writing was combined with a fierce determination to promote education among the Armenians. Education had opened their own eyes and it gave them a vocation: to educate and promote the social, economic and political well-being of their fellow Armenians. Clearly, these men and women, the Armenian intelligentsia of the Hamidian period, regarded education as the primary equalizer, capable of improving the Armenian condition. Zohrab and many of his fellow Armenian writers, educators and reformers, were galvanized by the plight of Armenian peasants in the eastern highlands of Armenia proper and in Cilicia. Each in his or her own way worked to improve the condition of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire or to advance Armenian life in Turkey in some way:

By the 1908-15 period, a network of newspapers, schools, orphanages, and charitable foundations established in the capital and led by notable intellectuals participated in the great project of general enlightenment, which focused on the lower classes.⁸⁴

The threat posed by general enlightenment of large elements of the population that were neither Moslem nor Turk was recognized and dealt with by the Young Turks in 1915 by “cutting off the head of the snake” before it could strike. The world on the eve of WW I,

⁸⁴ Krikorian, “The Ottoman Empire and the Armenian Intelligentsia in Constantinople, 1908-1915,” 359.

unlike the world of 1894-1896, was too busy and self-occupied to get involved and only awoke to the horror of genocide afterwards. Had the Armenian intelligentsia of Istanbul not been wiped out or widely scattered to the diaspora winds in the two decades before WWI, not only would the Hamidian massacres and the subsequent Armenian genocide have been recognized by the world long ago but also Turkey and Armenia would be very different—and probably better—places today.

Social and intellectual circles: An Armenian Who's Who of Intellectuals

The overlapping connections and circles of friends among the Ottoman intelligentsia, both Armenian and Turkish, of the second half of the nineteenth century must not be overlooked. Let us remember that Ahmed Vefik was not only a high-ranking Ottoman diplomat, minister and politician but also a friend of Ubicini and of Hamlin, a promoter of Turkish theatre along with Şinasi and Namik Kemal, and an inspiration to Young Ottoman thought in general.⁸⁵ The intelligentsia of Istanbul was a relatively small society operating in a restricted and increasingly repressive sphere. People either knew each other or knew of each other. They can be grouped together, arranged by generations and occupations, and points of contact and intersection can be noted. Much work is still to be done, however, in order to recover a full picture of the social interconnections and interactions of this period particularly between Muslims and Christians, and especially between Turks and Armenians. Here I can give only a sketch of several circles of Armenians who were influential figures in the Armenian newspapers of the Hamidian period.

⁸⁵ Mardin, *Young Ottoman Thought*, 66-67 249, 288.

The poet and playwright Beshiktashlean (1828-1868) is the first Armenian literary figure around which a large circle of intellectuals united. His plays were patriotic historical tragedies written in Modern Armenian while most of his poems, many also patriotic and tragic, were written in Classical Armenian. One of his private students Srбуhi Vahanian (1840-1901) became the future feminist writer Srбуhi Dussap (Tiwsab) whose ideas for women's education and advancement were attacked so adamantly by the much younger author Krikor Zohrab (1861-1915) and defended so vigorously by the schoolmaster Reteos Berberian (1848-1907). At his untimely death Beshiktashlean's patriotism and pan-Armenian philanthropy united his many and varied admirers and transcended their differences. A number of orations were delivered at his funeral, of which the best was said to be his student Srбуhi's poetic eulogy in Classical Armenian.⁸⁶

At the time of Beshiktashlean's death his contemporary Karapet Utudjian (1823-1904) had been editor of *Masis* for sixteen years and would continue for another sixteen. During his tenure *Masis* became a respected paper, reporting on national, social and literary news. Utudjian's abovementioned translations of popular French authors had increased the Armenian reading public in Istanbul and consequently the readership of *Masis*. In 1865 soon after the creation of the Armenian Constitution, ratified by the Porte in 1863, and the election of the first parliament for the National Assembly, Utudjian published an editorial in *Masis* entitled "*Azgayin harajdimutyanyan gortze*" ("The Task of

⁸⁶ Srбуhi Vahanian's poem provides a sort of frontispiece to the posthumous collection of Beshiktashlean's *Matenagrutiunk* (*Works*), published in Constantinople in 1870; cf. Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 399.

National Advancement”), which espoused the education of women, following in the footsteps of the Armenian Constitution.⁸⁷

Grigor Ōtean (1834-87) was studying in Paris during the 1848 revolution, which helped develop his interest in European democratic movements. Recognized as a political thinker in Istanbul, Ōtean played an important role in the formation of the Armenian National Constitution of 1863 and also served as chairman of the National Assembly for several years. Having accompanied Midhat Pasha on a diplomatic mission to Bulgaria in 1864, he was on good terms with Midhat Pasha when the latter became Grand Vizier in 1866 and may have offered Midhat Pasha advice on the Ottoman Constitution due to his previous experience with the Armenian National Constitution.⁸⁸ After Midhat Pasha’s banishment by Abdülhamid II, Ōtean fled to Paris where he remained for the rest of his life.

Hakob Baronian (1843-91), the much-admired satirist of modern Armenian literature, contributed to Armenian theatre and Armenian journalism during the 1860s, ‘70s and ‘80s. His theatrical and journalistic interests paralleled those of the contemporary Turkish intelligentsia which included Ahmed Vefik, Şinasi and Namik Kemal. His periodical publications, which focused on satirical remarks about the decay in social customs and the corruption of officials, drew Baronian a large following and a number of imitators among the intelligentsia of the Ottoman capital. Speaking of the satirical publications that flourished in the 1870s due to Baronian and his Turkish colleagues, Yalman says, “It was not easy for the dignified and reverent Turk of two

⁸⁷ Karapet S. Utudjian, “Azgayin harajdimutyán gortze,” *Masis*, 17 May 1865, translated by the editors of Hacıkyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 262-63.

⁸⁸ Hacıkyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 342.

generations ago to become used to the satirical treatment of serious matters.”⁸⁹ He writes that there were four or five satirical Turkish weeklies or semi-weeklies between 1871 and 1876 due to the support of “an enterprising Armenian capitalist.”⁹⁰ Davison writes, “*Ibret*, the newspaper that Namik Kemal edited in 1872-73, and in which he advocated various modes of Westernization, was owned by an Armenian, Sarafian.”⁹¹ Yalman notes that after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 a paper called the *Osmanli* tried to improve its financial condition by transforming itself into a satirical publication but “was notified by the government, that publications of that type could no longer be tolerated.”⁹²

Satirical Armenian periodicals were circulating at the same time. Among them, was the well-known satirical weekly *Meghu* (*Bee*), founded by Harutian Svachian (1831-74), the editorship of which was assumed by Baronian in 1872.⁹³ Baronian’s by-lines were published under the headings “*Khaytvatzk*” (“Stings”)—as compared to Svachian’s “*Aptakk*” (“Slaps”)—and “*Aské anké*” (“From here and there”), which Svachian had earlier introduced.⁹⁴ When Svachian died in 1874, Baronian introduced *Tatron* (*Theatre*) as a replacement for *Meghu* and published his own columns under the headings

⁸⁹ Ahmet Emin Yalman, *The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences 45 (New York: Columbia University: 1914).

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Roderic H. Davison, “The *Millets* as Agents of change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire,” in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982) I: 323.

⁹² Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press*, 59.

⁹³ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 330-31. Svachian was a member of the committee that drew up the National Constitution in 1859, a proponent of the rights of the working and peasant classes, and a publisher of Grigor Otean’s satirical pieces.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 330-31, 405.

“*Ksmitner*” (“Pinches”).⁹⁵ Hamidian censorship cut short the life of *Tatron* but Baronian continued his satires in 1883 by publishing weekly brochures titled *Tzitzagh* (*Sneer*) in which he ridiculed national and international figures by disguising them as animals.⁹⁶ Despite his early death due to tuberculosis Baronian greatly influenced the development of a satirical streak in the realism of Arpiarian and Zohrab among others. Baronian contributed to *Masis* during his lifetime and was praised there after his death by Hrant Asatur for his contributions to Armenian literature.⁹⁷ Columns such as that titled “Nails” may be considered descendants of Baronian’s columns entitled “Stings,” “Pinches” and “Sneers.”

Younger members of the Armenian intelligentsia of Istanbul, born after the middle of the nineteenth century, reached their maturity during the Hamidian period. They include Arpiar Arpiarian (1852-1908), Tigran Kamsarakan (1866-1941), Krikor Zohrab (1861-1915), Hrant Asatur (1862-1928), his wife Zabel Khanchian Asatur (1863-1934), and Levon Basalean (1868-1943). The oldest of them by about a decade, Arpiarian, had become a regular contributor to the prestigious journal *Masis* by the end of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 when Karapet Utudjian was still the editor. Of all the intellectuals of the Hamidian period, Arpiarian, who is regarded as the father of Armenian realism, is the one most closely associated with Armenian newspapers, working as editor or contributor to three of the four newspapers under discussion here and serving as a mentor to younger colleagues such as Kamsarakan and Basalean, whose

⁹⁵ Ibid., 405.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 406.

⁹⁷ Hrant Asatur, “Melun Paroneani hmbagrut’ean ōrov,” *Masis* (1892), 275-79; cf. Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 456.

work appears in the papers. Arpiarian took over the editorship of *Masis* from Utudjian in 1884 and together with other intellectuals founded *Arewelk'* that same year.⁹⁸ The group founding of *Arewelk'* as a literary and political newspaper may have been contrived to facilitate the protection of an on-call editorial board, able to work around the Hamidian censorship and suppressions. Arpiarian's arrest as a revolutionary in 1890 followed by his two-month imprisonment seems to have been responsible for the editorial change at *Masis* around that time. In 1891 after his release from prison Arpiarian became the editor of *Hayrenik'*, the daily launched by H. Shahnazarian that year.⁹⁹ Under Arpiarian's stewardship "*Hayrenik* attracted a large number of progressive writers, whose ideas did not please the sultan."¹⁰⁰ Arpiarian remained an editor, with Basalean assisting him, until *Hayrenik'* was suppressed in 1896, and he and Basalean fled to London where they worked on another journalistic endeavor.¹⁰¹

Although the first feminist to make her mark on Armenian life, Srбуhi Vahanian Dussap (Tiwsab, 1841-1901), published her very controversial first book, *Matya*, only in 1883, she had entered the circles of Armenian intelligentsia in the 1860s under the wings of her teacher, Beshiktashlean, as an aspiring poet. Her teacher's death was followed by her own marriage to a French musician and a period of reduced literary output. As a mature married woman Srбуhi became interested in the status of Armenian women and began to publish articles in periodicals in Istanbul and Izmir (Smyrna) questioning the servile role of women in Ottoman and Armenian society and demanding equal access to

⁹⁸ Hacıkyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 78, 452-53.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 58.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 452-53, 611-12; Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 305.

education and employment with men and freedom of choice in marriage. She came under attack by Zohrab for questioning traditional “family values” with her book *Matya* which espoused ideas of freedom and equality for women that were welcomed and embraced by literate women in the Ottoman Empire. Not only women but many men, including the great educator and founder of the Berberian schools, Reteos Berberian (1848-1907), defended Srбуhi, who went on to write two even more successful novels focusing on the rights of women and the plight of women in an unjust and unequal society.¹⁰²

Srбуhi stood alone in her time, but she had many admirers and followers in succeeding generations, including the Armenians Zabel (Sibil/Sibyle) Khanchian Asatur (1863-1934), Zabel Yesayan (1878-1943), Mari Svachian (fl. 1890s) and also the Turkish feminist Halide Edip Adivar (1884-1964).¹⁰³ Zabel Asatur did not come from the privileged background that Srбуhi Dussap did and did not have the leisure to devote herself solely to an intellectual and literary life. She had to work for a living while endeavoring to improve the lot of Armenian women as a social activist. Upon graduating from secondary school Zabel became one of the founding members of the *Azganver hayuhyats enkerutiun* (Women’s Benevolent Society) that set up schools for girls in the Armenian provinces. Afterwards she spent eight years teaching in the provinces before her return to Istanbul in 1889 where she embarked upon a career as a journalist and educator in Istanbul. When Zabel left for the provinces it was approximately fifteen years

¹⁰² Srбуhi Dussap, *Siranush* (1884) and *Araxia kam varzhuhin* (Araxia, or the School Teacher, 1887). This episode in Dussap’s life is examined in Lerna Ekmekçioğlu’s recent book, *Recovering Armenia: The Limits of Belonging Post-Genocide Turkey* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016).

¹⁰³ Cf. Victoria Rowe, “Three Literary Views of Armenian Constantinople,” in Hovannisian and Payaslian, *Armenian Constantinople*, 243-64, which discusses Srбуhi Dussap, Sibil/Sibyle (Zabel Khanchian Asatur) and Zabel Yesayan and compares three of their novels.

after Utudjian, the editor of *Masis*, had written, “We do not know exactly how many girls’ schools there are, but it is safe to say that in general there is still no instruction for girls in the provinces.”¹⁰⁴ Zabel was one of the first to take up the task of changing that by teaching in the provinces. Her later journalistic work with *Arewelk'*, which serialized her first novel, and *Masis*, which published her essays under the by-line of Sibil (or Sibyle), brought Zabel into contact with Hrant Asatur, whose love letters testify to a passionate devotion willing to wait patiently for his bride until the death of Zabel’s first husband. Zabel’s principal work was educational, among which her three volumes of *Practical Grammar of Modern Armenian (Gortznakan kerakanutiun ardi ashkharhabari, 1877, 1899, 1902)* and her course book on French-Armenian translation (*Gortznakan dasentatsk franserene hay targmanutyan, 1902*) are the most notable.¹⁰⁵

In late 1891 Krikor Zohrab (1861-1915), Tigran Kamsarakan (1866-1941) and Hrant Asatur (1862-1928), all well-known figures in the Armenian intelligentsia of Istanbul by that time due to their publications in newspapers and journals, made the decision to reopen *Masis* (previously suppressed apparently due to Arpiarian’s arrest) as a literary journal with Zohrab as editor-in-chief, Asatur as publisher and Kamsarakan an unofficial part of the editorial board.¹⁰⁶ After Zohrab insisted that *Masis* become a weekly at the end of 1892, Zohrab became both editor-in-chief and publisher of the weekly for seven months in 1893. Zohrab was an extremely busy man at the time, with three distinct professions, novelist, journalist and criminal lawyer. His successful defense of a number

¹⁰⁴ Utudjian, “*Azgayin harajdimutyanyan gortze*,” *Masis*, 17 May 1865, translation by the editors of Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 263.

¹⁰⁵ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 541-42.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 532-35.

of Armenian political prisoners in 1895-96 put him at the forefront of Armenian affairs.¹⁰⁷ A few years later in 1898, when *Arewelk* was newly suppressed and *Masis* replaced it as a daily with Zareh Yusufian as the owner-proprietor, Yusufian asked Zohrab and Hrant Asatur, both lawyers working in journalism, to be associates; Zohrab agreed on the condition that he, Asatur, and Sibil/Zabel Khanchian (later, Asatur), comprise the editorial board. This new direction at *Masis* was announced with some fanfare on the front page with Zohrab's statement that the paper's purpose would be "the advancement of literature."¹⁰⁸ This may have been intended to distract and disarm the censors. However, the editorial board also promised that "the content of *Masis* will be derived from the life of the people and will be at the service of the people."¹⁰⁹ This insistence, for which Zohrab was directly responsible, may have been directly responsible for the suppression of *Masis* shortly before the onset of the Hamidian massacres in 1894.

One of the interesting but less well-known figures in Armenian journalism in the 1890s is Biwzand Kechian, founder of the newspaper *Biwzantion* in 1896. Not only was he older than many of his journalistic colleagues but more cautious and conservative, perhaps because he came from a more privileged background than many of his colleagues. Before opening his own newspaper he was editor and contributor to *Arewelk* and also a contributor and advisor to *Masis* under the joint editorship of Zohrab and Asatur. He is known to have tutored the young Hrand Asatur, permitted the relaunched *Masis* to be published at the printing house of *Arewelk* in 1892, collaborated with Krikor

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 517.

¹⁰⁸ *Masis* (1892) in Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 533.

¹⁰⁹ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 533.

Zohrab on his “Well-Known Figures” series, and cautioned Zohrab about the wisdom of publishing his article “Immoral Literature,” which stated that the morality or immorality of literature should be determined solely by its purpose and not by its content or inclusion of “lustful” scenes.¹¹⁰ Hrant Asatur states point blank, “The editor of *Masis* [Zohrab] defended his case most skillfully, but in fact Kechian was right when he considered the publication of such writings in our newspapers and periodicals both unsuited to the times and damaging to our development...”¹¹¹ Kechian’s conservative stance may have been what saved him in the end since he was one of only a handful of deportees of 1915 who managed to survive the experience.¹¹²

The Armenians who worked for and wrote for the Armenian newspapers of Istanbul were, for the most part, realist writers who tried to reflect contemporary Armenian life. In their short stories and novels they depicted a wide range of characters from the illiterate Armenian peasant, to the hard-working laborer, to the skilled artisan, to the corrupt businessmen, to the abused wife and daughter, to the sophisticated and privileged Armenians of Pera and Galata.¹¹³ In their editorials they campaigned for equality, opportunity and education and against corruption and incompetence. It is not surprising that Abdülhamid II, after having decided to limit the publication not only of

¹¹⁰ Hrant Asatur, “Grigor Zohrap,” in *Dimastverner (Portraits)* (Constantinople, 1921), 219-50. Cf. Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 533-34 (slightly abridged and translated by the editors).

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Cf. An account written in poor English which names the known victims of the spring 1915 deportations: <http://memim.com/deportation-of-armenian-intellectuals-on-24-april-1915.html> accessed 4 April 2016, where Kechian is called a “survivor” but is said to have become “traumatized and insane” as a result.

¹¹³ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 78-80; Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 127-32.

real news in Turkey, later also decided to censor publication of stories that reflected on life in Turkey, which certainly made serialized literature written in the Ottoman Empire—whether in the romantic or the realistic vein, whether focusing on Moslems or Christians—increasingly less common in the journals and newspapers of Istanbul in the decade before the Young Turk Revolution.¹¹⁴ Since serialized literature had become an important selling feature of the periodicals, a replacement had to be found. That replacement, which is very much in evidence in the papers of the late 1890s and early 1900s, turned out to be low-brow, escapist or B literature classified within the categories of crime, mystery, science fiction, adventure or fantasy and often produced abroad, particularly in France, and translated into Armenian or Turkish.

Political activism was very dangerous during the Hamidian period as well as during the last decade of the Ottoman Empire. Those who engaged in it were forced into exile and often killed. The most famous members of the intelligentsia in Istanbul, whether Turk or Armenian, were put to death for daring to put their ideas of government and democracy before the public. These include Midhat Pasha, Arpiar Arpiarian, and Krikor Zohrab.

4.4 Movements and motivations among the Armenian intelligentsia

Movements for change require ideas or ideals to motivate the masses, without whom real change is not possible. For the transformation of Armenian communities in the Ottoman Empire

¹¹⁴ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 78. Since rule no. 7 in Fehmi's list of late Hamidian censorship regulations for publications forbade all mention of historic and geographic names, including the denomination "Armenia," it is not surprising that Armenian literature was restricted; see Joseph Fehmi, *Les coulisses hamidiennes dévoilées par un jeune Turc* (Paris: 1904), 33.

the Armenian intelligentsia supplied the ideas and developed an ideology borrowed in part from their own past and updated in general by observations of more advanced nations in Europe and elsewhere. Like the Turkish intelligentsia, the Armenian intelligentsia wanted to stop the decline of the Empire by eliminating corruption and incompetence and employing scientific and technological innovations. Survival became *the* topic of discussion and regeneration the object of practical reform in the Ottoman Empire throughout the nineteenth century.

Governments, societies, and individuals have, of course, been fighting, consciously or unconsciously, for survival since time immemorial. It has become common to speak of such struggles within their natural context as “survival of the fittest.” The theory behind survival of the fittest began with Charles Darwin but the term itself began with Herbert Spencer as a response to Darwin. Charles Darwin published his *On the Origin of Species* in 1859. In it he discussed the competitive struggle for existence among the species in their search for food, a basic necessity of life. Darwin’s discussion of natural selection prompted his contemporary, Herbert Spencer, to incorporate Darwin’s theory into his own work, *The Principles of Biology*, published in 1864, where he coined the phrase “survival of the fittest” to describe Darwin’s natural selection. Darwin himself liked Spencer’s term “survival of the fittest” so much that he incorporated it into the fifth edition of his *Origin of Species* in 1869.

The term “survival of the fittest” was certainly current and popular in the scientific community in the 1870’s since the missionary/educator Cyrus Hamlin uses it metaphorically in 1878 in his account of his decades of missionary work, *Among the Turks*.¹¹⁵ Hamlin, whose great interest in science and engineering is amply recorded, suggests that he would welcome

¹¹⁵ Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1878) 280.

such a contest between the missionaries' Protestant schools and Jesuits' Catholic schools to determine which, given a fair trial, could provide the sounder education to heathens.

Long before the term “survival of the fittest” came into general usage in the nineteenth century the struggle for survival was being waged on large and small stages. On the world stage Ottoman Turkey had begun to be viewed as an “endangered species” following the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1774. By the nineteenth century all of Europe as well as all of the Ottoman Empire was concerned for one reason or another about the “survival” of the Ottoman Empire. If and when the Ottoman Empire disintegrated, every country wanted a piece of it. Nicholas I of Russia, the country seeking the biggest piece of the Ottoman Empire for the longest period of time, is credited with first calling the Ottoman Empire “a sick man” shortly before the Crimean War but the expression “Sick Man of Europe,” which was coined thereafter and attached exclusively to the Ottoman Empire until its fall, has since then frequently been tossed about and attached to almost every European country and even the European Union, when discussing troubled finances and depressed economies in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.¹¹⁶

In terms of nations survival of the fittest requires economic prosperity coupled with military equality (if not dominance) with respect to other nations. Education is the prerequisite for both economic prosperity and military equality. Governments, rulers and educated men of the nineteenth century fully understood that nations prosper only when they are able to maintain self-

¹¹⁶ Letter written by Sir G.H. Seymour, British envoy to St. Petersburg in 1853 reporting meeting with Nicholas I, Tsar of Russia. See James R. Russell, “Massacres of the Armenians,” a Letter to the Editors, *The New York Review of Books*, 9 August 2001, in response to Christopher de Bellaigue's review of three books under the heading “Turkey's Hidden Past” in *The New York Review of Books*, 8 March 2001. One of the books— Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909* (New York St Martin's Press, 1998).—tries to resurrect and absolve Abdülhamid II, which the overwhelming majority of scholars and historians believe is an impossible task.

determination and ward off domination. They knew that economic prosperity and military equality were produced by scientific and technological advances that improved lives, businesses, armies, navies and nations in general. They knew too that those advances constituted “progress,” made possible by means of education. The *Tanzimat* instituted by Sultan Abdulmejid in 1839 was a last-ditch effort made to put into practice knowledge of the way forward, of the progress that previous Sultans had attempted but failed to achieve. The future of the Ottoman Empire was at stake and everyone knew it or at least everyone with a decent measure of education.

Nineteenth century authors and journalists writing about the Ottoman Empire were fixated upon the necessity of change, or reform, for the survival and/or regeneration of the Ottoman Empire. Many were focused on material progress; others were focused on ideological progress.¹¹⁷ All wanted to be “modern,” to reach the highest level of society available to them; they wanted to see themselves as modern and to be seen as modern by others.¹¹⁸

4.5 “Awakening” in the Nineteenth Century

The awakening of nations

Ubicini speaks of the awakening (*réveil*) of nationalities in his *Lettres*, linking it to ancestry and language: “Cette question des races, appelée à jouer un si grand rôle dans la politique contemporaine, emprunte un nouvel intérêt au *réveil* des nationalités qui commencent à se faire jour de toutes parts, et à la tendance qu’elles montrent à se constituer suivant leurs

¹¹⁷ Cf. Toufoul Abou-hodeib, “The Material Life of the Ottoman Middle Class,” *History Compass* 10, no. 8 (2012): 584–595, 584-95, for a solid examination of the intertwining of material culture and modern progress centered in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Beirut.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 578, where “the growing Christian middle class” is said to play “the role of economic and cultural intermediary between Europe and the region.” A similar role was played by the Armenians of Istanbul.

affinités d'origine et de langue.”¹¹⁹ For Turkey, this awakening presented innumerable and serious challenges because, in Ubicini's words: “Ce n'est pas une nation, c'est un composé de nations.”¹²⁰ In discussing Sultan Mahmud II's founding of the *Moniteur ottoman*, the official journal of the Sublime Porte in French, which became the basis for the Turkish language *Takvim*, Ubicini states that many of the foreign ambassadors in Pera were uneasy about the “réveil de la Turquie” or jealous about the part France played in the *Moniteur ottoman* and tried unsuccessfully to get the Porte to suppress the paper. Ubicini also uses the term *réveil* when discussing the influence of the Greeks in the Fanar district of Constantinople in “le réveil de la nationalité” that arose in all parts of the Greek peninsula in the second decade of the nineteenth century.¹²¹ In his *Lettres on Greece*, Ubicini describes Coray (1748-1833), an Ottoman expatriate living in France but born in Izmir of Chiote ancestry, who contributed the most “au réveil de la nationalité grecque,” both as an intellectual and as a citizen.¹²² Coray's publication in 1803, *de l'État actuel de la civilisation en Grèce*, announced to the world “le réveil de la nation.”¹²³

The missionary Cyrus Hamlin writes of the “National Awakening” of the Bulgarians with respect to language and education after the Crimean War and the proclamation of the Hatt-i Hümayûn: “To throw off the Greek language and the Greek bishops, was the vow of every

¹¹⁹ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 12

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 67.

¹²² Ibid., 88.

¹²³ Ibid., 89.

Bulgarian heart. To have schools, newspapers, a literature of their own, were among their strongest aspirations.”¹²⁴

In an article entitled “La société arménienne contemporaine” and subtitled “Les arméniens de l’empire ottoman” published in Paris in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1867, the author Mek.-B. Dadian speaks of “le réveil” of the Armenian community that occurred during the controversy surrounding the funding of the distinguished Armenian secondary school in Scutari that began in 1838 between the notables and continued until 1844 when the composition of the National council was modified in order to include members of the corporations (esnafs) in an attempt to limit the influence of the notables.¹²⁵ Dadian seems to have been an Armenian like Beshiktashlean who believed in the pan-Armenian community, without respect to a particular Christian religious affiliation though he clearly viewed the Gregorian church as the true Armenian Church and the Catholic and especially the Protestant, as upstarts.

Grigor Chilinkirian’s essay on the nineteenth-century woman, published in 1888, speaks of “mental awakening,” which he believes is the first step towards an “awareness” of the society in which one lives. He believes that when the individual becomes aware of archaic institutions and laws from which injustices and obstacles to human welfare emanate, he or she naturally voices objections or fights for change. Chilinkirian supports the nineteenth-century Armenian women’s demand for a greater voice and greater opportunity. Following Spencer’s belief that “there must be sufficient harmony in required institutions and generally accepted ideas in order

¹²⁴ Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, x, 267-268.

¹²⁵ Dadian, “La société arménienne contemporaine,” 903-28.

for a society to be able to survive,” Chilinkirian states bluntly, “If the fighting continues, if the realities do not cease resisting mental renewal, the very essence of society becomes at risk.”¹²⁶

The awakening to Protestantism

The missionaries William Goodell and Harrison G.O. Dwight write of individuals being awakened. Dwight reports that, “In the course of the year (1834) two or three [Greek or Armenian] priests in Constantinople were awakened, and thoroughly convinced of the truth of the [Protestant] evangelical system.”¹²⁷ He saw this as one of a number of “indubitable signs” in which “it became more and more evident that God was about to do a great work among the Armenian people.”¹²⁸ Dwight makes a point of stating that the awakening was spiritual and “relating directly to the salvation of the soul” in order to make clear that the awakening of which he was speaking was not simply native curiosity or an interest in the arts and sciences or religious customs and ceremonies. Similarly, Goodell writes in 1845 “There is now a very interesting state of things among the Armenians at the capital, and many new instances of awakening.”¹²⁹ Both Dwight and Goodell write of “females awakened” and links the creation of a female seminary in Pera with the students boarding in the Rev. Goodell’s house.¹³⁰ Dwight’s

¹²⁶ Grigor Chilinkirian, “Kinn tasnevinerord darun mej” (“The Woman in the Nineteenth Century”) in *Chashak ardi Hay matenagrutyan* (*Taste in modern Armenian literature*) (Constantinople: 1888), 355-359; Cf. Hacikyan, *Heritage* III, 367-371, with translation by Aris Sevag.

¹²⁷ Harrison G.O. Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey: A Narrative of the Protestant Reformation in the Armenian Church* (London: J. Nisbet, 1854), 43.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ William Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire: Or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell by his son-in-law, E.D.G. Prime, D.D.* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers: 1875), 304.

¹³⁰ Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, 165-166, Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 325.

direct connection of educational and spiritual awakening is clear from his insistence of the “importance of well sustaining the Seminary at Bebek [run by Hamlin]” for educating and training a “native ministry,” which the missionaries considered essential for spreading Protestantism throughout the “nominal Christian” population of Turkey.¹³¹ He notes that the “awakening influences of the Holy Spirit were also felt in Smyrna to some extent, as in almost every part of the Armenian field.”¹³² He reports that the Rev. Hohannes Der Sahagyan wrote back while on an eight-month-long preaching tour through the whole of Armenia in 1852: “I am not aware that I have yet visited a single place where Armenians are found, where there is not either an actual awakening, or a preparation of the mind for the reception of the truth.”¹³³ American missionaries such as Dwight and Goodell used the noun “awakening” and adjective and verb “awakened” to refer to belief in Protestant doctrine, when referring to individuals or groups of individuals: “The standard doctrine of the Reformation in Europe—salvation by grace alone—was usually the great central truth, first apprehended by their awakened and inquiring minds....¹³⁴” Sir Edwin Pears likened these Protestant missionaries to “American leaven” and stated that it had, in his opinion, “worked excellently,” producing “a reform, religious awakening, an improvement—call it what you will...”¹³⁵

Leon Arpee’s book entitled *The Armenian Awakening* of 1909 attempts to show that political reform among the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire began with the Armenian

¹³¹ Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, 301.

¹³² Ibid., 156.

¹³³ Ibid., 315.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 110.

¹³⁵ Pears, *Turkey and its Peoples*, 274.

“awakening” to Protestantism.¹³⁶ He uses the term “awakening” to signify two different meanings, one spiritual, the other national. However, Arpee clearly believes the first awakening was a spiritual awakening to the truth of the Protestant Reformation, which in turn led to a second awakening of the Armenian community as a whole, as a nation needing political and social reforms. Despite the importance of the Protestant community to educational and political reforms in the Ottoman Empire, Arpee’s argument that the Protestant Armenians were largely responsible for the national awakening of the Armenians is nevertheless flawed. In point of fact, the Armenians had already “awakened” as a nation before the arrival of the Protestant missionaries on the shores of the Ottoman Empire due to the labors of the Mekhitarists. Mekhitar and his followers had resurrected the sense of an Armenian identity and an Armenian heritage in the eighteenth century.

The awakening of social consciousness

By the beginning of the nineteenth century Armenians had self-identified as Armenians and believed themselves to be a “nation” within an empire of nations; the *millet* organization of the Ottoman Empire only strengthened the concept of Armenian nationhood. The internal religious divisions of the Armenian nation between 1830 and 1850 when the Armenian Catholic millet and the Protestant millet were formed threatened the unity of the Armenian community. It was only through the creation of more inclusive social units that Armenian identity and nationalism could flourish. Although the Armenian National Assembly (first elected parliament 1863 or 64) represented the largest social unit in the Ottoman empire and its finest legislative

¹³⁶ Leon Arpee, *The Armenian Awakening: A History of the Armenian Church, 1820-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909).

work, the Armenian National Constitution (ratified by the Porte 1863), was meant to educate and enfranchise the majority of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, it was limited to a single religious group, the Gregorian Armenians of the Orthodox Armenian Church and not the Catholic Armenians or the Protestant Armenians. However, the creation around the same time of pan-Armenian philanthropic and social organization such as the Armenian Benevolent Society (*Baregortzakan enkerutiun Hayots*) of which Beshikdashlean was a founding member and the Women's Benevolent Society (*Azganever hayuhyats enkerutium*) of which Zabel Asatur was a founding member furthered the self-identification of all Armenians as a nation, regardless of internal religious divisions.

The awakening of social consciousness among different ethnicities and religions continues to be felt and discussed in many different parts of the world. Two of many recent examples are Fouad Ajami's *The Dream Palace of the Arabs* and Jocelyne Cesari's, *The Awakening of Muslim Democracy*. Ajami has a lengthy discussion about the concept of modernity in the Arab world and Cesari even subtitles her work "Religion, Modernity, and the State" and includes sections on Islam as the religion of the state.¹³⁷

It is also no coincidence that the inaugural ceremony for the new global award called the Aurora Prize for Awakening Humanity was held in Yerevan, Armenia, on April 24th, 2016, in order to coincide with the 100th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide that began in Istanbul among the Armenian intelligentsia. The Aurora Prize, which will be awarded annually in Yerevan, was created by Armenian survivors and their descendants "to express gratitude to those who put themselves at risk to save Armenians from the Genocide one hundred years ago... by

¹³⁷ Fouad Ajami, *The Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey*, 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998); Jocelyne Cesari, *The Awakening of Muslim Democracy: Religion, Modernity, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

recognizing those who act in the same spirit in the face of modern atrocities.”¹³⁸ The use of the phrase “Awakening Humanity” is especially meaningful to Armenians aware of their long and tortured history.

The awakening of the press in the Ottoman Empire

As early as 1865 Karapet Utudjian, the editor of *Masis* had written an editorial stating that, “Two things educate peoples: the schools and the press; one is the vital midwife of instruction, the other the arena of public enlightenment.”¹³⁹

Yalman attributes “the spirit of awakening and self-consciousness of the [Ottoman] press,” to the period before 1877, the beginning of the Russo-Turkish War.¹⁴⁰ He makes it clear that “naive self-deception” ruled the Ottoman press during that war, and that consequently, “the people lost interest in the papers, the old prestige of the press vanished...”¹⁴¹ According to Yalman there was no direct censorship of the press during the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78) or during the two following years because the Sultan had “so perfect a control of the situation that he could afford to leave to the press its nominal freedom.”¹⁴² Only in 1880 was censorship instituted in the ministry for public instruction, probably due to the pending trial for Midhat Pasha and the sentiments it threatened to evoke. Yalman writes that as the censorship increased under Abdülhamid II: “Every new day made people look longingly back upon the previous day.

¹³⁸See, <https://auroraprize.com/en/aurora/detail/9087/aurora-prize-inaugural-ceremony-video> viewed 9-19-2016.

¹³⁹ *Masis*, 17 May 1865. Cf., Hacıyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 262.

¹⁴⁰ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 58.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 58-59.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 64.

The experiences of former times when Midhat Pasha and Kemal Bey were active and when there existed a free press, had gained a mythical character in the public mind.”¹⁴³ He explains the short period of the free and enlightened press in the 1870s as a reflection of the need for reform in Turkey. He also emphasizes that the free and enlightened press was owed to the return of the Young Ottoman reformers from exile in London and Paris: “Without such [corrupt and abusive] conditions to be attacked, the rapid progress in the Turkish press and literature between the years 1871 and 1876 could hardly have been expected to take place ...” because without these awful condition, the reformers in the opposition would never have been able to unite.¹⁴⁴

4.6 Goals: Modernity through education

Modernity became the ultimate goal of Ottoman society in the course of the nineteenth century when its benefits became crystal clear by a century-long observation of the economic prosperity and military superiority that modern improvements and innovations had produced in Western nations. This observation had begun in the eighteenth century with the trip of Çelebi Mehmet and his son to Paris in 1720-21. It continued through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, culminating in the sojourns, both voluntary and forced, not only of young Ottoman reformers such as Namik Kemal but also of young Armenian reformers such as Arpiar Arpiarian and Krikor Zohrab, in Paris, Marseille, Venice, London or other cities far from Istanbul—whether for education or escape from the Sultan’s wrath. During these sojourns in foreign lands, Ottoman and Armenian reformers undoubtedly encountered each other and Westerners interested in Turkey and Armenia. The reformers would have been particularly interested in the

¹⁴³ Ibid., 74.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 39.

international fairs showcasing discoveries and products from around the world. Ubicini and Ahmed Vefik Pasha could have attended the Great Exhibition in London in 1851, held in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, which was the first international exhibition of manufactured products and inventions; certainly, they would have been aware of it and interested in it.¹⁴⁵ They also could have attended the Exposition universelle of Paris in 1855.¹⁴⁶ Namik Kemal and Mark Twain were both visitors to the Exposition universelle in Paris in 1867; Kemal's visit was instrumental in forming his ideas of national progress.¹⁴⁷ Even though the Great Exhibition of 1851 had long since closed, Kemal made a point of viewing and praising the Crystal Palace itself during his London exile.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851*. . . . (London: Dickinson Brothers, 1852). Aytac Isikli, ed., *Türkiye Fuar Albümü (The Album of Turkish Fairs)* put out by the Istanbul Expo Center (Istanbul, 2012) is a hardcover book presenting photos and text, detailing the Ottoman empire's participation in thirty-six world expositions that took place between 1851 and 1917, including the three most famous, the Great Exhibition in the Crystal Palace in 1851, the Paris World's Fair in 1867, and the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, as well as many before and after, including the Exposition Universelle of Paris in 1855, the South Kensington Exhibition in London in 1862, and the Exposition universelle of Paris in 1900.

¹⁴⁶ Arthur Chandler, *The French Universal Exposition of 1855*, reproduced from *World's Fair* magazine, vol. VI, no. 2, (World's Fair, Inc.: 1986), expanded and revised 2000 and 2014 (www.arthurchandler.com/paris-1855-exposition); cf. Brown University Library Center for Digital Scholarship, *Paris: Capital of the 19th Century, The Expositions Universelles in Nineteenth Century Paris* by Pauline de Tholozany.

¹⁴⁷ Kemal was not alone in his interest in "expositions of national progress." Abdülaziz was the first Ottoman sultan to exploit expositions and fairs as a means of promoting material progress in the empire. During his reign the Ottoman Public Exposition was organized as the first national exposition, a concept continued and greatly expanded under Abdülhamid II. Cf. *Türkiye Fuar Albümü (The Album of Turkish Fairs, 2012)*.

¹⁴⁸ Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 320. Cf. Menemencioglu, "Namik Kemal Abroad: A Centenary," 41, where it is reported that Namik Kemal and his friends, clearly visible in red fezzes, were also present in the Crystal Palace crowd of onlookers at a visit by Sultan Abdülaziz.

Reform and reformers

To reform requires facts. To reform anything as vast as the Ottoman Empire requires an abundance of statistics. Until the mid-nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire was basically *terra incognita* in terms of the vital statistics needed to undertake any kind of widespread reform.

Ahmed Vefik was one of the first gatherers of those statistics. His friend Abdolonyme Ubicini was one of the first reporters of those statistics. The younger author-activist Namik Kemal was one of the first reformers to base his ideas on those statistics. Connections and combinations such as are seen in the lives of these three men reveal a great deal about the rocky road to modernity in the Ottoman Empire.

The influence of Namik Kemal cannot be overstated. His conception of progress, conceived during his time in Europe, was based on the belief that hard work and education, centered in the family and the community, spread outward to the nation and the state, creating material improvements at an ever increasing pace so that modernity, once begun, could not be stopped or reversed.¹⁴⁹ Kemal was particularly impressed by the success of the British in producing practical solutions and innovations that resulted in widespread prosperity within Britain, praising not just the British system of education but British printing presses and British steam and electric-powered machines that powered homes, factories, commercial establishments and transport systems. He believed that the Ottomans could replicate European progress if all citizens were empowered to use their natural abilities and the reforms begun with the Tanzimat were continued so that Turkish agriculture might be regenerated, Turkish manufacture redeveloped, and Turkish credit for industrial growth made available. As a Muslim and a patriot,

¹⁴⁹ See especially, Mardin's chapter on Nemik Kemal, especially his section V, entitled "Nemik Kemal's Idea of Progress," in *Young Ottoman Thought*, 283-336, esp 319-23.

Kemal tried to provide an Islamic foundation to his prescription for the modernization of the Ottoman state. In his excellent study of Young Ottoman thought Şerif Mardin, wrote that Kemal based his argument for the Islamic foundation underlying his prescription for the modernization of Turkey on two accepted Islamic opinions, 1) that science and learning should be sought even from as far away as China, and 2) that temporal changes could justify a change in mores, according to a saying of the Prophet himself.¹⁵⁰ As an activist reformer working for change, Kemal emphasized that resignation to one's fate was not Islamic.

Kemal had to have been aware of Ubicini's *Lettres* which was published to great acclaim only a few years before his arrival at age seventeen in Istanbul in 1857-58.¹⁵¹ As an employee, first of the Translation Bureau of the Customs and later that of the Porte and as a short-term resident of both Paris and London during his exile in the 1860s, Kemal was well-versed in French and English. Kemal repeats many of the theories of reform that had earlier been pointed out by Ubicini as underpinning the actions of Selim III, Mahmud II and Abdülmecid as well as the Islamic basis for modernization and regeneration begun under the Tanzimat. For that reason I believe Kemal and Young Ottoman thought in general owe a great debt to Ubicini for the widespread dissemination of theories of reform and modernization that would later be embraced by the Young Ottomans. Ubicini was not, of course, the originator of the political philosophy and reformist theory that Kemal and his fellow Young Ottomans adopted and adapted. He was the vehicle chosen, consciously or unconsciously, by Ottoman bureaucrats, friends and associates, who could not or would not come forward themselves but who passed on to Ubicini, a

¹⁵⁰ Mardin, *Young Ottoman Thought*, 322.

¹⁵¹ It is tempting to think that Kemal may have read Ubicini's *Lettres* in school.

Frenchman and Turcophile, not just a wealth of information and statistics but also an understanding of Ottoman thought and Muslim character.¹⁵²

Ubicini was the first to examine and evaluate publicly and dispassionately the successes and failures of the Tanzimat throughout Ottoman Turkey and to propose ways forward for many different aspects of the Ottoman economy. His progressive ideas about how to modernize Turkey and rescue the Ottoman Empire from deteriorating social, economic and political conditions were borrowed from and developed in conjunction with friends more deeply embedded in Ottoman society. Ubicini did not rely on foreign sources for his facts and history. He believed in first-hand observation and investigation of sources from different perspectives. He had many Muslim friends and many Turkish friends, several of whom he describes in his travelogue entitled *La Turquie actuelle*, which was published in 1855, just one year after his French edition of Part II of his *Lettres* on the *raias*, and one year before the English translation of his *Lettres* by Lady Easthope.¹⁵³

La Turquie actuelle is a mixture of a guidebook, a history and a contemporary account of life in the Ottoman capital in the mid-nineteenth century, centered around the beliefs, customs and behavior of educated and informed Turks and Europeans living in Istanbul. Its history and statistics are similar to those given in Ubicini's more substantial *Lettres* I and II. However, its frank and informal discussion of people and places makes it resemble a traveler's account of the nineteenth century. Like many of his time, particularly those French by birth or Francophile in taste, Ubicini had a romantic streak that made him pay homage in his writing to a favored author,

¹⁵² See Gürpınar, "The Rise and Fall of Turcophilism in the Nineteenth Century," which includes Ubicini among a group of Turcophiles but does little to explain the exceptional nature of Ubicini's *Lettres* and its singularity in the mid-nineteenth century.

¹⁵³ Abdolonyme Ubicini, *La Turquie actuelle*, (Paris: L. Hachette, 1855).

his countryman Lamartine, but he is unable to hide either his more pragmatic and political interests or his regard for statistics. The most significant pages of *La Turquie actuelle* describe the two factions within the Ottoman administration controlling and directing the empire during the critical period of the Tanzimat leading up to the Crimean War.¹⁵⁴ The two factions or schools of thought Ubicini identifies are “la jeune Turquie de Mahmoud et la jeune Turquie d’Abdul-Medjid,” both of which would carry out reforms because reform was inevitable.

According to Ubicini, the two factions would choose different means. He states that the first group was composed of men who wanted to draw nearer to Europe but without entirely breaking with tradition, men who were at the same time “conservateurs et novateurs.”¹⁵⁵ According to Ubicini they believed reform was less a question of creating new institutions than or correcting and modifying the existing ones to reflect the new relations and aspirations of Turkey. Ubicini explains their ideas:

Vouloir retrancher l’élément turc de la réforme , c’est la rendre impraticable. Qu’est-ce, encore aujourd’hui, pour la plupart des Turcs, que ces mots progrès, civilisation, patrie même , que l’on fait résonner à leurs oreilles? Pour eux, la patrie c’est la religion; de même que le drapeau c’est l’étendard du Prophète, le devoir, l’obéissance au Coran. De là, obligation de gouverner avec le Coran , contre le Coran même.¹⁵⁶

The other faction, in contrast, wished or dreamed of a Europeanized Turkey. They considered neither the religious instincts of the Turkish nation, nor the different customs, habit and climate. They considered the Gospel as well as the Koran, even if they believed more in the one than the other. Their failure, according to Ubicini was: “Ils oublient surtout qu’il est imprudent de démolir avant d’avoir réuni les matériaux propres

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 160-61.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

à ré-édifier, et qu'innover brusquement et au hasard dans un État, c'est créer le vide au lieu du progrès."¹⁵⁷

Ubicini identifies the men of ideas belonging to the more conservative group as Ahmed Fethi Pasha, Ahmed Riza Bey, and Ahmed Vefik Effendi even though they were in 1855 scarcely in their mid-thirties. The second group, which favored reform that was strongly European had as its head Ahmed Reshid, who was their contemporary in age and had commenced his career at the same time. In Reshid's group were Fuad Effendi and young diplomats who began their political careers in Paris, London and Vienna after the death of Mahmud II. Ubicini was about the same age as these men and knew many of them personally. He clearly aligns himself with the first group that wanted to bring about reform while maintaining essential traditions.

Ahmed Vefik Effendi was a personal friend, discussed at some length in *La Turquie actuelle*, as someone who was "plutôt un économiste qu'un littérateur," who began "cette série de travaux et de recherches statistiques dont malheureusement une grande partie est restée manuscrite."¹⁵⁸ (One wonders whether the lack of publication had something to do with Ahmed Vefik's outspokenness that many regarded as undiplomatic or whether his statistical researches were considered incendiary by his political enemies.) Ubicini states that one of Ahmed Vefik's most important publications was, "celle de *l'Annuaire de l'empire ottoman*, qui a paru pour la première fois en 1263 (1847), et qui s'est continué depuis, sans interruption, d'année en année."¹⁵⁹ It should be remembered

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 162.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 184-87.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

here that this particular Salnameh contained the first reliable census estimates from 1844 that Ubicini published in his *Lettres*. Not only did Ubicini's interests in facts and statistics coincide with Ahmed Vefik's but he also hints that he had access to his friend's work. It seems possible, therefore, that Ahmed Vefik let Ubicini publish some of his own research and statistics since he could not or would not publish himself.

Reshid, on the other hand, could never be the reformer of Turkey, according to Ubicini, because he was not popular.¹⁶⁰

Reconciling religion and reform

Şerif Mardin mentions the one-hundredth anniversary Tanzimat publication of 1940 in which İhsan Sungu "purported to refute a myth, that of the Young Ottomans as advocates of thorough Westernization."¹⁶¹ Sungu used Kemal's *Hürriyet* and *İbret* articles to prove that Kemal and the Young Ottomans had consistently taken an Islamic approach to the problems of government and that Islam imbued Kemal's entire political theory.¹⁶² Turkish scholars and scholars of Ottoman history fail to emphasize, however, that Kemal's political theory merely repeats Ubicini on many points. Ubicini writes, "Mahmoud fut le premier parmi les souverains de l'islam qui comprit cette vérité et qui entreprit d'arriver à la régénération de son empire par une interprétation plus large des doctrines renfermées dans le Coran."¹⁶³ Kemal's emphasis that Islam could look for science and learning as far away as China repeats the Koranic phrase that Ubicini tells us Mahmoud II made use of: "Il est dit encore : 'Allez chercher la lumière jusqu'en

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 162.

¹⁶¹ Mardin, *Young Ottoman Thought*, 287.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 9.

Chine,’ et il [Mahmoud II] appelle à lui les sciences et les inventions de l’Occident.”¹⁶⁴ Of course, in that particular instance Kemal could have gone independently to the Koran or to Mahmoud’s official records to underpin his political theory of reform. In other instances, however, Kemal is either reusing Ubicini’s opinions and reissuing his prescriptions for reform or himself consulting the same officials and archives as Ubicini did one or two decades earlier and often arriving at the same conclusions. Both are possible, and perhaps a combination of the two, knowledge of Ubicini’s work and acquaintance with some of the same sources. It is inconceivable that Kemal, who was widely read and greatly learned, was unaware of Ubicini. Even if Kemal based his theory and philosophy on that of the great intellects of from antiquity to his day, he needed to present his ideas in terms understandable to the community at large and attached to specific concerns of the community and offer practical suggestions for implementing his ideas. For this Ubicini was a better source than Aristotle, Descartes, Rousseau, Locke or Volney.

Consider Ubicini’s sixth letter in Part I on the Ottomans in which he talks about political power and describes Ottoman sovereignty, tracing it from the Caliphate to the present Sultan but then quits the past and reverts to the present, noting that “la Turquie est le pays de la tradition par excellence.”¹⁶⁵ Ubicini goes on to explain that in Turkey “rien ne s’y établit ou n’a de chance de durée que ce qui offre un point de contact ou de rapprochement avec ce qui a été antérieurement, qu’on y est forcé de s’appuyer sur la loi, même pour modifier la loi...”¹⁶⁶ Kemal would have wholeheartedly agreed with Ubicini’s statement, “En Turquie, politique ou sociale, la réforme

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 9-10.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 139.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

n'est possible qu'à la condition de s'appuyer sur le Coran et sur la tradition."¹⁶⁷ Ubicini wrote that reform was possible and would be accepted by Turks if it could be shown through the Koran and hadiths and through the example of the four first caliphs that the government established by Muhammad was one in which "le souverain ne doit que régner, tandis que c'est la loi qui gouverne."¹⁶⁸ In such a case, Ubicini states, Turks would assist in the reforms.

The "fatalism"—acceptance of a predetermined fate—that most Western writers of the nineteenth century recognized in the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire is never mentioned by modern historians because greater understanding of Islam as a religion has made use of the term unacceptable to unbiased minds. In the nineteenth century, however, "fatalism" was regarded as a flaw that prevented the Ottoman nation as a whole from taking action individually and communally to move forward, to progress and to modernize. Even in the travelogue of Burnaby, who was a recognized Turkophile, many instances of "fatalism"—a term that is decidedly negative even if not actively derogatory as used by Western writers—are recorded and used as examples for the lack of progress and modernization. One example is the conversation between Burnaby, a Turk and an Armenian in Arabakir.¹⁶⁹ Burnaby, surprised that the soldiers at weapons practice are not engaged in actual target practice, is informed by the Turk that they are a "nation of soliders" and therefore familiar with fire-arms. Burnaby replies that the conscripts' old flint guns are not the same as the new Martini-Peabody rifles they will soon be firing and is told by the Turk, "If Allah wills it, our bullets will strike the Russians." Burnaby is appalled, but his Armenian host reminds him that, "This is the effect of the doctrine of fatalism...; it is the cause

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 140.

¹⁶⁹ Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 176-77.

of half the apathy which characterizes the Turks. Why they only commenced building roads after Sultan Abdul Aziz's visit to Europe."¹⁷⁰ When Burnaby complains that at least half of the blame for the lack of roads in Arabakir, a town that is half Turk and half Armenian, can be placed upon the Armenians, his host agrees that his Armenian compatriots are just as apathetic as the Mohammedans and that he himself cannot be bothered because he has his own affairs to look after. Many other references to the fatalism of the Turks are given in the missionaries' accounts of their years in the Ottoman Empire, where the concept of fatalism is judged a failure in Islam as a religion.¹⁷¹ Even the most progressive and practical of the missionaries, Cyrus Hamlin, includes the sub-heading "Influence of Fatalism" in a discussion of Ottoman history in his account of his years in Istanbul.¹⁷² His description of Moslems states:

They are firm believers in destiny. "What is written is written" in the decrees of fate, upon "the preserved tablet" which Allah guards. This induces a serene composure, which makes them put off till to-morrow whatever presses upon them to-day. War finds them half prepared, now that it has ceased to be their constant pursuit. Famine and epidemics, resulting from war or other causes, sweep them away in grand composure. "God is great." "It is written." "Kismet dur." (It is fate). I have witnessed extraordinary instances of apparent satisfaction in death which was simply suicide, the sufferer refusing to take the simplest precaution against impending *fate*. Typhus, plague, cholera, and all their train, have ravaged the Moslem hosts unopposed.¹⁷³

Even so, Hamlin clearly has mixed feeling about the doctrine of fatalism in Islam, which leaves the course of things to Kismet and Allah. He thinks that "it induces resignation, quietude, and apathy, but it is really apathy that Hamlin regards as "directly opposed to any hopeful

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ See Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 202.

¹⁷² Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, 23.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 23.

progress towards a high civilization.”¹⁷⁴ The missionary definitely approves of the “quiet strength” it gives to the Moslem character and faith.

Ubicini, however, takes issue with this notion of fatalism, which is attributed to Muslims by Westerners, in the third letter of his first volume on Turkey where he discusses the Koran, its rationale and the simplicity of its doctrine and purity of its moral teaching.¹⁷⁵ Quoting Lamartine, a much-admired contemporary romantic French poet and politician, who sums up the Islamic doctrine as resignation to God and charity to men, Ubicini poses the rhetorical question: “... comment une telle doctrine pourrait elle être considérée comme une ennemie de la civilisation et du progrès ?”¹⁷⁶ He then concludes categorically, “Ce n’est donc pas le Coran qui est contraire à la réforme.”¹⁷⁷ Namik Kemal would have agreed with this view since he was clearly one to “scoff at the idea of resignation to one’s fate as utterly non-Islamic.”¹⁷⁸

Acknowledging education as the first step

Questions about the competence of the instructors and teachers in the Armenian schools had been raised in the early 1850s and emphasis placed on the fact that capable teachers required adequate pay, which at that time was lacking.¹⁷⁹ Karapet Utudjian, the editor of *Masis*, was not an educator himself but he ceaselessly promoted education as the way forward for the Armenian nation. In 1865 he wrote: “Presently all three categories of schools are unsatisfactory; therefore,

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 347-48.

¹⁷⁵ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 57-70.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 70.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Mardin, *Young Ottoman Thought*, 321, using Kemal’s article “Memalik-i Osmaniye’nin Yeni Mukasemesi” in *Hürriyet*, 9 Nov. 1868, 4.

¹⁷⁹ Dadian, “La société arménienne contemporaine,” 920-21.

those who wish to see the nation advance should first and foremost turn their attention to the establishment of a regular education system; without this not only is advancement impossible, but so are all attempts to civilize the nation.”¹⁸⁰

Of the Protestant missionaries in Ottoman Turkey, Cyrus Hamlin, the founder of Robert College (now Boğazici University in Istanbul) was the most important because he believed that the missionary could not save the soul of a man without first educating his mind and sustaining his body with food and shelter through the dignity of work. He was a particularly ardent advocate of quality education for his students and spoke out strongly against the decision of Dr. Anderson, the head ABCFM, who believed that the missionaries should limit the education they offered to the poor in Turkey and elsewhere by teaching them only in their own vernacular and offering no lessons in any foreign languages. Hamlin described the three systems of education possible for missionary work in foreign countries as follows:

There have been three systems advocated, with reference to education in unevangelized lands. The first is the vernacular. No foreign languages should be taught ... The second is that of no education at all. The Gospel should be preached, and education should be left to take care of itself. . . The third system which has been advocated is that of giving the soundest Christian education possible to youth of both sexes, on our mission fields. It would give to unconverted children . . . and even to adults, the knowledge of letters; hoping to reach their moral natures through their understandings.¹⁸¹

Hamlin was an advocate of the third system and offered a strong and spirited opposition to Dr. Anderson when he removed foreign language instruction from the mission schools and restricted teaching to the vernacular. According to Hamlin, this produced a second-class education, which was why Hamlin’s vision for Robert College was of “a Christian college, that

¹⁸⁰ *Masis*, 17 May 1865. For translation, see Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 263.

¹⁸¹ Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, 275-77.

shall offer the best intellectual training, and as broad a culture as our best New England colleges.”¹⁸² It would be a place where “the Scriptures would be the authoritative source of religious and moral instruction . . . but the rights of conscience [i.e., to profess any religion] would be held sacred.”¹⁸³ Hamlin was an independent thinker who believed in tolerance and freedom of conscience and universal education for people “of whatever race or faith.” When he left the American Board, he considered himself “more a missionary to Turkey than before” because he was “to labor so far as possible, for all its peoples, without distinction of race, language, color, or faith.”¹⁸⁴ Hamlin’s progressive ideas were too advanced for many of his colleagues in the United States and in Turkey, but they left a permanent mark upon Ottoman education. Most of the very prominent members of the Armenian intelligentsia in Istanbul during the Hamidian period were educated abroad at the university level, if not at the secondary level as well. One well-known attendee of Robert College—although after Hamlin’s departure—was Hrant Asatur, who himself was a great proponent of universal education and the equality of women.¹⁸⁵ As an educator he is remembered for collaborating with his wife Zabel on the publication of a series of textbooks on the Armenian language and grammar called the *Treasure House (Tangaran)* comprising elementary, middle and advanced levels, which was first published in 1908.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² Ibid., 285.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 531.

¹⁸⁶ Hrant Asatur and Zabel Asatur, “T‘angaran Hatëntir Hatuatsneru: Ardzak Ew Otanawor” (*Tparan ew gratun Nshan Papikean*, 1911).

One of the four causes assigned to the Hamidian massacres of 1894-1897 by Sir Edwin Pears was the Armenians' "thirst for instruction," which he then explained as, "education had fostered the desire to be free."¹⁸⁷ It had made them "less tolerant than they had formerly been of periodical robbery and outrages upon their wives and daughters."¹⁸⁸

Acknowledging the role of women

During the course of the nineteenth century many within the Ottoman Empire came to realize that a modern society required all levels of society to be educated and informed in order to be able to uphold and defend the nation in the increasingly global competition of nations. This required a complete transformation of the traditional role of women in Islamic society in the Ottoman Empire. In the words of Bernard Lewis,

Traditional Islamic society was in principal egalitarian, insisting on the legal and religious equality, despite any differences of birth, rank, wealth and status, of all free male Muslims. Those who lacked any of these three qualities—not free, not male or not Muslim—were not extruded from society but were subjected to legal and therefore social disabilities, amounting to a status of legally enforced inferiority.¹⁸⁹

In the nineteenth century Armenians in the Ottoman Empire therefore had one strike against them to begin with: they were not Muslim. Armenian women, however, had two strikes against them to begin with: they were not male and not Muslim. Nevertheless, they, like their Muslim counterparts in the Ottoman Empire were relatively lucky in that they belonged to a society or nation that straddled Europe and Asia, one that was intimately acquainted with various

¹⁸⁷ Pears, *Turkey and its Peoples*, 276.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Bernard Lewis, *A Middle East Mosaic: Fragments of Life, Letters, and History* (New York: Random House, 2000), part VI, "Women: Introduction," 180.

non-Muslim societies or nations, both within and without the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans had awakened to a serious loss of prestige and power at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They were confronted with a new reality and recognized the fact that isolated societies do not advance and do not prosper in an increasingly global world with ever-increasing means of communications and methods of transport. Moreover, with all the Christian *raiahs* living amongst them together with the regular intervention of the Christian powers on behalf of their co-religionists, the Ottomans had become familiar with the concepts and prerogatives of modern Western society. For this reason they were unafraid of introducing and adopting or adapting the concepts and prerogatives most likely to raise the prosperity of Ottoman society to the level of Western society. Because Ottomans were determined to modernize at any and all costs rather than be left behind as a backward society at the beck and call of more prosperous societies they permitted and even encouraged the education of women and their participation in society. This was part of the Ottoman effort to keep pace with the Christian powers with whom they compared themselves.

The American Protestant missionaries were among the first to tackle female education in Turkey. In their view the Female Seminary they started in Istanbul in the 1845 was essential due to “the influence, for good or for evil, of the wives and mothers of any community.”¹⁹⁰ By 1860 when the Armenian Constitution was promulgated it was well-established among Armenians that girls must be educated. Article 5 states as a general principle that children of both sexes, whatever their social condition, should receive without exception the benefit of instruction and be given essential knowledge while Article 34 recommends especially the education of girls and declares that the nation should agree to a fixed and acceptable endowment for the corps of

¹⁹⁰ Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, 301.

teachers.¹⁹¹ A few years later in 1865 Ütüdjian wrote his memorable article on “The Task of National Advancement” in *Masis* in which he stated, “It might be thought that we do not consider the education of girls important, because it has not yet been mentioned. But how can we neglect the foundation of all civilization? Girls must learn to write and read in order to obtain the moral education that is so necessary for a mother.”¹⁹² A very detailed report on the Armenian establishments of public instruction in the capital was published in 1866 with indications of the reforms needed to perfect the curriculum of the schools and ensure adequate conditions for the instructors and professors.¹⁹³ Nothing about the education of women is included in the First Ottoman Constitution of 1876. A movement to advance the education of Turkish women did not take significant form until the Revolution of 1908.¹⁹⁴

As early as 1867 Namik Kemal, the leader of Young Ottoman thought at the time, wrote an article about the need to educate women in a Turkish newspaper:

Our women are now seen as serving no useful purpose to mankind other than having children; they are considered simply as serving for pleasure, like musical instruments or jewels. But they constitute half and perhaps more than half of our species. Preventing them from contributing to the sustenance and improvement of others by means of their efforts infringes the basic rules of public cooperation to such a degree that our national society is stricken like a human body that is paralyzed on one side. Yet women are not inferior to men in their intellectual and physical capabilities. In ancient times women shared in all men’s activities, including even war. In the countryside, women still share in the work of agriculture and trade...The reason why women among us are thus deprived is the perception that they are totally ignorant and know nothing of right and duty,

¹⁹¹ Dadian, “La société arménienne contemporaine,” 921.

¹⁹² *Masis*, 17 May 1865, translation by editors of Hacikyan, *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 263.

¹⁹³ Dadian, “La société arménienne contemporain,” 921; report prepared by Simon Bey Dadian.

¹⁹⁴ Sir Edwin Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople: The Recollections of Sir Edwin Pears 1873-1915* (New York: D. Appleton and Brothers, 1916), 320.

benefit and harm. Many evil consequences result from this position of women, the first that it leads to a bad upbringing for their children.¹⁹⁵

About ten years later Burnaby records a conversation between his Turkish host in Divriki, himself and a Turkish dinner guest, which explains Kemal's argument for the education of women and their role in society in easily understandable terms.¹⁹⁶ His host wonders why his country has not advanced as the English have, to which Burnaby replies, "Probably because you keep your women shut up in a harem, and do not educate them... Turkish mothers are very ignorant, and, consequently, cannot educate their children. The result is that your sons are only half-educated... you choose your wives... for their looks, and without any regard to their attainments." A Turkish dinner guest remarks that Burnaby is correct, saying: "If I want to breed a good foal, I am as particular about the mare as the sire. He means that we leave the mares out of the question, and then complain that our stock is not as good as that of other nations."

During the nineteenth century Westerners regarded the Turks and the Armenians as similar in their treatment of women. It is not therefore surprising to find Pierre Loti (1850-1923) decried as the equivalent to the Turks of a Kipling to the Indians in an Armenian paper of 1893.¹⁹⁷ Pears denounces Loti, a pseudonym used by a French naval officer who gained fame and notoriety for writing exotic novels based on his worldwide travels as a colonial officer, for the disparaging portrait he paints of Turkish harem women in *Les désenchantées*, (1905). Despite being decried in the Armenian newspapers as a Kipling, i.e., a proponent of Western democratic rule over Oriental despotism, Loti considered himself a Turcophile and criticized Western

¹⁹⁵ Bernard Lewis, *Middle East Mosaic*, 192.

¹⁹⁶ Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 165-66.

¹⁹⁷ *Arewelk'*, 7 October 1893. What is surprising is that this appears under the by-line "Chicago" since Kipling was an anti-imperialist who was highly critical of world's fairs, such as that which had opened in Chicago.

policies in Anatolia during the Balkan Wars, WWI and afterwards, for which Istanbul granted him honorary citizenship in 1920. In 1906, however, shortly after Loti's novel was published, Pears, like many Turks, considered Loti's description of the women as false, partially because the women described were only half-Turkish, but also because, "Some of the best Turkish women in Constantinople have received instruction in American or English schools, and have exerted great influence for good amongst their fellow-women in the capital who are ignorant of any foreign language."¹⁹⁸

In 1876 at the beginning of the Hamidian period when Burnaby made his trip on horseback to the Armenian towns and villages of western Anatolia, however, the education of Armenian girls that was featured so hopefully in two Articles of the Armenian National Constitution of 1863 was still far from being realized. Two conversations recorded by Burnaby are particularly illustrative. In Yozgat a Polish engineer escaped from Russia tells him of the harsh facts of life for most Armenian women:

... an Armenian lady 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 a table. From her earliest childhood, a girl is brought up to consider herself a slave in her father's house; until the Armenians abandon these barbarous customs, their so-called Christianity will not do them much good.¹⁹⁹

An Armenian father in the eastern provinces explained to Burnaby why a prospective son-in-law in the district customarily paid two buffaloes to the father of the bride-to-be: "Our daughters are our maid-servants; when they marry, we lose their services. It is quite right that the

¹⁹⁸ Sir Edwin Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, 320.

¹⁹⁹ Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 93.

husband should compensate us for our loss.”²⁰⁰ Referring to the English custom of the father providing his daughter with a dowry, the Armenian father continues:

Europeans educate their girls very well, but the latter are quite 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 our system.²⁰¹

This sort of view of Armenian daughters and wives is castigated by Grigor Artzruni (1845-92), best known today as the founder in 1872 of the periodical *Mshak* (*Tiller*) in Tiflis, which printed some of the best writers of the day including Arpiarian and Raffi (1837-88), the celebrated eastern Armenian author. Artzruni made fun of the “trend of contemporary education” for girls that believed the essentials were learning to speak French, play the piano, choose tasteful dresses and keep their mouths shut.²⁰² He echoes Namik Kemal when he states, “A girl who is educated in our present system will never be able to meet our expectations, because the education she has received does not sufficiently prepare her to contribute to the needs of the community.”²⁰³ Artzruni noted that women can only educate their children well and give them proper moral development if they themselves are well-educated. Artzruni proposed that girls be educated in the “exact sciences” and be given knowledge of the natural sciences,

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 249.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Grigor Artzruni, “A Couple of Words on the Education of Girls,” (“Yerku Khosk aghjikneru dastiarakutyany vera”) in Grigor Artzruni ashkhatutiunnere (The Works of Grigor Artzruni) (Tiflis: 1904), 1:15-26; See Hacikyan, *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 422-27 for translation.

²⁰³ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 422.

including the human body, so that they can take care of their own health and that of their families. It is striking that he identifies traditional “Asian education” as one that kills girls’ spirits and bodies while arguing that, “we must put aside prejudices; we must give them [girls] a true education and bring them closer to male society. . .”²⁰⁴

Grigor Chilinkirian, like Matteo Mamurian, his colleague and co-editor of a biweekly periodical *Tzaghik* (*Flower*, 1861-67) in Izmir, was a renowned translator from French to Armenian. He and his friend Mamurian, who founded the monthly journal *Arevelyan mamul* (Oriental/Eastern press) in Izmir in 1871 and edited it for thirty years, were both progressives who shared ideas and exchanged information and articles with Armenian writers and journalists in Istanbul with whom they stayed in close contact. Like Artzruni in Tiflis, Chilinkirian and Mamurian in Izmir were proponents of social democracy, education, and the equality of women as well as critics of Sultan Abdülhamid’s policies. All three were at one time or another working in education as teachers and supervisors; Artzruni and Mamurian even worked at girls’ schools, which explains why they were such advocates for female education.²⁰⁵ Chilinkirian’s essay about the nineteenth century woman was written in 1888 not long after Srбуhi Dussap had begun publishing openly feminist articles in periodicals in Izmir as well as Istanbul.²⁰⁶ Dussap’s first book, *Matya*, opened the discussion of the rights of women in a male-dominated society.

Most educators were favorably disposed to Dussap and her feminist views, including Berberian, Artzruni, Mamurian, Chilinkirian and the Asaturs. Only Krikor Zohrab attacked her

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 427.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 306, 366.

²⁰⁶ Chilinkirian, “Kinn tasnevinnerord darun mej” (“The Woman in the Nineteenth Century”), 355-59; translated in Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 367-71. For Dussap’s articles in Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 400. Cf. Ekmekçioğlu, *Recovering Armenia*.

views forcefully and persistently. His friend and colleague Hrant Asatur, who was somewhat amused by Zohrab's view of women and of the ideal marriage, describes Zohrab's marriage in 1888 to a sweet child bride, who regarded her husband as her “‘master’—a master who was superior to her in education, intelligence, and vigor.”²⁰⁷ Hrant, who married an equal partner himself, nevertheless, states, “This was, in fact, an ideal marriage for Zohrab, and he had a deep love for his wife, mixed with a kind of fatherly affection.”²⁰⁸

In his essay on the nineteenth-century woman and her aspirations Chilinkirian describes the “Armenian Woman” trying to throw off centuries of oppression by society and by men. He explains that he is “referring principally to a class of Armenian Women from Constantinople, Smyrna and Tiflis.” These are women who possess “a smidgen of enlightenment” due to the fact that, “among us Armenians, the education of the female sex began only a short while ago.”²⁰⁹ Chilinkirian makes reference in his essay to the “law of evolution” which he connects to progress in society, for which “the starting point of all human progress is the cultivation of the mind and heart equally, the flourishing of the abilities to think and feel.”²¹⁰ He even cites Herbert Spencer’s *Introduction to Social Science* and quotes Spencer to support his idea that the degree of evolution to which Armenian women have arrived allows for some (but not necessarily all) of the progressive ideas of women of enlightened countries to be adopted.²¹¹ Chilinkirian places

²⁰⁷ Hrant Asatur, “Grigor Zohrab,” in *Dimastverner (Portraits)* (Constantinople, 1921) 219-50, abridged and translated in Hacıyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 532-40, esp. 536 for Zohrab’s marriage.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Hacıyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 536.

²⁰⁹ Chilinkirian, “Kinn tasnevinnerord darun mej” (“The Woman in the Nineteenth Century”); translation by Aris Sevag in Hacıyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 367.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid., 369.

educated Armenian women in this nineteenth century context, saying, “Some of the Armenian women of Constantinople...like the progressive women of Europe , they too wish to protest against the prejudices and injustices having piled up against their person, mind and soul ever since ancient times...”²¹² Chilinkirian goes on to say that these women, “have proposed to get directly involved with the task of women’s education and instruction” and that they have formed two societies to that effect.²¹³ The women about whom Chilinkirian was writing included Srбуhi Vahanian Dussap and her young admirer Zabel Khanchian (later Asatur).

In the early twentieth century Zabel Yesayan discussed the role of women in society in *Arewelk’*.²¹⁴ The article, which follows an earlier one on feminism by Yesayan the preceding year, is entitled “What Do Our Women Do?”²¹⁵ Yesayan refers to women as the “soft sex” and poses the question of how the “soft sex” in the Armenian community of Istanbul compares to the “soft sex” in Europe and America. She suggests that a woman’s role in the home is a microcosm for the larger role she plays in society. Her role in society is often undervalued because the contribution that her matriarchal role in the family makes to society at large is overlooked. Yesayan puts a lot of emphasis upon women’s role in the family and their toughness. She also suggests that women’s work in schools, hospitals, orphanages and other pious/benevolent institutions is of critical significance for society. Women’s work for the family and for the community is, according to Yesayan, for the greater public good. Yesayan states that it remains unknown how favorable and successful women can be in educational and philanthropic work until Armenian society permits women and girls a full role in the community.

²¹² Ibid., 371.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ *Arewelk’*, 2 February 1904.

²¹⁵ First installment: *Arewelk’*, issue 5442.

Recognizing the role of newspapers

Just as printing can be identified as an agent of change in pre-modern Europe by scholars such as Eisenstein, fiction can be identified as an agent of change in the formative period of the Industrial Revolution, and the periodical news press can be identified as an agent of change in the emergence of the modern world.

The Ottoman government may have been late in recognizing the role of printing in a modern society, but once the idea was introduced in the early eighteenth century, it was never officially abandoned. It languished for a while due to less able men than Ibrahim until this sad state of affairs was denounced and corrected in 1784 by Sultan Abdülhamid I. At that time Abdülhamid I announced publicly to his people, “the immense advantages of printing being universally acknowledged,” a fact known to Charles White and by extension to the English reading public in the mid-1840s.²¹⁶ Ubicini also understood the crucial role of the press in the emergence of modern society and as a journalist, historian and scholar used the press in the mid-nineteenth century to contribute to “la grande cause du maintien et de la régénération de l’empire ottoman.”²¹⁷ Doğan Gürpınar calls Ubicini a “Turcophile” but fails to recognize his critical significance for nineteenth century history, not just of Turkey itself but of the West as well.²¹⁸

Harrison Dwight underscores the importance of the press throughout his book on the “Protestant Reformation” of the Armenian Church in Turkey, stating that, “Education and the press have been two powerful auxiliaries to the living preacher.”²¹⁹ He speaks of the press as a

²¹⁶ White, *Three Years in Constantinople* II, 204.

²¹⁷ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 262.

²¹⁸ Gürpınar, “The Rise and Fall of Turcophilism in Nineteenth-Century British Discourses.”

²¹⁹ Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, 300.

“most powerful engine” and gives examples “of what God has done to revive true religion, through means of the press alone.”²²⁰ He boasts that no fewer than seventy of eighty works have been published by the ABCFM in Armenian and in Armeno-Turkish, including the whole *Bible* in Armeno-Turkish and lately “the whole *Bible* in one volume, in a simple, pure, and dignified style of the modern Armenian dialect.”²²¹ While Dwight mentions that periodicals have also been printed, he does not specify their names or numbers.²²² He was writing at the middle of the nineteenth century, when newspapers were just about to begin their meteoric rise in Turkey, due in part to the Crimean War and also in part, one suspects to the greater numbers of literate persons in the Ottoman empire due to Ottoman improvements in education as well as the missionaries’ efforts. The sheer numbers of Protestant tracts cited by Dwight must have played a critical role in the 1852 creation of the first newspaper of the Armenian nation if only as a counterweight to Protestantism.

Hamlin regards the fall of Constantinople as providential because: “It coincided so nearly with the invention of printing, that when the treasures of classical and Byzantine learning were poured upon Europe, the press was ready to save and multiply them.”²²³ Eisenstein may not concur fully with Hamlin but she certainly agrees with his emphasis on the role of the press in saving and multiplying the classical and Byzantine texts that survived the fall of Constantinople. Hamlin’s 1878 analysis of the effects of the fall of Constantinople may be regarded as one of the earliest recognitions of the formative role of printing and the press in creating modern society,

²²⁰ Ibid., 301.

²²¹ Ibid., 301, 318.

²²² Ibid., 302.

²²³ Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, 26.

which has recently become a topic of considerable interest to historians in many different fields.

According to Hamlin, after the fall of Constantinople:

The study of Greek spread into the schools of learning. The Greek New Testament became an object of profound interest and study, and it may be said that the fall of Constantinople gave the New Testament to the European mind. The Justinian code, although chiefly in Latin as well as Greek, became an object of increased attention. While the East held the sword, and cultivated the arts of war, the West gave itself to intellectual and industrial pursuits. Printing, Navigation, Commerce, Architecture, Painting, and finally, the Reformation, lifted the West out of its barbarism and ignorance; and its progress in arts and arms has left the East centuries in the rear. Four centuries ago it led the world in arts and arms. Now it gets its cannon from Krupp in Germany, its Martini-Henry rifles from Providence, Rhode Island, and its ammunition from New Haven, Connecticut! The press has proved itself mightier than cannon, and the arts of peace mightier than the arts of war.²²⁴

4.5 Conclusion

Literacy and social consciousness among the Armenians of Istanbul, Smyrna and other urban centers of the Ottoman Empire were raised significantly in the course of the nineteenth century, slowly at first, but with increasing speed during the Hamidian period. This was largely due to the population's growing awareness of global concerns and modern advances and their keen interest in political affairs and issues directly affecting them, especially after the Hamidian massacres had begun. The Armenian intelligentsia led the way forward through their essays, stories and novels published primarily in periodicals and newspapers. Foreign missionaries, diplomats, businessmen, doctors, teachers, journalists, authors, and tourists, whether stationed in the Ottoman Empire or just passing through all contributed to raising the level of society by

²²⁴ Ibid., 26-27.

promoting modern ideas of social, political and economic well-being. Survival of the nation was believed to be dependent on the awakening of the masses through education.

CHAPTER 5

FOUR ARMENIAN NEWSPAPERS OF 1896 AND 1898

This chapter will look closely at four Armenian newspapers from the last decade of the nineteenth century shortly after the Armenian massacres in the middle of that decade that first roused sustained global condemnation of the Hamidian regime. These newspapers, usually four pages in length, will be fully illustrated in figures so that their significant features can be compared and contrasted. In this regard the mastheads are of primary interest since they provide information about the business office, publisher, editorial board, circulation and cost. Their layout, columns, features and content will be described. Particular attention will be paid to their advertisements since these are indicative of their readership and intended audience.

These four newspapers are particularly instructive not just for their actual content but for their lack of other content. This lack will be employed as a demonstration of the severe censorship under which the Armenian newspapers were forced to operate in the late Hamidian period. While contemporary foreign publications and the world at large were busy detailing and condemning Abdulhamid II and his atrocities, none of the four papers reports information about the victims, the survivors, or the destruction involved in the massacres of the mid-1890s that so outraged the world at the end of the nineteenth century. In his recollections of the time published at the beginning of WWI, Sir Edwin Pears, writes of an enormous drop in the population of Armenians in Constantinople:

After the massacres in 1895-97 nearly all the Armenians had been expelled from Constantinople, and the result was that the industrious mass of guardians and workmen, who had been in the habit of sending the largest portion of their income to their villages in Armenia, were thrown out of work and their families reduced to starvation.¹

¹ Sir Edwin Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople: The Recollections of Sir Edwin Pears 1873-1915* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1916), 227.

Nevertheless, the Armenians did not disappear en masse. Many influential and educated Armenians who had not established themselves as political enemies of Abdülhamid II and his regime remained and carried on, including Biwzand Kechian, Krikor Zohrab, Hrant and Zabel Asatur, and Zabel Yesayan.

5.1 Masis

Masis was an Armenian language newspaper that was published in Istanbul from 1852 to 1908 (Figs. 1-7), with the exception of at least two periods of suspension between 1884 and 1896, when printing was resumed.² Its precursor, called *Haiiasdan* (*Armenia*, 1846-1852), had served as the paper of the Armenian Patriarchate under the editorship of Hovhannes Teroyents. When Teroyents resigned in 1852 and his pupil Karapet Utudjian was asked to take over the editorship, the latter agreed with the conditions of a name-change to *Masis*, a broadening of content and a strengthening of editorial control.³ The new name of the newspaper, *Masis*, is the Armenian word for Ararat, the famous mountain in eastern Turkey near the borders of Armenia and Iran that is traditionally described as the landing place for Noah's Ark.

Masis benefited from a succession of worthy editors, including Arpiarian, who was Utudjian's successor, and Zohrab, who was one of Arpiarian's successors as editors. It was under Arpiarian's editorship that Zohrab's early novel *Anhetatsatz serund me* (*A vanished generation*)

² Figures 1-7: *Masis*, November 26 / December 8, 1896, 1.

³ Agop J. Hacıkyan et al., *The Heritage of Armenian Literature* III (Detroit: Wayne State University Press), 56-57, 261. *Hayastan* was itself a name-change from the original but short-lived title of the Patriarchate's publication *Surhandak costandnupolso* (*Constantinople Courier*), established in 1846.

was serialized in *Masis* in 1885.⁴ Hrant Asatur describes the best work published during Zohrab's editorship (in 1892 and 1893⁵), including the prose and poetry of Sibil (Zabel, later to be his wife), "Well-Known Figures" by Zohrab himself (in collaboration with Biwzand Kechian), "The Rise of Modern Armenian in the Fourteenth Century," by Garnik Findiklian, and "*Irakan kyanki nvagner*" ("Melodies of Real Life") by Mihran Hovhannesian, that underscored the critical importance of popular language in literature.⁶

The 1896 masthead (Figs. 5-7) prominently displays the name *Masis* in large Armenian letters with the word for "newspaper" (*L'ra kir*) below in smaller letters.⁷ The subtitle which is centered below reads *Azgayin Kaghakagan Panasiragan yev D'ndesagan* or "Political, National, Philological and Economic [News]." Close examination of the *Masis* masthead reveals a multilingual character and multiple calendar format although the masthead changed considerably over the course of time from the earliest available issues of *Masis* in the 1870s to later issues in the 1880s and 1890s.

On the left side of the 1896 masthead (Fig. 6) basic information about the newspaper, including its name and place of publication, is given first in Armenian, then in Ottoman Turkish, and finally in French. *Masis* was published in the Galata neighborhood of Istanbul.⁸

⁴ Zohrab's novel was not published as a book until 1887. See Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 518 and Kevork B. Bardakjian, *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000), 581

⁵ Zohrab's most productive years were 1892-98, during which time he was co-editing *Masis* and contributing to *Hayrenik*, *Arewelk* and *Azatamart*, although it is not clear exactly when his editorial work on *Masis* ended completely since the editors' names are usually missing from the papers' mastheads; cf. Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 518, 533-34

⁶ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 533- 534.

⁷ Figure 5: *Masis*, issue November 26 / December 8, 1896, masthead.

⁸ Figure 6: *Masis*, detail of Fig. 5.

On the right side of the 1896 masthead (Fig. 7) subscription (*Payanortakrutuin*) rates are given.⁹ Rates in Istanbul were 75 kuruş per annum and 40 kuruş for six months. In the Ottoman provinces rates were 100 kuruş per annum, 50 kuruş for six months and 25 kuruş for three months. Foreign rates were 25 French francs per annum. Russian rates were 10 rubles per annum. Below the subscription rates the manufacturer of the printing press is identified as Schiff, Spek & Company of Vienna, Austria.¹⁰ At the very bottom of the masthead on the left and right the cost of a single issue, 10 para, is given.

At the very top of the masthead information is given in a single line from left to right in Armenian. On the left the newspaper is identified as issue 5 of the 45th (հԵ in Armenian numerals) year of publication. In the center the date of the issue is given in both Julian and Gregorian form (November 26 / December 8, 1896) on the left and in Hijri form (3 *Receb* 1314) on the right. On the far right the day of the week, Tuesday (*Yerekshapti*), is given.

Masis was four pages in length, created by printing a single broadsheet on both sides and folding it in half. It had five columns on each page. The first page typically contained educational articles, such as “Scientific Matters,” as in the issue of December 8th, 1896 (Fig. 1), which discusses the process of building waterways and canals. This article is short and placed in the center of the page in the third column. The author is not named, but the pseudonym “Hrad” (can be translated as “Mars”) is used. The first article in the first column of the front page is titled, “Literature and the Public’s Interest.” The article discusses the rise of popular literature

⁹ Figure 7: *Masis*, detail of Fig. 5.

¹⁰ It is interesting that the printing press is from a Viennese company because Armenian script presses were available in both Vienna and Venice due to the Mekhitarists (Armenian Catholic monks) living there. See Johann Strauss, “The Millets and the Ottoman Language: The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th-20th Centuries),” *Welt des Islams* 35, no. ii (1995): 189–249.

which was more accessible to the reading public than classics like Shakespeare and Goethe. The author of the article, K. Andreasian, praises Jules Verne, the fantasy adventure writer, and Alfred de Musset who was a poet and prose writer of the new nineteenth century romantic style. The article goes on to compare authorship in contemporary spoken Armenian with similar works in Europe and the United States. Andreasian lists little-known Armenian authors whose work may also fall into the same romantic and vernacular styles ultimately suggesting that a new trend in Armenian popular literature is emerging.

The second and third pages contained two types of articles, political and non-political. Almost all of the political “news” or bulletins concerned foreign events or international affairs. Page two of the issue of November 26 / December 8, 1896 (Fig. 2) has bold headings for an article entitled “Varia” with a subtitle “Illnesses that increase the risk of death”, and other articles entitled “Politics,” “National,” and “Telegram” or “Wire,” for example. Page three (Fig. 3) is similar, with bold headings for articles entitled “Interior Developments,” “Market” or “Financial Exchange.”¹¹

The second page also contained a serialized novel titled “Youthful Memories: My School Years” by an unknown author. Some of the earliest serialized fiction published by *Masis* were three works of Voltaire, a novel called *Zadig ou La Destinée, Histoire orientale* (1747) about a philosopher in ancient Babylonia, a short sci-fi adventure called *Micromégas* (1752) about travelers from another world visiting Earth, and a short moral study called *Jeannot et Colin* (1764) about a prodigal and his friend, all three translated into Armenian by Matteo Mamurian of Izmir early in his career and serialized in *Masis*. In 1872, the year after launching his own

¹¹ Figure 2: *Masis*, issue November 26 / December 8, 1896, page 2; Figure 3: page 3 of same issue.

monthly journal in Izmir Mamurian published *Haykakan namakani* (*Armenian Letters*), a compilation of his columns in various papers including *Masis*, which provides information about the contents of *Masis* under Utudjian before Arpiarian took it over.¹²

The fourth page of *Masis* was reserved for advertisements, such as those for the shipping lines “La New York,” “L’Ancre,” and the perfumes of “Ed Pinaud” seen in the issue of November 26 / December 8, 1896. (Fig. 4).¹³

¹² Bardakjian, *Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature*, 407-8. Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 306.

¹³ Figure 4: *Masis*, November 26 / December 8, 1896, page 4.

Figure 1: *Masis*, 26 November / 8 December, 1896



Figure 2: *Masis*, 26 November / 8 December, 1896, page 2



Figure 3: Masis, 26 November / 8 December, 1896, page 3



[illegible]

Figure 5: *Masis*, 26 November / 8 December, 1896, masthead



Figure 6: *Masis*, 26 November / 8 December, 1896, masthead (left side)

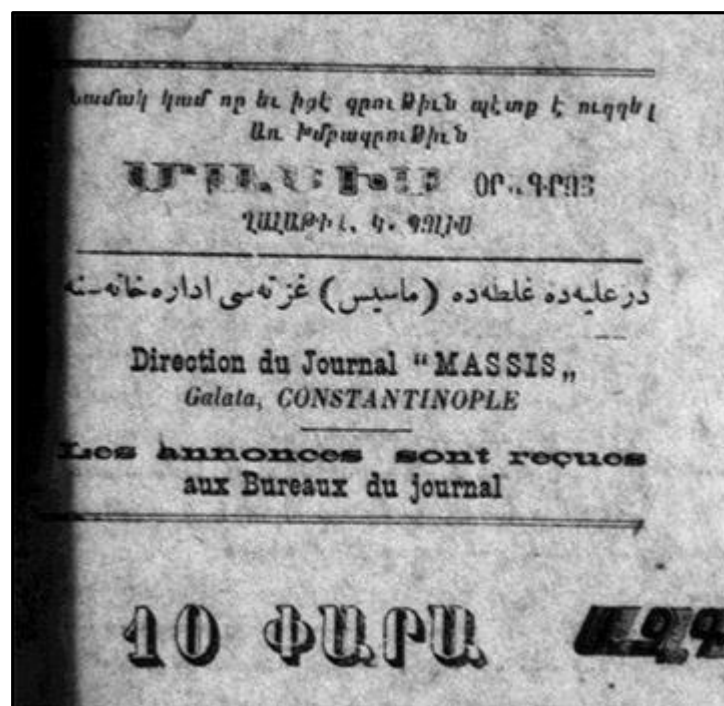


Figure 7: *Masis*, 26 November / 8 December, 1896, masthead (right side)

ԲԱԺԱՆՈՐԴԱԳՐՈՒԹԻՒՆ				
Կ. Պոլսոյ Շամար Տարեկան գին. արծ.	75			
» » Վերամանայ » »	40			
Դաւառներու » Տարեկան » »	100			
» » Վերամանայ » »	50			
» » Եւամանայ » »	25			
Սաւր Երկրի » Տարեկան Փրանց » »	25			
Խուսիոյ » » Ըուրի » »	10			
Հետեւեալ տան տպագրական մեղանով տպուած Schiff, Srpel & Comp. à Vienne (Autriche)				
10 ՓԱՐԱ				

5. 2 Hayrenik'

Hayrenik' was an Armenian language daily published in Istanbul from 1870 to 1910 (Figures 8-14).¹⁴ The newspaper's name is the Armenian word for "fatherland". It is not clear from the masthead if the name has any association with a particular Armenian homeland.

The masthead is made up of four parts. The most prominent is the title of the newspaper which is printed in an unusual font. The typeface for the main text is typical of most Armenian newspapers, but the title is vertically elongated and has a sleek appearance, which can be interpreted as "modern" relative to contemporary newspapers (Fig. 12). Below the title reads, "Daily Journal" and "National, Philological, and Political" (Fig. 12).

The left side of the masthead contains information related to the ownership and management of *Hayrenik'*. This information is provided in Armenian and French, with the name of the proprietor, Hovannes Shahnazar, printed only in Armenian (Fig. 13).¹⁵ It is known that Shahnazarian became the owner of *Hayrenik'* in 1891 and made the former editor of *Masis*, Arpiar Arpiarian, who was recently released from jail, the editor-in-chief.¹⁶ The paper was suppressed in 1896 by Abdülhamid II, at which time Arpiarian fled the country. Interestingly, the Galata office of the paper is described by its location in the vicinity of the Imperial Ottoman Bank. Presumably, the 1896 issue illustrated here was published under the editorship of Arpiarian himself since the paper was suppressed in 1896 and microfilm documentation of existing papers only begins again in 1901.

¹⁴ Figures 8-14: *Hayrenik'*, year 27, 1 July 1896, 1.

¹⁵ Cf. Hacıkyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 728.

¹⁶ Ibid., 453.

The right-hand side of the masthead (Fig. 14) contains subscription rates, which are determined by the number of issues. For 300 issues in Istanbul and the surrounding areas the cost is 75 kuruş mecrediye and 40 kuruş mecrediye for 150 issues. The same rates are also provided for the provinces; however, the smallest subscription for 75 issues at a rate of 25 kuruş mecrediye is available for purchase only in the provinces and not in Istanbul itself. Outside of the Ottoman Empire the rate for 300 issues is 25 francs. A subscription rate for Russia is also listed for 300 issues at the price of 10 rubles. The cost of a single issue was 10 para.

The government's standard phrase regarding exchange rates is located below the subscriptions rates. It reads: "For monetary exchange at the post office 115 kuruş will be charged for every 100 kuruş."

At the very top of the masthead a single line of narrow type provides information about the date. It reads left to right: 27th year [of publication], issue 1406 (Fig. 12); day of the week; date, month, and year in Armenian.

Hayrenik' was four pages in length, printed on both sides of a single broadsheet folded in half. Each page contained five columns. The first page typically was reserved for editorial pieces and educational articles that were often two or three columns in length (Fig. 8). The second and third pages contained short articles on local, national, and international events (Figs. 9-10). These "news" articles offered no editorializing and often were only a few sentences long. At the bottom of the second and fourth pages were serialized novels and other longer works by European authors. The serialized novel *The Revenge of Circe* by Xavier de Montépin appears on the second page of the 1 July 1896 edition (Fig. 9). In this particular edition *The Revenge of Circe* is continued on the third page, which was unusual. Additionally, Xavier de Montépin's *The Mystery of the Titan* is also serialized on the fourth page (Fig. 10). One of the Armenian

female novelists known to have published short stories and serialized novels in *Hayrenik'* is Mari Svachian (Svadjian). Her first and second novels, *Hayhuyi me i Paris (An Armenian Woman in Paris)* and *Brni amusnutiun (Forced Marriage)* were published in *Hayrenik'*, but she, like Arpiarian fled Istanbul in 1896.¹⁷

The third page of *Hayrenik'* also contained information related to bank rates and steamship tables (Fig. 9). Regularly short advertisements appear. In the 1 July 1896 issue, for example, ads for a physician, a hotel, and laundry detergent appear (Fig. 10).¹⁸ The back page of the issue is reserved for larger advertisements and lists the schedule for the Anatolian Railway (Fig. 11).

¹⁷ Ibid., 728.

¹⁸ *Hayrenik'*, 1 July 1896 carries an advertisement for “Doctor Djelalyan” which includes the doctor’s specialties and location in Galata.

[illegible]

Figure 9: 'Hayrenik', 1 July 1896, Page 2



Figure 10: *Hayrenik'*, 1 July 1896, Page 3



Figure 11: *Hayrenik'*, 1 July 1896, Page 4

[illegible]

[illegible]

Figure 13: *Hayrenik'*, 1 July 1896, Masthead (Left)

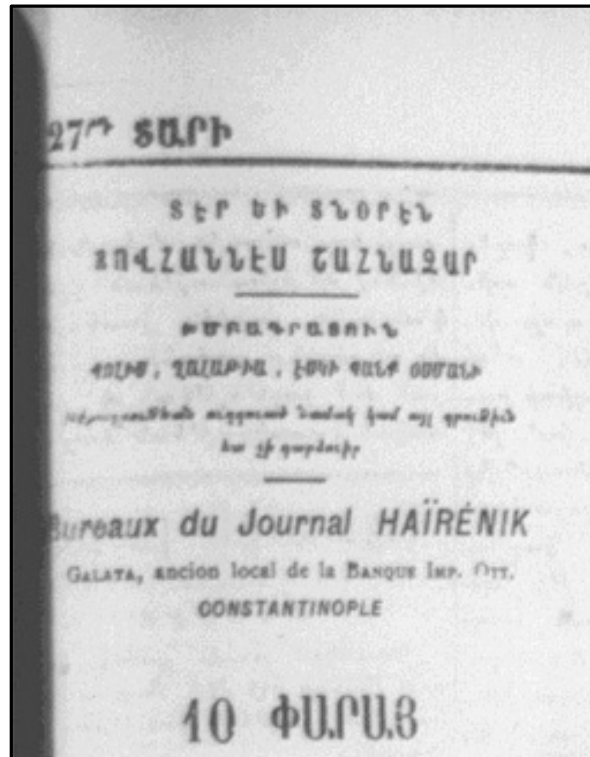


Figure 14: *Hayrenik'*, 1 July 1896, Masthead (Right)

ԹԻԻ 1406				
ՔԱՆԱԿԱՆՈՐԱԴԱՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ				
Պաշտոնի համար	300	Թիւ	75	դր. Մեծի
»	150	»	40	»
Պատանդութիւն	300	»	100	»
»	150	»	50	»
»	75	»	25	»
Օտար ծրար	300	»	25	ֆրանք
Ծախս	300	»	10	բուլղար
Թղթատարի ծախսը խմբագրութեան վրայ				
[Գրքով փոխարէն փոխառելի փուլ և ընդունուի 115 դր. փոխառելի փուլը 100 դրուցի տեղ]։				
غلغله ده اسكى باق عتايده				
ميره نيك — غزه قسى اداره سته				
10 ՓԱՐԱՅ				

5.3 Biwzantion

Biwzantion was an Armenian language “newspaper” that was published daily in Istanbul from 1896 to 1915 (Figs. 15-21).¹⁹ The name of this newspaper translates as “Byzantium,” the name of the city before it became Constantinople in 330 CE and ultimately Istanbul in 1930. It is also of note that the publisher’s name is Puzant Ketchian (usually transliterated Biwzand Kechian) as his first name is a derivation of the Byzantine name of the city and could explain the choice of his title for the newspaper.²⁰ On the masthead Puzant Ketchian calls himself “Director-Proprietor” as would an owner in direct control, who was also editor. Kechian was and is known as one of the conservative writers and publishers acceptable to the Sultan. He was, nevertheless, a friend and colleague of the younger group of men who at the end of 1891 decided to form an editorial group to publish *Masis*—namely, Krikor Zohrab, Hrant Asatur and Tigran Kamsarakan.²¹ It cannot be coincidental that Kechian’s *Biwzantion* opened the very same year that Arpiarian’s *Hayrenik’* was forced to close, indeed only several months after the latter’s closing. Kechian is said to have drawn “to the paper intellectuals who were principally inclined

¹⁹ Figures 15-21: *Biwzantion*, 4/16 November 1896.

²⁰ In the French of the paper itself the similarity in the names of the paper and its editor is more striking because the paper’s name is recorded as Puzantion, rather than Buzantion, since “p” and “b” are interchangeable in Armenian transliteration. Puzant Ketchian published *Histoire de Sourp Perguitch (Saint-Sauveur), hôpital des Arméniens de Constantinople* (1887). Little is known about Puzant Ketchian, better known as Biwzand Kechian. He was an editor and contributor to *Arewelk’*, who was arrested in 1915 but released and apparently emigrated to London when the situation in Istanbul worsened and later died there. See Raymond H. Kévorkian, *Le génocide des Arméniens*, (Paris: Jacob, 2006), 99, 160-61.

²¹ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 532-33.

to conservatism.”²² His paper *Biwzantion* is credited with playing “an important role in keeping alive the debate between different schools of thought.”²³

The masthead (Fig. 19) displays the name *Biwzantion* in large Armenian letters with the subtitle “Daily Armenian Journal” (*Haya ’tert Amen ’ōrya*) and “National, Political, Philological, Financial, and Scientific” appearing below the subtitle. Immediately below the main title the ownership and direction of the newspaper is prominently displayed with the words “Director and Proprietor Puzant Kechian” in Armenian letters. On the right of the masthead basic information about the newspaper is given in Ottoman Turkish, and French, repeating much of the information given in Armenian in the center of the masthead but adding additional information about the place of publication, Constantinople, and giving its street address (Fig. 21).

At the far left of the masthead (Fig. 20) subscription rates are provided. Rates for an annual, six-month, and quarterly subscriptions are for 7 mecid, 3.5 mecid, and 2 mecid, respectively. Foreign subscriptions rates are listed as 40 francs for an annual subscription, 20 francs for a six-month subscription, and 10 francs for a quarterly subscription. The cost for a single issue is 20 para.

The government’s standard phrase regarding exchange rates is located on the left under subscription rates. It reads: “For monetary exchange at the post office 115 kurush will be charged for every 100 kurush.”

At the bottom of the masthead in a single narrow line the year of publication and issue number are provided in Armenian numerals (Fig. 19). The date is provided in three formats, Gregorian, Julian, and Hijri, all in Armenian.

²² Ibid., 58.

²³ Ibid.

Biwzantion was printed on both sides of a single broadsheet and folded in half to create four pages. Each page contained six columns. The first and second pages typically included political, educational, and editorial articles (Figs. 15-16).

In the first issue in the first year of its publication the newspaper thanks the “majestic and benevolent” Sultan Abdülhamid for allowing the publication of *Biwzantion* (Fig. 15). This article of praise and gratitude appears on the first page and takes up the space of two columns. In it the role of a newspaper is discussed. It is noteworthy that this role is described as one of reporting “news” and offering opinion. The first page also carries articles entitled “Politics in Armenian Periodicals” and “Our Reorientation” that explain that *Biwzantion* will now present facts and not opinion, which clearly was safer under Abdülhamid II.

On the second page (Fig. 16) there is a section entitled “Political Currents” discusses contemporary matters involving major European powers including Kaiser Wilhem, Bismarck and politics in France. The third page (Fig. 17) is a continuation of the “Political Currents” section with snippets of information from various parts of the world.

The fourth page (Fig. 18) has a section entitled “This and That” which discusses among other things “carriage cars,” which describes early automotive developments as represented at a Paris exposition. There are no advertisements except for steam ship schedules such as that of Cunard, perhaps because advertisements could not be collected so quickly for a newly licensed paper.

Figure 15: *Biwzantion*, 4/16 November 1896, Page 1[illegible]

Figure 16: Biwzantion, 4/16 November 1896, Page 2



Figure 17: *Biwzantion*, 4/16 November 1896, Page 3

[illegible]

Figure 19: *Biwzantion*, 4/16 November 1896, Masthead



Figure 20: *Biwzantion*, 4/16 November 1896, Masthead (Left)

ԲԱԺԱՆՈՐԴԱԳՐՈՒԹԻՒՆ		
Թէ՛ Գոյսոյ եւ Թէ՛ դաւանաց համար		
Տարեկան	7	մէճիւ
Վեցամսեայ	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	»
Եռամսեայ	2	»
Օտար երկիրներու համար	40	ֆր.
Վեցամսեայ	20	»
Եռամսեայ	10	»
Քղթատարի ծախքը մերձ վրայ, բաց ի Բօսթ Լօքայէն:		
Դրամի փոխարէն փոխանի փուլ կ'ըն- դունուի՝ 115 դրամի փուլն 100 դրամի հաշուով:		
Նամակները կ'ուղղուին առ ՏԷՐ ԵՒ ՏՆՕՐԷՆՆ		
38, Պապը Ալի Ճաւաէտի, Կ. Պոլիս:		
ՔՍԱՆ ՓԱՐԱ		
Ա. ՏԱՐԻ ԹԻԻ 1		

Figure 21: *Biwzantion*, 4/16 November 1896, Masthead (Right)



5.4 Arewelk'

Arewelk' was an Armenian language newspaper that was published daily in Istanbul from 1884 to 1912 (Figs. 22 – 32) with a lengthy period of suppression around the years of the Armenian massacres of 1894-1896.²⁴ The name of the newspaper, *Arewelk'*, is translated as “East” or “Orient.” The paper is known to have been founded by a group of intellectuals including Arpiarian, whose *Ughevorutiun i Kavkasia (Travels in the Caucasus)*, written after his visit to Tiflis in 1884, was serialized in the early issues of *Arewelk'*.²⁵ Hrant Asatur reports that Puzant Ketchian (Biwzand Kechian) was the editor of *Arewelk'* in 1892 when he, Asatur, and Zohrab were co-editing *Masis*.²⁶ The two co-editors of *Masis* had a close relationship with the older and more conservative Kechian because during their co-editorship, *Masis* was published and printed at the printing house of *Arewelk'*. According to Asatur, Zohrab started his series “Well-Known Figures” with Kechian, whose “intellectual integrity” he recognized and appreciated even if he did not agree with Kechian’s ideas in certain respects.²⁷

It is not clear why *Arewelk'* was the last of the four newspapers discussed here to reopen—reopening only in 1898-- following the Hamidian massacres of 1894-1896. Its earlier connections, however, with Arpiarian and his attempts to promote closer relations between Eastern and Western Armenians by publishing his Caucasus series in the Ottoman capital and an earlier Constantinople series in *Mshak (Tiller)*, a popular literary weekly in Tiflis, undoubtedly

²⁴ *Arewelk'*, 31 December 1893 (Figs. 22-28) and *Arewelk'*, 1/13 August 1898 (Figs. 29-32). *Arewelk'* published its first issue on Sunday, January 14, 1884 and ended publication in its 28th year with issue number 7869 on March 24, 1912.

²⁵ Hacıyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 452-53.

²⁶ Ibid., 533.

²⁷ Ibid. This is underscored by Zohrab’s contradiction of the unnamed Kechian’s views on what constituted “immoral” literature in the third issue of *Masis* in 1892.

captured the attention of Abdülhamid's censors. It should be remembered that Arpiarian and many other activist newspaper contributors fled Istanbul during the mid-1890s due to the Hamidian massacres.

The 1898 masthead describes *Arewelk'* as “A Political and Literary National Daily” (*Azgayin, Keragan yev Kaghakagan Oratert*) directly under the name *Arewelk'* written in large Armenian letters in the center (Fig. 29). Slight differences between this description and that used in the 1880s and early 1890s (Fig. 22), namely “A Municipal and National Journal” (*Kaghakagan yev Azgayin Oragirk*) appear meaningful to careful readers of the papers. Not only has the paper clearly become a “daily” being printed six days a week (excluding Sunday) but the placement of the word *Kaghakagan*, which can mean both “municipal” and “political” depending on its context within the full subtitle, suggests openly, rather than obscurely, the inclusion of sensitive “political” content. Close examination of the two *Arewelk'* mastheads here also reveals a multilingual character and multiple calendar format, which were maintained throughout the publication of *Arewelk'* from 1884 to 1912 (Figs. 22, 26-29).

On the left of the masthead is information in Armenian about the “editorship” of the “*Arewelk' Daily*.” The actual name of the editor, however, is not given in 1893 or in 1898 (Figs. 26, 29). (We do know from other sources that Biwzand Kechian had been an editor in the early 1890s and from the *Arewelk'* masthead itself that Karekin Boyadjian became an owner/editor in the early twentieth century.) Below the title listed on the left side of the masthead is the place of publication, namely, Constantinople, and specifically, the neighborhood Galata (Figs. 20, 29). On the right side of the masthead subscription rates, referred to as “contracts,” are listed (Figs. 28-29). Rates are listed for within Constantinople, outside Constantinople and in foreign lands, noting that postage is included. The foreign rate is given in French francs, which suggests that

foreign readership was primarily French-speaking. The rates vary depending on the year in question. In 1893 and 1898 the rate for a single issue was 20 para, but by 1907 the rate was 10 para. In 1893 the rate for a year's subscription within Istanbul was 150 kuruş while the rate for a six-month subscription was 75 kuruş, and the rate for a three-month subscription was 40 kuruş (Fig. 28).

The government's standard phrase regarding exchange rates is located just below the subscription rates. It reads: "For monetary exchange at the post office 115 kuruş will be charged for every 100 kuruş."

On the left side of the 1893 masthead is the name of the newspaper (*Arewelk'*) and below it the place of publication (Constantinople, Galata), written in Ottoman-Turkish. Beneath is the French for "Management of the Armenian Newspaper *Arewelk'*, Constantinople, Galata," repeating information already given on the left in greater detail in Armenian and above in lesser detail in Ottoman-Turkish (Fig. 27). This information is little changed in the 1898 masthead (Fig. 29).

At the very top of the mastheads of both the 1893 and the 1898 issues information reads in a single line in Armenian with the date of the issue in three different calendars: the "Armenian date" (*Tiwagan Hayots*), the Gregorian date, and the Hijri date. For example, the 1893 issue shown in Fig. 26 reads from left to right: 10th year [of publication], issue 2975; 1 *Hoki* 4386; 31 *Dekdemper* 1893; 11 *Redjeb Ewwel* 1311; "*Ewrpart*" (Friday), all written in Armenian.

Arewelk' was four pages in length, created by printing a single broadsheet on both sides and folding it in half. Each page had six columns. After a five-year suppression in the mid-90s Abdülhamid II permitted *Arewelk'* to reopen in 1898. Unlike the other papers already discussed, *Masis*, *Hayrenik'* and *Biwzantion*, *Arewelk'*, all of which experienced suspensions or closures

during the massacres but resumed or began publication in 1896, *Arewelk'* was not allowed to resume publication until 1898. Like *Biwzantion*'s first issue of 1896, *Arewelk'*'s first issue after reopening prominently displays a headline thanking the Sultan for permitting publication of the newspaper (Fig. 29).²⁸ It opens with an article thanking “the all-powerful and majestic Sultan Abdülhamid” for allowing *Arewelk'* to resume circulation, stating: “Through their loyalty the peoples’ modest interests have been served by the [Sultan’s] goodwill, exhibited by his renewing of [*Arewelk'*] licensure for publication. The license-holder at that time, Zareh Yusufyan, heaped praise on “the Majestic Sultan’s fatherly regard and evenhandedness that provided *Arewelk'* with twelve continuous years [of publication under his] lordship” and provides an abbreviated history of the management of *Arewelk'* and its restructuring. Financial matters are discussed including the transfer of debt and shares of the newspaper. Additionally, it is reported that in 1896 trusteeship of the newspaper was transferred to Stepan Effendi Damadyan, who applied for licensure. The article concludes by thanking two men specifically, Behçet Bey and Hefzi Bey, “under whose jurisdiction the republication of *Arewelk'* fell.” Presumably, these men were government officials who supported Yusufyan’s application for licensure rather than members of the censorship corps. At the very end of the article *Arewelk'* and its editorial board extend warm wishes to the “Caesar of the East” and offer assurances of deep loyalty to the Empire’s throne.”

The second column on the first page of the 1898 issue discusses “*Arewelk'*’s Early Years” and traces the history of the newspaper from its first issue in 1884 to its hiatus in 1893. The fact that twelve years of continuous circulation are reported suggests that *Arewelk'* had existed with little or no periods of suppression from its group founding in 1884 up to 1896.

²⁸ *Arewelk'*, 13 August 1898.

Whether this is true or not, however, remains questionable because there are no issues from this period preserved at the Armenian Cultural Foundation and no copies elsewhere known to me. The massacres of the mid-1890s must have limited the circulation even if *Arewelk'* was not suppressed.

Whatever the case in the mid-1890s, Yusufyan's relicensing in 1898 did not last long. His license was revoked very quickly since later in 1898 this same Yusufyan approached Zohrab and Asatur to be his associates on the daily *Masis* that had replaced it. Yusufyan clearly was an owner-proprietor rather than editor publishing both *Arewelk'* and *Masis* either simultaneously or consecutively.²⁹ The opening statement of 1898 includes the information that Yusufyan petitioned the Sultan more than once during the long suppression for permission to reopen *Arewelk'*. It also suggests that underground issues circulated despite the suppression, but again without surviving issues, it is difficult to know the truth.

The relationship between *Arewelk'* and *Masis* from 1898 on is unclear and needs further study. They may have operated as dailies at the same time or switched back and forth, with one operating as a daily and the other as weekly until the daily was suppressed and the weekly turned into a daily. With Yusufyan as owner-proprietor of both papers, musical chairs was a game easily played with the Sultan's censors.

For the rest of its existence *Arewelk'* usually included a dozen short news clips, of only four or five sentences each, dispatched from Europe, Russia and Asia. They are listed under the heading *Khaghakagan* ("Political") and tend to be news telegraphed from outside the Ottoman Empire, primarily from Europe. News is listed as coming from Paris, Holland, Prussia and St.

²⁹ See Hrant Asatur, "Grigor Zohrap," in *Dimastverner (Portraits)* (Constantinople, 1921), 219-250. Cf. Hacıyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 534-35.

Petersburg. An early example of this is column on Patrice de MacMahon (1808-1893) from 1893, which is really an obituary of a grand figure.³⁰ MacMahon, was a French general and politician, who served with distinction in the Crimean War and was appointed to the French Senate in 1856 after the war. He fought in the Franco-Austrian War of 1859 and in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, gaining a great victory at the Battle of Magenta in the former (and the title Duc de Magenta granted by Napoleon III) while losing and being taken prisoner in the latter. He served as Chief of State from 1873-1875 and as the President of the Republic from 1875-1879. MacMahon would have been fondly remembered by the Ottomans for his earlier role in the Crimean War and his death, which was reported in the Armenian papers only two days later, shows that telegraph news was bringing Istanbul into the modern European world.³¹

On the first page in the first column of Monday editions of *Arewelk'* the newspaper usually contained a section entitled “The Week’s Notes,” which was essentially a summary of the major reports and article of the previous week.

The bottom quarter of the first page was typically reserved for a serialized novel as in issue 2975 of 1893 shown in Fig. 22, which prints (or reprints) part of Jules Lermina’s, *The Wolves of Paris (Barizi Kayler’e)*. The original date and place of publication are not mentioned. The remainder of the first page often did not contain “news” but instead some sort of informative article on science, technology, history, art, education, etc (Fig. 22). In 1898 when *Arewelk'* was finally permitted to reopen after the Hamidian massacres a thriller such as the Lermina’s *Wolves of Paris* was much less controversial than stories and novels by Armenians such as Tigran Kamsarakan’s *The Teacher’s Daughter (Varzhapetin aghjike)* and Sibil’s (Zabel Khanchian’s)

³⁰ *Arewelk'*, 19 October 1893.

³¹ MacMahon died 17 October 1893.

The Heart of a Girl (Aghjkan me sirte), serialized in *Arewelk'* in 1888 and 1891 respectively.³² However, *Arewelk'* 's first issue after reopening in 1898 moves the serialized novel or story to page four, where it appears at the bottom of the page, under the title "The Boy from the Outskirts," the author of which, Emile Houchbour, is unknown to me (Fig. 32). The story is surrounded by advertisements, rates and schedules, which normally appear on pages three and four.

Community news, that is Armenian news, generally appeared on page two (Figs. 23, 30). This news focused principally on the Armenian community of Istanbul, but periodically a separate section on the Armenian diaspora appeared in the last two columns of the second page.

World news and events were reported on page three (Figs. 24, 31). This news focused principally on events in Europe, the Americas and Asia. The third page also regularly included current financial information of interest to merchants, bankers, governments and individuals, such as Ottoman bank rates, as well as travel information of interest to merchants and travelers of all sorts, such as steamship and train schedules. However, the 1893 issue places the bank rates and travel schedules on its fourth page (Fig. 25), possibly because there were so many newsworthy world events on the third page that the rates and schedules were bumped to the fourth page.

Advertisements usually filled page four (Figs. 25, 32). Sometimes there were full-page ads for catalogue-order stores or specific products such as cognac, as seen on page 4 of the 1893 issue. Other times there were separate advertisements for a variety of establishments such as those for Emulsion Scott, sewing machines, and life insurance. The 1898 issue contains fewer

³² Hacıkyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 541, 580.

advertisements, rates and schedules than the 1893 issue, probably because the newly relicensed paper needed time to regain its following of readers and advertisers.

Figure 22: *Arewelk*, 31 Decemer 1893, Page 1



Figure 23: Arewelk', 31 Decemer 1893, Page 2



Figure 24: Arewelk', 31 Decemer 1893, Page 3



[illegible]

Figure 26: *Arewelk*’, 31 Decemer 1893, Masthead



Figure 27: *Arewelk*, 31 Decemer 1893, Masthead (Left)

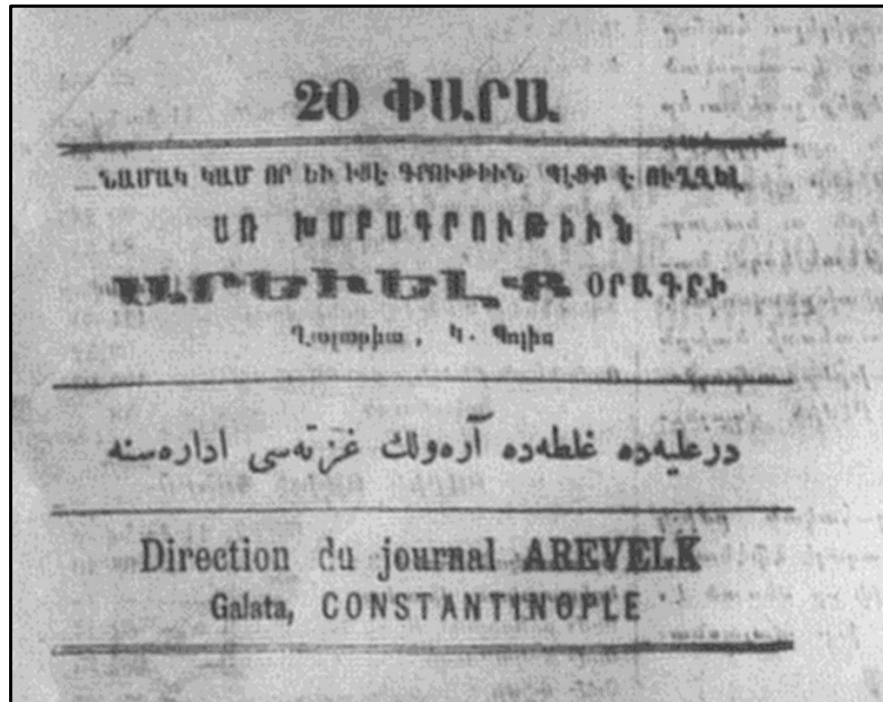


Figure 28: *Arewelk*, 31 Decemer 1893, Masthead (Right)

20 ՓԱՐՍ.

ԲԱԺԱՆՈՐԱԿԱԳՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ

Կ: Պալատի համար ծառից	Համարի արժույթ	130
»	»	75
»	»	40
Օտար Էրկիրից	Համարի արժույթ	56
»	»	28
Ընդերքի և Կաշի արժույթ	Համարի արժույթ	2
Գույքի արժույթ	Համարի արժույթ	50

Խմբագրությունը հանձն է կամ այլ գրություն
և և չի ստիպի:

Les annonces sont reçues
AUX BUREAUX DU JOURNAL

Figure 29: Arewelk', 1/13 August 1898, Page 1



Figure 31: *Arewelk*, 1/13 August 1898, Page 3



[illegible]

5.5 Comparative Analysis of *Masis*, *Hayrenik'*, *Biwzantion*, and *Arewelk'*

Similarities are more conspicuous than differences in the comparison of the four dailies. Three of the four papers have names that refer directly or indirectly to Armenia. *Masis*, with its reference to Mount Ararat in historical Armenia, is obvious. *Hayrenik'* (Fatherland) and *Arewelk'* (East/Orient) may be construed as indirect references to the Armenian homeland or future aspirations for the Armenian people.³³ All three names are still frequently used for Armenian enterprises, including newspapers. Only the name *Biwzantion* stands out as different. It is neutral, and not Armenian, but as a reference to the original name of the city of Istanbul it is understandable to all.³⁴

Unquestionably, *Masis* has the longest history and the most issues of the four papers while *Biwzantion* has the shortest history even though it survived longer than the others into the early years of the First World War. All of the papers experienced stoppages, some for long periods of time. The stoppages or suspension of *Masis*, *Hayrenik'* and *Arewelk'* between 1894 and 1898 were undoubtedly linked to the Hamidian massacres of 1894-1896.³⁵ Interestingly, *Biwzantion* was begun after the massacres had started and several months before the Armenian attack on the Ottoman Bank in Galata and the subsequent reprisals and resumption of massacres

³³ Mekerdich Dadian, “La société arménienne contemporaine: les Arméniens de l’empire ottoman,” *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1 May 1867), 925, reports that the titles of the fourteen Armenian newspapers in the preceding twenty-seven-year period (1839-1866), some of them political and literary, others purely literary, recalled “parfois les souvenirs les plus chers de la patrie absente.”

³⁴ The Armenian word *Biwzantion* refers to the name of the ancient Greek city founded by Byzas in the seventh century BC. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (1910), 911, s.v. Byzantium.

³⁵ For the massacres of 1894-96, see Georges Clemenceau, *Les massacres d’Arménie: témoignages des victimes*, 3rd éd. (Paris: Édition du Mercure de France, 1896),

under Sultan Abdlühamid.³⁶ One wonders how Biwzand Kechian, the Armenian proprietor of *Biwzantion*, was able to obtain a license from the Ottoman Porte to open a paper.³⁷ Perhaps the “neutral” title of his paper and his connection to the Armenian Church through his earlier publication of one of the Armenian hospitals of Istanbul was thought to guarantee his cooperation with authorities.

All four papers were of similar size, roughly 38 centimeters by 24 centimeters, and four pages in length though *Masis* and *Hayrenik'* used five columns of text while *Biwzantion* and *Arewelk'* used six. In terms of style the five-column layout appears cleaner and more readable. For that reason and for its distinct typeset *Hayrenik'* stands out from the other three as a conscious attempt at a modern appeal. One is tempted to credit Arpiarian himself with this innovative typeset since it appears in the years of his editorship. Comparison of the four papers in 1896 and 1898 with respect to the typography used for their titles reveals that *Masis* and *Arewelk'* employed more elaborate, sculpted, three-dimensional type, borrowed from manuscript illuminators and calligraphers, while *Hayrenik'* and *Biwzantion* employed slimmer, sleeker and more readable type. *Hayrenik'*'s elongated type looks especially “modern” while *Biwzantion'*'s type, with its three-dimensional shadow, looks like a cross between the earlier sculpted type used by *Masis* and *Arewelk'* and the more modern type used by *Hayrenik'*.

Subheadings reveal both old-fashioned and more modern typography (although on a much smaller scale) in all papers except *Hayrenik'*, which retains a modern typeset throughout.

³⁶ Clemenceau's book, *Les massacres d'Arménie*, published in 1896, reports (259), which is at the very end of his text, that as the book was going to press he received notification by telegrams that the massacres had resumed in Van, Erzindjan, Mouch, Diarbekir and Erzeroum.

³⁷ One should remember here that Kechian's first issue (discussed above) has elaborate praise of the Sultan for granting him a license to publish as well as specific information about the license itself.

Yalman points out that Turkish papers before the Revolution of 1908 employed “headlines” infrequently and only for an act of the Sultan and that this distaste for “sensational” headlines continued for some time after the Revolution but eventually increased competition led to larger and larger display types.³⁸

The mastheads of the four papers in 1896 and 1898 reveal more similarities than differences. All four were multilingual and three of the papers were multi-calendar. Three of the four mastheads place the narrow line of type providing the date and issue information at the very top of the masthead (*Masis*, *Hayrenik'*, *Arewelk'*), but one (*Biwzantion*) places it at the very bottom of the masthead. Like the Armenian population of Istanbul, which was composed of diglossic speakers, all of the mastheads employ both Armenian and Ottoman-Turkish, with French as the clearly preferred foreign language.

Three of the four mastheads give the date in three calendars, Gregorian, Julian and Hijri. Only *Hayrenik'* restricts itself to the Julian calendar, which seems strange, because it was common practice before 1923 (and the international adoption of the Gregorian calendar) to cite both the Gregorian and the Julian calendar dates for an event in order to be exact. Depending on how dates are calculated there is usually a difference of 13 days, which can involve a difference in the year of an event in some cases. While the Gregorian calendar was already well-established in Europe and North America and in the Latin American church in the nineteenth century, the Julian calendar was preferred for the Eastern Orthodox Church, which explains its use in Istanbul in all four dailies, but not the absence of the Gregorian and Hijri dates in the masthead of *Hayrenik'*.

³⁸ Ahmet Emin Yalman, *The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, 142 (New York: Columbia University, 1914), 123.

All four papers were published in the exclusive, luxurious Galata neighborhood of Istanbul, where the major stores and businesses as well as foreigners and foreign embassies were concentrated. All of the papers refer to the city as Constantinople just as do all Ottoman and foreign treaties [and official documents of the time] although French newspapers and French literature in general refer to the city as Stamboul, the name by which the original walled city was known.

The owner-proprietors of two of the four papers are identified by name in 1896--Puzant Ketchian for *Biwzantion*, Hovhannes Shahnazar for *Hayrenik'*.³⁹ *Masis* and *Arewelk'* omit specific identification although the proprietor-owner of *Arewelk'* in 1898, Zareh Yusufyan, is named, not overtly in the masthead but obscurely at the bottom of the first page. If his identification had not been made known elsewhere, as in Fesch and also in Hrant Asatur's biographical sketch of Krikor Zohrab, we would not know why his name was displayed in *Arewelk'*.⁴⁰ Fesch provides the additional information that Yusufyan (Youssoufian) was Secretary General of the Ottoman Chamber of Commerce.⁴¹ In later years *Arewelk'* includes the name of the owner-proprietor, Karekin Boyadjian. In the case of *Masis* the lack of named proprietors or editors may have become standard practice during its long history of operation in difficult times and under difficult circumstances. In the case of *Arewelk'*, which was a much "younger" paper, the lack may be owed to experience dealing with the frequent warnings,

³⁹ Ibid., 45, speaks of "enterprising" Armenian "capitalists," who supported Turkish satirical papers in the 1870s. It would be interesting to know if they were involved in the publication of the Armenian newspapers of Istanbul.

⁴⁰ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 535.

⁴¹ Paul Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid* (Paris: M. Rivière, 1907), 67.

suspensions and stoppages that were reported for the Istanbul press in the Hamidian period.⁴²

Here Yalman's characterization of the owner-proprietors of contemporary Turkish papers, as compared to their editors, reporters and translators, should be recalled: "It is remarkable that this corrupt press without any marked influence had a staff of very patriotic, honest and able men, although the proprietors in most instances were ready to accept every humiliation and sacrifice to gain favor and wealth."⁴³ Whether a parallel situation existed in the Armenian papers is not entirely clear.

In the Armenian papers the names of authors of other content, whether "news," reviews, or the rare cases of opinion, are infrequently provided. Only serialized novels customarily provide the author's name but rarely the translator's name. The lack of identifiable names seems to have been due to three principal reasons: 1) a history of translation from foreign works combined with a disregard for actual authorship, 2) an interest in obscurity on the part of the authors living under repressive conditions, and 3) actual banning of signed articles by Turkish (and Ottoman) authors in certain periods.⁴⁴

Subscription rates and circulation

In 1896 a single issue of *Masis* cost 10 *para* as did a single issue of *Hayrenik'* while single issues of *Biwzantion in* 1896 and of *Arewelk'* (in 1893 and 1898 but not in 1908) cost 20

⁴² Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 36. Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid*, 29-70, has a chapter entitled "La presse and la censure," which is instructive.

⁴³ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 82.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 77, where the author speaks of an earlier pre-1900 period in the history of Turkish newspapers when "the press was still allowed to publish original contributions of Turkish authors."

para or twice as much.⁴⁵ This immediately suggests that *Hayrenik'*, the second-oldest of the four papers, was trying to compete with *Masis*, the oldest of the papers. *Biwzantion*, the last of the four papers to be introduced, might have been trying to compete with *Arewelk'*, which was similarly priced.

An annual subscription in Istanbul at that time was 75 kuruş for *Masis* and *Hayrenik'* but almost twice as much for *Arewelk'* (in 1893 and in 1898). *Biwzantion* gives annual rates in a different form, using mecdiye, a subunit worth one-fifth of the Ottoman lira and therefore equal to 20 kuruş. An annual subscription of *Biwzantion* listed as 7 mecdiye, therefore, cost the same as an annual subscription of *Arewelk'* listed at 140 kuruş. *Hayrenik'* charges for subscriptions based on the number of issues—300, 150 and 75 issues in place of *annum*, six-month, and three-month periods—which may be a way of assuring customers that they are paying for what is actually published and not simply for a time period that might include suspensions or stoppages. Its rates, which are given in kuruş, also include the term “*kuruş mecdiye*”⁴⁶—suggesting that payment may be made using a paper currency of the times called *kuruş mecdiye* that combines images of coins with images of stamp designs (Fig. 28).

Subscription rates for outside of Istanbul reveal obvious distinctions between the four dailies and give some idea about the circulation of the papers. *Masis* and *Hayrenik'*, the two earliest papers, list subscription rates for the Ottoman provinces. The rates for *Masis* in the

⁴⁵ Before 1844 the standard denomination was the silver kuruş. In 1844 the new standard denomination became the Turkish gold lira, which was equivalent to 100 silver kuruş. One silver kuruş was equivalent to 40 copper para. Due to devaluation copper para denominations were discontinued in the second half of the nineteenth century and replaced with 5 and 10 para coins made of billion. In 1910 nickel versions of the silver kuruş coins were introduced. See Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁴⁶ In the masthead of *Hayrenik'* this term is abbreviated in Armenian script as “Kṛsh. Mējid”.

provinces were between twenty-five and thirty-three percent higher than for Istanbul itself but for *Hayrenik'* they were the same price in the provinces as in Istanbul, with the added incentive of a 75 issue, or quarterly subscription, not available in Istanbul itself. Clearly, *Hayrenik'* was attempting to build up its customer base in the provinces by enticing *Masis* readers to change papers. *Biwzantion* and *Arewelk'*, the two youngest papers do not list subscription rates for the Ottoman provinces.

Comparison of subscription rates for outside the Ottoman Empire is extremely interesting. All four dailies list foreign rates in French francs, which suggests that most of its foreign readers were bilingual in Armenian and French and most of its foreign subscriptions were mailed to France. *Arewelk'* and *Biwzantion* provide rates for “foreign” subscriptions of 40 French francs per annum and 20 francs for six-months. *Masis* and *Hayrenik'* list foreign rates in French francs that are radically different from each other as well as from those of *Arewelk'* and *Bizwantion*. *Masis* charges only 25 francs per annum while *Hayrenik'* charges an exorbitant 100 francs for 300 issues. The low rate for foreign subscriptions at *Masis* could be the result of a large customer base due its longer history. With its exorbitant foreign rates *Hayrenik'* seems to have been uninterested in building a customer base outside of the Ottoman Empire. Only *Masis* and *Hayrenik'* provide subscription rates for Russia, and they are comparable at 10 rubles per annum for *Masis* and 10 rubles for 300 issues of *Hayrenik'*. As the two dailies with the longest histories, *Masis* and *Hayrenik'* would naturally have put time and effort into building a customer base in Armenian lands of the Caucasus where Russian was spoken alongside Armenian.

According to Yalman, until 1876 the uniform price of Turkish papers was one piaster or one kuruş, which he equates with four cents.⁴⁷ The kuruş was equivalent to 40 para, and it is this

⁴⁷ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 79.

price, 40 para, that continues to be the cost for single issues of the three Armenian dailies in circulation in the mid-1880s, namely, *Masis*, *Hayrenik'* and *Arewelk'*. In the 1890s the average price of *Masis* and *Hayrenik*, like the average price of Turkish papers, had decreased to 10 para, which Yalman equates with one cent. To stay competitive, *Arewelk'* decreased its price from 40 to 20 para, the latter being the price of a single issue of its principal rival, *Biwzantion*. In the early twentieth century both *Arewelk'* and *Biwzantion* reduced their price to 10 para. It is of some interest to note that in 1907 when the newspapers cost 10 para, Murray's *Handbook for Travellers* states that, "*Turkish cafes* are numerous in all Quarters of the city; a cup of coffee is Par. 20, a glass of raki or mastic, Par. 20 and a narghileh, Par. 20."⁴⁸

Circulation of the two most popular Turkish papers in Istanbul at the beginning of the twentieth century was 15,000 and 12,000.⁴⁹ The circulation of the Armenian dailies at the same time had to have been much lower. The most reliable circulation numbers for the Armenian dailies of Istanbul are reported by Paul Fesch for the year 1907 immediately prior to the Revolution. He states that the accepted figure for the number of Armenians residing in Istanbul at the time was more than 100,000 and that there were five Armenian dailies (see Table) in circulation then, of which the total number of issues was less than 11,000.⁵⁰ *Biwzantion* is

⁴⁸ *Handbook for Travellers in Constantinople, Brûsa, and the Troad, with Index and Directory for 1907*, edited by Charles W. Wilson (London: John Murray, 1907), 162. This attaches an updated 1907 Index and Directory to the earlier 1900 Murray guidebook for the city.

⁴⁹ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 46, states that the conservative Turkish paper *Bassirett* had the largest circulation in the 1870s, which popular tradition claims was 30,000, which seemed exaggerated. He states categorically that, "There is not the slightest possibility that a Turkish daily published before 1876 had even one-third of that circulation." See also Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid*, 3-64.

⁵⁰ Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid*, 66. It is not clear where Fesch is getting his circulation figures from, but since he is speaking about his own time, it seems reasonable to mention the numbers cited. He may have inquired at the newspapers as to their actual circulation numbers. The fifth daily listed by Fesch, with a circulation of 1200, does not really qualify as an Armenian daily because it was written in Turkish in Armenian characters and

reported to have a circulation of 2500 and *Arewelk'* of 1500. *Masis* had become a weekly review by that time and had a circulation of only 1000. The Armenian daily with the largest circulation in 1907 was the short-lived *Shourhandag* with a circulation of 3000. *Hayrenik'* is not mentioned by Fesch.

Reliable information about the circulation numbers for Armenian dailies in earlier times is almost impossible to come by. Most of the available information comes from Yalman who examined the revenues derived from press stamps consumed in the period between 1873 and 1901.⁵¹ All papers were required to affix a stamp tax/duty of one-fifth of one cent on every copy during that time. In 1900 the stamp duty was abolished for the newspapers but continued to be required for advertising circulars. Yalman attributes the abolishment of the stamp tax in 1900 to the fact that, “the relation of the press to the palace had become so close that there was no further need for financial restraint.”⁵² To arrive at circulation numbers, Yalman has converted the stamp duty revenues into the number of stamps consumed. These are listed with yearly averages but there is no breakdown by source, thus no information is given as to the circulation of a particular Turkish or a particular Armenian daily. From his study of the yearly revenue averages provided by the stamp tax Yalman concludes that there is an enormous increase of stamps issued in 1878 when over 55 million were consumed compared to the average of 43 million in the preceding three years, 1875-77. After 1878 there was a decrease of eight million stamps in 1879-81 when

was therefore an Armeno-Turkish publication. See G.H. Fitzmaurice, “The Turkish Press and its Influence,” in *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*, edited by G.P. Gooch and H.W.V. Temperley, vol. 5: *The Near East: The Macedonian Problem and the Annexation of Bosnia, 1903-9*, (London: H.M.S.O., 1926), 24-29, for much lower circulation figures for the two most popular Turkish papers around the same time.

⁵¹ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 79.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 78.

only 47 million stamps were consumed. The rapid increase and decrease in readership and circulation seems to have been due to enthusiasm over the Constitution of 1876 followed by the Hamidian censorship together with the financial distress caused by the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. Another decrease can be seen in the period 1891-93, but this decrease in stamps issued is less than one million. In the last years of the stamp tax (1897-1900) close to 65 million stamps were issued to both papers and advertising circulars; in 1906, after the stamp tax on newspapers was abolished, over 55 million stamps were still being consumed by advertising circulars. From this Yalman deduces that “nearly the same number of papers was circulated in 1873 as in 1901” despite the tripling of literacy and a large decrease in the price of newspapers. He also deduces that advertising was growing at a rapid rate in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

No specific information exists about the actual affixing of stamps to Ottoman newspapers, whether Turkish or Armenian, but it can be assumed that the Ottoman post office played a large role in this, and perhaps the foreign post-offices played a small role as well. Subscriptions had to be mailed, and the post offices were the places from which mail was distributed.⁵³ The inauguration of the postal system in 1834 was owed in part to the “necessity of sending off the thousands of newspaper copies every week” after Mahmud had introduced his *Takvim-i Vekayi* and printed five thousand copies for distribution to his list of state officials, learned men, notables in the capital and in the provinces, and foreign ambassadors and ministers.⁵⁴

⁵³ Abdolonyme Ubicini and Abel Pavet de Courteille, *État présent de l’empire ottoman* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1876), 134-135, on the Ottoman post and Abdülhamid’s efforts to control the foreign post-offices. Stamp duties are visible in several of the newspaper images included here; see figs 11, 18, 22, 26, 28, 29.

⁵⁴ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 31.

Publication Costs

From the publishers' point of view cost was a major consideration. The rapid rise of printing in the Ottoman Empire was due in large part to the enormous cost-saving of printed books compared to manuscript books.⁵⁵ The dramatic increase in periodical publications in Istanbul during the 1870s, which included two of the Armenian dailies discussed here, *Masis* and *Hayrenik'*, was made possible in part by the fact that most of the papers owned their own printing presses by that time.⁵⁶ In addition to owning a press, the publisher/proprietor had to own or rent a publishing office, pay for materials such as paper and ink, pay for technicians to maintain and operate the press, and pay for contributors and journalists as well office staff who managed the subscriptions. Hrant Asatur explains that *Masis* and *Arewelk'* were both published at the printing house of *Arewelk'* in 1892, when Kechian was the editor of *Arewelk'*.⁵⁷ One imagines that Kechian owned the printing house, which made it easy for him to found and print his own paper *Biwzantion* several years later in 1896.

Whatever the actual costs of publication were, they were to some extent offset by the subventions or subsidies provided by the Ottoman government. In the first half of the nineteenth century a newspaper could not be founded without the granting of a concession, by virtue of a *firman*, and since this concession was usually accompanied by a subvention from the Porte, all newspapers remained more or less subject to the Ottoman government.⁵⁸ This did not change

⁵⁵ Ibid., 24, citing Ubicini, states that the books printed in the eighteenth century by the official Ottoman bureau cost only 8-17 dollars (United States) while an ordinary unillustrated folio manuscript cost 30-36 pounds sterling and illustrated Qur'ans by a master calligrapher were 200-250 pounds sterling.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 47.

⁵⁷ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 533.

⁵⁸ Ubicini and Courteille, *État présent de l'empire ottoman*, 170. See also Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid*, 29- 70. G.H. Fitzmaurice, "The Turkish Press and its

under Abdülhamid. Express permission was still needed to found a newspaper, and subventions remained in place. The subventions, if any, provided to the Armenian dailies under discussion here are not known.

Most of these publication costs of Ottoman dailies cannot be ascertained but Ubicini, Dadian, and Yalman all report that periodicals appeared and disappeared quickly if the business aspect was poorly conceived or poorly managed.⁵⁹ The only information available about actual publication costs are limited to the stamp tax already discussed in relation to circulation and to the salaries of the editors, writers and reporters of the newspapers. In the early years of the dailies of Ottoman Istanbul the authors of many of the educational articles on science, literature and art were produced by volunteers who did not expect remuneration, rather like scholars publishing in academic journals today.⁶⁰ These writers were educators. Their aim was not to shape opinion. Editors, writers and reporters dealing with sensitive subjects in the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, did aim to shape opinion and therefore faced danger at every turn, including exile, prison and even death. They were also poorly paid. Even in the late nineteenth century and first years of the twentieth century for which Yalman lists actual (pre-Revolution)

Influence,” in *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*, edited by G.P. Gooch and H.W.V. Temperley, vol. 5: *The Near East: The Macedonian Problem and the Annexation of Bosnia, 1903-9*, (London: H.M.S.O., 1926), 24-29, whose report was written in 1906. Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 32.

⁵⁹ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 41-42. Ubicini and Courteille, *État présent de l’empire ottoman*, 171-72. Dadian, “La société arménienne contemporaine,” 925.

⁶⁰ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 48, mentions a Turkish paper that announced in 1870 in all its issues “that manuscripts on science and art sent in by people of education might be published gratuitously.” This suggests that in an earlier period contributors might have paid the newspaper to publish their work in order to gain public recognition, as in the vanity press today.

salaries for Turkish newspapers, this work was poorly paid.⁶¹ The chief editor received about sixty dollars a month, a lesser editor about forty-five dollars a month, an ordinary translator only twenty-five dollars a month and reporters a measly ten to thirty dollars a month, which explains why most had other jobs.⁶² Contrast this with salaries after the Revolution, in Yalman's time, when only the chief and the news editor were reasonably well-paid, receiving respectively about one hundred fifty and one hundred dollars a month, and only a few received salaries over fifty dollars a month. Good reporters received a maximum of thirty-five dollars a month and the average salary was only twenty-five dollars a month. The salaries of the Armenian editors and journalists in this period are not known and remain a matter of speculation.

However, one big difference between the Turkish newspaper staff and the Armenian newspaper staff should be noted. Yalman points out that after the Revolution all of the prominent journalists on the [Turkish] papers left for more remunerative work in the government and that, "most of the [remaining] men have very little journalistic spirit, as they begin their careers as translators or re-write men, and not as reporters."⁶³ The same positions available in the government would not have been open to the Armenian editors, writers and journalists so the content and style of the Armenian dailies would not have experienced the same dramatic drop-off. In fact, the uncertainty of the times after 1908 and the newfound freedom of the press would have permitted more open discussion of Armenian aspirations.

⁶¹ In 1908 revolutionary fervor prompted requests for higher wages, according to Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, 249: "The workmen on a newspaper during this time asked for a large increase of wages. 'But why?' asked the owner. 'Because there is a Constitution.'"

⁶² Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 83.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 128.

Censorship and general overview of content

The Press Law, established by edict in January of 1865, was the sole “organic” law controlling the Ottoman press in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶⁴ Even before its appearance, however, censorship of newspapers was well established in the Ottoman Empire. In 1853 in his letter examining journalism in the Ottoman Empire. Ubicini makes it clear that editors feel unable to report sensitive information that the Sultan or the Porte might not like since they were being subsidized.⁶⁵ Dadian speaks of the new regulations but adds that the government has expressly declared that, “il ne veut en rien gêner les journaux qui se livrent à un examen sérieux et approfondi des questions d’intérêt general.”⁶⁶ However, he feels that the Armenian papers are lacking because, “L’opinion publique a encore besoin d’être formée et éclairée en Orient.”⁶⁷ The new rules of the Press Law made a preliminary review compulsory for all newspapers treating political or administrative matters and deferred judgment of the offences and contraventions committed by the voice of the press to the Grand Council or police tribunals. At the same time it created a special bureau in the Sublime Porte, called the Press Bureau, to apply the clauses of the law. Two years later the Porte made a significant change in the application of the law, substituting administrative actions by the government itself for what had earlier been judgments by tribunals.⁶⁸ Newspapers could be warned, suspended and suppressed at will. The measure was presented as a provisional, temporary change but remained in effect indefinitely.

⁶⁴ Ubicini and Courteille, *État présent de l’empire ottoman*, 170, uses the term “organic” to indicate a fundamental law controlling the Ottoman press.

⁶⁵ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 262.

⁶⁶ Dadian, “La société arménienne contemporaine,” 924.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ubicini and Courteille, *État present de l’empire ottoman*, 170-71.

Ottoman censorship was so widely known that it had already become an object of ridicule in Mark Twain's famous travelogue, *The Innocents Abroad*, published in 1869 and sold initially by subscription.⁶⁹ The steamer trip, which took place in 1867, was billed an "An Excursion to the Holy Land, Egypt, the Crimea, Greece and intermediate points of interest," but it had stops at every major Mediterranean port and special trips inland and overland to see major archeological sites such as Pompeii and Troy and the Egyptian pyramids as well as international events such as the Great Exhibition in Paris. Mark Twain sent amusing letters home to be published in various newspapers in New York and San Francisco about his journey, some of which were later incorporated into his book. He made no pretensions of offering a standard guidebook with boring descriptions of significant sites and artworks. Some two hundred thirty-four illustrations were included in the volume, including one that shows an image of a man with a long beard who is wearing a turban and smoking a hookah, while reading a copy of the English language newspaper of Constantinople called *The Levant Herald*, with a caption that reads "The Censor on Duty."⁷⁰ Several interesting paragraphs accompany the satirical illustration. Twain writes, "The selling of newspapers only began about a year ago, and was a child of the Prussian and Austrian war."⁷¹ Greek and Turkish newsboys selling on the street are mentioned as a recent innovation. Twain remarks: "Newspapers are not popular with the Sultan's Government. They do not understand journalism."⁷² He states, "To the court, the newspaper is a mysterious and rascally

⁶⁹ Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad: Or, The New Pilgrim's Progress: Being Some Account of the Steamship "Quaker City's" Pleasure Excursion to Europe and the Holy Land* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Co., 1869). The humorous subtitle, "The New Pilgrim's Progress," should be noted.

⁷⁰ Ibid., Illustration on 374.

⁷¹ Ibid., 373.

⁷² Ibid.

institution...and they regard a newspaper as a mild form of pestilence.”⁷³ He discusses not just the suppression of newspapers but also the insistence on false reports being printed about the Cretan insurrection. He also mentions the imprisonment of editors in Constantinople for printing news sympathetic to the Cretans, noting that “To suppress a paper here involves the ruin of the publisher, almost.”⁷⁴

While Mark Twain jokes about the censorship, Ubicini analyzes the regulation of the press in legal terms. Ubicini concludes in 1876 that the Ottoman press is actually regulated by a combination of the organic law and of an exceptional measure that removes all authority from the law. Ubicini was writing just before the Constitution of 1876, which did in fact include an article about freedom of the press. Article 12 of the Constitution stated: The press is free, within the limits imposed by law. Even if the Constitution had been upheld by Abdulhamid, the law that effectively controlled the press remained the Press Law of 1865 and the administrative controls added in 1867, which could be systematically enforced in many different ways, as the censors of the Hamidian era clearly proved.

For practical purposes a list of nine regulations, or operational guidelines, was apparently composed at Yildiz Palace that provided a short list of “dos and don’ts” for the Ottoman press under Abdülhamid II.⁷⁵ In the list, first published by Youssef Fehmi and subsequently

⁷³ Ibid., 374.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 375.

⁷⁵ Youssef Fehmi, *Les coulisses hamidiennes dévoilées par un jeune Turc*. (Paris, 1904), 31-37, summarizes the publication and discussion of this list of regulations in contemporary newspapers. Fehmi’s dedication of his work is instructive: “A mon père, fonctionnaire qui est loin d’avoir mes idées je dédie cette brochure pour son éducation politique.” He describes himself as the son of S.E. Fehmi Bey, ex-Secretary General of the vilayets of Salonica, Smyrna, Rhodes, Adana, etc.” Fesch, *Constantinople*, 51-54, enumerates and discusses these regulations, noting that it has been suggested that the list is apocryphal, which seems likely to me. However, whether apocryphal or not, it appears to reflect the actual realities regulating the Ottoman press under Abdülhamid II. For a somewhat different opinion, see Elizabeth Frierson, “Gender,

reproduced by Paul Fesch, there is only one of the former and eight of the latter. The single “do”, which comprises the first regulation, requires newspapers to give preference to any and all news about the sultan, the state of the harvests and the progress of commerce and industry in the empire. The second regulation prohibits publication of anything that reflects on morality which has not been approved by the Minister of Public Instruction. The third regulation prohibits the reproduction of literary and scientific articles that are too long to be included in a single number and to avoid using terms suggesting that more follows in future issues. The fourth regulation prohibits blank lines and series of dots that imply the existence of censored material. The fifth regulation orders papers to avoid mentioning people by name, especially when government officials are guilty of a crime. The sixth and seventh regulations are prohibitions against reproducing petitions or complaints from the provinces about abuses of authority and prohibitions about the mention of historical and geographical names including the designation “Armenian.” The eighth regulation prohibits mention of attempted assassination of foreign rulers or seditious movements and events in foreign countries. The ninth regulation prohibits mention in the columns of the newspaper of these new regulations because they might provoke criticism. Together these “dos and don’ts” demonstrate the restraints placed on the Ottoman press. Whether or not the press was given such a list to guide their publications, it is clear that the censorship under which they existed produced newspapers that complied with these rules. Yalman makes

Consumption and Patriotism: The Emergence of an Ottoman Public Sphere,” in Armando Salvatore and Dale F. Eickelman, eds., *Public Islam and the Common Good* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 105, where she states that the “prevailing narrative, that Hamidian censorship was highly effective at suppressing critical rhetoric, is a myth.” It is true that censorship remained irregular in its execution, but, in my opinion, the actual content of late Ottoman newspapers and, in particular, the Armenian ones under discussion here reveal wide-ranging censorship, probably self-imposed out of fear in many cases, if one compares these newspapers to contemporary Western papers.

the point that Turkish journalists were able to hint at cover-ups without being able to print the truth, stating: “There was a conventional language used between the journalist and the experienced reader which made the latter learn more than the mere words could convey.”⁷⁶ At the same time he speaks of the virtue of paraphrasing due to a limited vocabulary and vague terms.

In point of fact the Armenian newspapers employed subtle and also not-so-subtle means of informing their readers of the heavy censorship under which they operated. Perhaps the most obvious example of this censorship is found on the front page of the 13 June 1908 issue of *Arewelk'* where an approximately 1 ½” x 2 ½” photo of a bearded man seated at a table reading a book, who is identified in Armenian and French as S.E. Minass Effendi, “Censeur des journaux arméniens.” By this time the owner-proprietor of *Arewelk'* was no longer Puzant Ketchian (Biwzand Kechian) but Karékin Boyadjian. One wonders if S.E. Minass Effendi continued to hold his job as censor for long after the Revolution of 23 July 1908 a mere five weeks later.

Procedures that give rise to “suppositions fâcheuses” and trouble “la tranquillité des esprits” should be avoided, including reference to additional installments and the use of blank spaces and lines of dots. These procedures, which are described in Fehmi’s third and fourth rules of Hamidian censorship and which inform readers of censorship and suppression by the absence of expected content are, however, general, if not regular, features of Armenian papers.

Before exploring the actual content in the four Armenian dailies described and illustrated in this chapter, it is important to understand the general state of the Ottoman press prior to the Young Turk Revolution of 1908-1909. In 1906 G.H. Fitzmaurice wrote an official report for the British government that is quoted at length here because it is so revealing:

⁷⁶ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 82.

With the accession, however, of Abdul Hamid, the suppression of the Ottoman Parliament and the inauguration of a reactionary and arbitrary system based on anti-Western and Pan-Islamic ideas, the nascent liberties and scope of the press were curtailed by the increased rigours of the censorship. This process was accentuated *pari passu* with the tightening of the reins of Government and the ruthless merging of all Turkish public life in the personal rule of the present Sovereign, until, in an Empire of over a million square miles, the Turkish press is now practically represented in the capital by some four daily [Turkish] papers drawing their inspiration entirely from Yildiz Kiosk, and in the provinces by a weekly or bi-weekly leaflet edited under the aegis and direct supervision of the local Governor in the chief town of each vilayet.⁷⁷

Fitzmaurice is comparing the press under Abdülhamid to the earlier press under the “would-be progressive regime” of Sultans Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz, when the press had a tone that was “distinctly liberal and reflected the well-intentioned, though perhaps misdirected, attempts of the Turks of the day to copy the ways of the West.”⁷⁸

During the nineteenth century the high point for the Ottoman press was a short-lived period in the 1860s and 1870s when young Ottomans were publishing articles in the Turkish papers expressing anxiety about the survival of the nation, the decreasing population, poor public hygiene, disease and a host of social problems and conditions that needed attention. The Armenian papers had to be more cautious, but they could and did focus their attention on social problems such as education and the role of women. According to Yalman, however, one patently political editorial appeared in August 1877 in the *Terjuman-i-Efkia*r, printed in Armeno-Turkish.⁷⁹ This article pointed out that “the Turkish press had no prestige abroad, and no influence among its readers, that it was ridiculed by the press of other countries.”⁸⁰ The conclusion of the article was that the Ottoman press deserved the scorn it was receiving and that

⁷⁷ G.H. Fitzmaurice, “The Turkish press and its influence.”

⁷⁸ Ibid., 24.

⁷⁹ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 59.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

it would have to raise its quality in order to become more effective. Yalman reports that the article was widely “quoted by all the papers, and all of them sadly acknowledged that the statements were correct.”⁸¹ Most notable is the fact that the article in question was published several months after the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, which suggests that the article is, in fact, deploring the fact that Ottoman papers are not reporting on the war.

After the war Sultan Abdülhamid II became the master of the Ottoman press and made it clear that no dissension, disrespect, ridicule or satire would be permitted. In 1907 Paul Fesch writes that the press has ceased to exist in Turkey for thirty years even though newspapers still existed and were even rather numerous.⁸² Thirty years of censorship under Sultan Abdulhamid had reduced them to the point where they were, if not totally dead, hanging on by a thread. Likewise, in 1913 Ahmed Emin Yalman writes of the press under Abdülhamid II: “Every new day made people look longingly back upon the previous day. The experience of former times when Midhat Pasha and Kemal Bey were active and when there existed a free press, had gained a mythical character.”⁸³ Even though the Press Law and of 1865 and the administrative controls added in 1867 were still operative during those earlier periods, they were not enforced in the heavy-handed and systematic way that they were under Abdülhamid II.

These descriptions of the Turkish press apply equally, if not more so, to the Armenian press in Istanbul because the Armenians, as a minority, were expected to behave more circumspectly.⁸⁴ Sir Edwin Pears unequivocally states in 1912 that under Abdulhamid,

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid*, 50.

⁸³ Yalman, *The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 73.

⁸⁴ Of course, underground Armenian publications that did not circulate openly could and did print and display subversive and even outrageous articles and images.

“Armenian newspapers were even more strictly censored than those in other languages.”⁸⁵

Yalman writes that, “After 1891, the Turkish press which was more and more restrained politically gave its entire attention to literary matters.”⁸⁶ This explains the following description of the contents of *Masis*, *Hayrenik'*, *Biwzantion*, and *Arewelk'* in the 1890s. Editorial opinion is missing. Political discussion is not reported, whether domestic or foreign. International news that shines a light, even indirectly, upon domestic problems or inadequacies, particularly of the government and the sultan himself, does not appear. Human interest stories are lacking. Sensational stories of disaster, fire, theft and crime in general are not reported.

All four papers have official announcements and events on the first page. The greatest space is always devoted to expressions of gratitude to the Sultan for things he has done or congratulations on anniversaries of his birthday or accession. These articles become more prominent when the lines of text are allotted two full columns rather than the single column given other elements, including the highly popular serialized novels. Other articles on the first and second pages include essays on the history of science, art and literature. There is a limited amount of international news and most of it is entirely non-political. New inventions and technologies are described in agriculture, industry and medicine. Reports on the building and development of railroads and canals are given. Serialized novels, often translated from the French, appear at the bottom of one or more pages. Bank rates and shipping offices and schedules are listed usually on the third page. Advertisements appear on the third and fourth pages and include a full range of consumer products as well as ads for the services of doctors and lawyers.

⁸⁵ Pears, *Turkey and its Peoples*, 277.

⁸⁶ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 75.

Generally speaking, the four Armenian papers that will be examined here are very similar and seemingly interchangeable. Before examining their content and themes in some depth, it is important to note Abdülhamid II's attempts to control, cover up and counter the foreign press sympathetic to Armenian interests, not just within the Ottoman Empire, where censorship was well entrenched, but abroad as well, by using his embassies, particularly those in St. Petersburg, Washington, London and Paris. A British contemporary of Abdülhamid II, the businessman and author Sir Edwin Pears, wrote of the Sultan: "Every year he became more suspicious. His belief that no one ought to be trusted but that all men could be bought marked his dealings with the Press. There was not a newspaper in Constantinople during the period before the Revolution of 1908 that was not subsidized by the State."⁸⁷ Pears' recollection of his forty years in Constantinople covers the period beginning a few years before the promulgation of the First Ottoman constitution and the subsequent accession of Abdülhamid II and ends with the onset of World War I. It includes an interesting discussion not only of censorship but of blackmail, subterfuge, and corruption concerning the foreign press and Abdülhamid.⁸⁸ Pears' account of Hamidian censorship is corroborated in Doğan Gürpınar's recent book on Ottoman diplomacy, which has an excellent discussion of Abdülhamid II's attempts "to influence, lead, and manipulate the Western press after the relatively passive stance of his predecessors."⁸⁹ According to Gürpınar, the issue of public opinion became "an obsession throughout the reign of Abdülhamid II," although its consideration can be traced back to the reign of Mahmud II. Gürpınar correctly emphasizes that the emergence of newspapers during the Tanzimat era was

⁸⁷ Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, 115.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 115-18.

⁸⁹ Doğan Gürpınar, *Ottoman Imperial Diplomacy: A Political, Social and Cultural History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 142-50. Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, 115-19.

critical for Ottoman recognition of the importance of public opinion. He focuses on the attempts of the Ottoman embassies to court public opinion in Western countries, especially Britain, through foreign newspapers by “paying affiliated journalists” and using other “artificial” (perhaps “underhanded” is a better description) means.⁹⁰ Yalman states, “In 1894, the Armenian massacres caused great irritation among the Turkish patriots.”⁹¹ After the flight of the popular journalist, Mourad Bey, to Cairo in order to represent the Committee of Union and Progress abroad and to publish an opposition paper, Yalman informs us:

“The Sultan was exceedingly terrified by this event. His secret police were set in action. Hundreds of suspects were arrested, tortured, and condemned without trial. Some disappeared, some were exiled.”⁹²

Yalman emphasizes the role of “underground” Turkish papers and their role in the opposition trying to depose the Sultan in 1897.⁹³ He talks about the Sultan’s secret police, the “horrible tortures” of student demonstrators, and the unrelenting pursuit of suspects, including attempts to bribe, suppress and prohibit circulation of opposition papers abroad by various means including pressure on foreign governments and buying out the Turkish type needed for printing.⁹⁴

Focusing on Ottoman embassies abroad, Gürpınar examines “the emergence of the Armenian events in the 1890s” with skill and discusses the fact that all of the Ottoman embassies had to work overtime to counter the bad press in the West resulting from “the (red) sultan’s notorious reputation in the eyes of the diplomatic service.”⁹⁵ The Ottoman dispatches from

⁹⁰ Gürpınar, *Ottoman Imperial Diplomacy*, 148.

⁹¹ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 66.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 66-67.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Gürpınar, *Ottoman Imperial Diplomacy*, 149.

Washington to Istanbul focused on the supervision of the Armenian press in the United States but also included “close surveillance of the American press and their commentaries on Armenian events, the writing of disclaimers to the relevant newspapers, and the lobbying of congressmen with pamphlets, etc.”⁹⁶ In addition to promoting counter-propaganda in the West to undermine sympathy for the Armenians the Ottoman diplomatic service initiated attempts to prevent the importation of any publication reporting on the Armenian question into the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman embassies abroad proposed prohibitions of publications or certain issues of publications, including in 1896 the *New York Herald* and the *Washington Post* because of Western reporting of the Armenian massacres of 1894-1896.⁹⁷ The Armenian massacres of 1894-1896 that outraged public opinion in Europe and the United States prompted only “relatively mild reactions” from European governments which were more concerned about maintaining their economic interests in the Ottoman Empire and preserving the “Concert of Europe” than in defending human rights or preventing Ottoman abuses.⁹⁸ Gürpınar rightly notes the “contradictory sentiments” of the Young Turks in exile at that time, who “oscillated between cooperating with the Armenian organizations in Europe and defending the actions of the Ottoman government as legitimate self-defense against a violent and bloody insurrection.”⁹⁹

5.6 Conclusion

Close examination of four issues of *Masis*, *Hayrenik'*, *Biwzantion* and *Arewelk'* from around the same time, 1896 and 1898, shortly after well-documented massacres of Armenians by

⁹⁶ Ibid., 143.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 144, 149.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 148-49.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

Abdülhamid II show the heavy hand of the Red Sultan's censorship at work. The papers resemble each other in that their national "news" consists of laudatory reports directed at the Sultan, human interest stories and listings of daily events while their international "news" consists of short items of several lines only telegraphed from around the world. No sensitive news of political import is contained in these papers. Advertisements, transportation schedules and banking rates comprise a large part of the four-page papers. Serialized fiction that is entertaining rather than realistic, moralizing or political becomes a regular selling feature of all the papers in the final years of Abdülhamid's reign. By the end of his reign Armenian papers cost 10 para or half the price of a cup of coffee, a shot of raka, or a nargileh smoke, according to handbooks for tourists, who may have been paying an inflated price for the latter in tourist restaurants and cafes.

CHAPTER SIX

READING AN ARMENIAN NEWSPAPER IN OTTOMAN ISTANBUL

This chapter will examine the range of advertisements and the various articles on news, events, announcements, discoveries, and innovations as well as the serialized literature seen in the Armenian newspapers of Istanbul during the last two decades of Abdülhamid II's reign. These decades, which coincide with the initial suppression and subsequent massacres of the Armenians under the Red Sultan, were ones which witnessed an enormous growth of international trade and consumerism due to improved telecommunications and great advances in transportation. People traveled fast by steamship and steam-engine trains. News traveled even faster by telegraph and telephone. Great cities in many nations had become part of an interconnected modern world in which merchants, diplomats, journalists, explorers and tourists traveled with relative ease.

Many of the advertisements in Armenian papers are for products, businesses and services that were available and advertised in many cities, not just in the Ottoman Empire but in Europe, Asia, North and South America and even Australia. Globalization on a grand scale may be said to have begun in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One of the best windows to the consumer class to which these advertisements were aimed is provided by contemporary travel guides of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Armenians traveled and traded widely as has been noted earlier. They were frequently multi-lingual and were well-known as owners and employees of banks and businesses catering to foreigners living in or visiting the Ottoman capital and other parts of the Empire. They also worked directly in the foreign embassies and homes of foreign diplomats and businessmen living in Istanbul. These, together with the educated and

professional class of doctors, lawyers, teachers and clergy were the readers of the Armenian newspapers and the consumers of the products advertised within them.

6.1 Advertisements and Consumerism

At the beginning of the approximately sixty-year existence of the Armenian newspapers of Ottoman Istanbul advertisements per se were limited. Consumerism in the modern sense had not reached the point where direct product advertising to retail customers became commonplace. Foreign exchange rates, commodity exchanges and ship schedules were the earliest visible “advertisements” in that they promoted specific banks, shipping lines, and commodity traders. By the Hamidian period advertising was clearly growing steadily year by year since the stamp duty chart that Yalman illustrates, covering the period from 1873-1901, was in the beginning almost entirely paid by newspapers in the Ottoman Empire.¹ The number of advertisements in the papers increased in direct proportion to the growth of the country’s economic activity. As time went on, separate advertising circulars supplied a larger and larger share of the stamp tax.² Retail advertising directly to the man on the street and the woman of the house began to compete with the advertisements in the newspapers. To counter the competition the newspapers changed the appearance of the advertisements. More emphasis was placed upon aesthetics and impact. Fonts were enlarged, images added and trademarks introduced. The abolishment of the stamp tax in 1900 appears to have been limited to newspapers. Yalman attributes the abolishment to the fact that the stamp tax, which had been introduced as a financial restraint upon the newspapers, was no longer needed due to the repressive censorship of the Hamidian era and the ingrained fear

¹ Ahmet Emin Yalman, *The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, no. 142 (New York: Columbia University, 1914), 79.

² Ibid.

it had given birth to among the populace and the opposition. However, it should be remembered also that the stamp tax revenue from newspapers was relatively small compared to that from advertising circulars in 1900. In 1906 all papers, including advertising circulars, were exempted from the stamp tax, according to Yalman, which might possibly be seen as a last-ditch effort to appease business and consumers in a tumultuous time.³

The page or page and a half of advertisements in the Armenian newspapers in the last two decades of the Hamidian period provide a most reliable picture of Armenian society and life in Istanbul prior to World War I. Sarah Stein correctly emphasizes the fact that Jewish newspapers in the Ottoman empire were “popular presses” and as such reflected real Jewish life better than “the late nineteenth and early twentieth century journals designed for highly educated Jews.”⁴ She notes that they have not been studied as they should be because of “the popularity of the subfield of Jewish intellectual History and, perhaps, of the distrust that popular sources seem to command.”⁵ The same is true to some extent of Armenian newspapers. While Armenian intellectual history was not as developed as Jewish intellectual history in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Armenian scholarship and literary achievements have been studied much more extensively than Armenian newspapers. It is important, however, to distinguish between the intelligentsia and the man on the street, when studying Jewish, Armenian or any other history based on ethnicity or religion. Advertisements in the Armenian newspapers are one of the best reflections of the aspirations of the average Armenian. They should not be distrusted. They are not imagined but marketed and as such are unbiased reflections of what people want in their

³ Ibid.

⁴ Sarah Abrevaya Stein, “Creating a Taste for News: Historicizing Judeo-Spanish Periodicals of the Ottoman Empire,” *Jewish History* 14, no. 1 (2000), 11.

⁵ Ibid.

lives. This is the period when, according to Toufoul Abou-Hodeib, the expression *mutawassitu al-hal* (those of middling means) was used more and more often in the press and in public to describe the emerging middle class and their consumer habits.⁶

Censorship under the tyrannical rule of Abdülhamid II may have pervaded most aspects of Ottoman life and society, but it had little or no effect upon the growth of consumerism in the modern world. This is why the advertisements of the Armenian newspapers of Ottoman Istanbul are particularly interesting as elements of social and cultural history. Modernity was the catchword of the time and modern life, along with its consumerism, was permeating all societies through the press. Ads in the Armenian newspapers not only resemble contemporary ads in newspapers in Europe and the United States but also begin to promote the same products, stores and businesses. These advertisements mirror even more closely the ads in the Ladino newspapers of the Ottoman Empire in Sarah Stein's 2004 study.⁷ Her chapter entitled "Advertising Anxiety" has sections about department store shopping, pill promotion and addiction, and security concerns.⁸ Stein correctly points out that "embourgeoisement" is promoted to Jewish readers by ads that encourage the acquisition of the trappings of bourgeois life (typewriters, watches, corsets, etc.).⁹ However, she also points out the doctors' services, elixirs, insurance products, exchange rates and shipping schedules address the very real anxiety that pervaded contemporary

⁶ Toufoul Abou-Hodeib, "The Material Life of the Ottoman Middle Class," *History Compass* 10/8 (2012) p. 587 and "Taste and Class in Late Ottoman Beirut," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43/3 (2011), 475-492.

⁷ Sarah Abrevaya Stein, *Making Jews Modern: The Yiddish and Ladino Press in the Russian and Ottoman Empires* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 175-201.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 201.

Jewish life in the Ottoman Empire. It is not surprising that Armenians of Istanbul felt the same anxiety and concerns.

Physicians, Tonics, Remedies and Nutritional Products

Readers of the Armenian newspapers were educated and relatively sophisticated in their knowledge and interest of the modern world. Medical discoveries, of which there were many in the late nineteenth and twentieth century, were reported in the news on a regular basis as we shall see. People read these articles and wanted the new medicinal and nutritional products. They understood the value of scientific discovery from newspapers, books, and medical and scientific periodicals. The Sultan had a Chief Physician. Doctors were trained abroad and certified by the state, so the sick found their doctors by word of mouth and by newspaper advertisements.

Physician services were frequently advertised in Armenian newspapers in the second half of the nineteenth century. Ubicini is very informative about medical practitioners in the Ottoman Empire. In his time the majority of native physicians were Greeks or Armenians, who had graduated from universities in France or Italy.¹⁰ For a long time after the Greek Revolt of 1821 medicine was the only profession, besides professor of science or literature, open to ambitious young men of “Turco-Greece” who wanted to be self-employed. This required several years of study and residence in the “contrées savants” of Europe, principally in the University of Pavia and other Italian universities, where the studies were both “moins longues et moins dispendieuses.”¹¹

¹⁰ Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie . . . Deuxième Partie: Les Raias . . .* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1854), 222, explains that the medical school in Galata-Seraï was designed to supply surgeons to the army and navy, not to produce independent physicians.

¹¹ Ibid., 219.

Many professors of medicine became famous in Ottoman Turkey as ministers and diplomats. Among these were Alexander Mavrocordatos (1636-1709), a doctor of philosophy and medicine at the University of Bologna, who became dragoman or official interpreter-translator to Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648 - 1687) in 1673 and helped draft the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) and Ioannis Kapodistrias (1776-1831), who started a medical practice on his native island of Corfu after completing his studies in Padua, served as a Greek Foreign Minister for the Russian Empire and was elected the first head of independent Greece (1827-31).¹² Many doctors of medicine, professors of science, and university teachers contributed scholarly articles to the Armenian newspapers. For example, Dr. Topdjian recounted the history and credibility of Spiritism (the French expression for Spiritualism) in a number of issues of *Arewelk'* in June 1908 and examined education in another series of articles in *Arewelk'* the following month.¹³

Besides the physicians trained in European institutions there were many apprentices who set themselves up as independent medical practitioners after a year or two of following a well-known physician around Istanbul and obtaining a “diploma” purchased from and signed by the Chief Physician. Some of these traditional practitioners were actually extremely skilled, among whom the oculists of Anatolia are mentioned.¹⁴

Ubicini notes that the Ottoman capital and the larger provincial towns were all crowded with Greek, Italian, Armenian and Jewish medical men in the middle of the nineteenth century, some in independent practice and others attached to the household of some pasha, with whom

¹² Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 219-20.

¹³ See below for additional discussion of Dr. Topdjian's articles.

¹⁴ Dr. Hübsch reports in the *Journal de Constantinople*, 9th June, 1852.

they moved from post to post.¹⁵ A quarter-century later Burnaby discovers the practice unchanged, with European-trained medical doctors in most towns of any size. The doctors he mentions by name are Italian but an Armenian doctor trained in the United States is mentioned as well.¹⁶

Many of the most grievous public health issues had been addressed by the middle of the nineteenth century with the creation of a medical school at Galatasaray, the establishment of quarantines, and the introduction of sanitary systems similar to that of Europe in Istanbul and the trading ports of the Levant.¹⁷ There were still epidemics to contend with, including the cholera epidemics of 1848, 1855, and 1865 in Istanbul but Ubicini focuses on the progress that has been made.¹⁸ The quarantines established at European borders for visitors from plague or cholera-stricken countries, which so amazed Mehmet Chelebi during his 1720-21 embassy to Paris, were

¹⁵ An interesting case of such a doctor, rumored to be French but with an Italian name and living incognito, is described by Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 221-22. This doctor had recently died in a Turkish town near the Persian border after having served as private physician to the local pasha for a long time. He spoke all the European and Oriental languages and could pass for many different European nationalities as well as for an Arab, Turk or Persian, knowing the history, manners and customs of all these places, but examination of his personal effects after his death and inquiries of people who knew him were unable to establish his true identity or origin.

¹⁶ Captain Frederick Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, first published 1877, revised 1898 edition with preface and epilogue by Peter Hopkirk (Oxford: Oxford University Press pbk: 1996). 67, 132, 277, 303.

¹⁷ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 213-14 and *Lettres* II, 222. Abdolonyme Ubicini and Abel Pavet de Courteille, *État présent d'el'empire ottoman . . .* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1876), 85-86, where it is noted that the sanitary regulations conform to the international sanitary convention of 1852 and that the Ottoman Council for sanitary surveillance had permanent delegates from all the major European countries. Cf. Nuran Yildirim, *A Tour of the History of Medicine in Istanbul: Taksim, Beyoğlu, Üsküdar* (Istanbul: Turkish Society of Clinical Microbiology and Infectious Diseases, 2008), which has a history of healthcare in Istanbul and discusses the establishment of the first pharmacy in Beyoğlu before 1832 by the Italian Edouard Ottoni (d. 1869).

¹⁸ Ubicini, *Lettres* II, 379. Among the many actions for which Hamlin was praised during his years in Turkey were his “exertions during the terrible visitation of cholera in the Capital in 1865” and the cholera mixture he introduced that saved many lives; see Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times* (Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1893), 481-82.

fully established and operational in Turkey when Burnaby travelled across the country in 1876-77. In Kotoor Burnaby encountered an elderly Italian doctor working for the quarantine station who received ten piasters per head for every traveler from Persia to Turkey along the Kotoor road whom he examined in order to prevent persons suffering from cholera or plague from spreading these diseases with the Ottoman realm.¹⁹ In Kars Burnaby met another Italian doctor, this one paid by the International Commission to keep disease from entering Turkey from the East, who was astounded by the Turks' indifference to the typhoid fever spreading within their military barracks.²⁰

The Armenian newspapers of the last two decades of the nineteenth century regularly feature advertisements offering physicians' services in Constantinople such as Dr. Djelalyan, clearly an Armenian, who lists an address in Galata in *Hayrenik'* and Dr. Sherbono, possibly an Italian, who advertises in *Biwzantion*.²¹ Doctors were much in demand among the wealthy and the well-to-do in the capital due to the prevalence of disease.

In the countryside and among the poor physicians' services were too costly so the people made do with a variety of tonics, remedies and elixirs said to cure all sorts of ailments and restore robust health. Confirmation of this comes from a number of Burnaby's contacts made during his horseback ride across Anatolia in 1876-1877. Of these the most notable was an Armenian doctor in Tokat, who had been educated in the States and spoke English, "with a most unmistakable Yankee drawl."²² This doctor informed Burnaby that business was flat due to the fact that "... the people do not put much faith in doctors, that is, until they are really ill, and then

¹⁹ Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 277.

²⁰ Ibid., 303-05.

²¹ Dr. Djelalyan, *Hayrenik'* 1 July 1896; Dr. Sherbono *Biwzantion* 4/16 November 1896.

²² Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 132.

we have a busy time of it. They pill themselves . . . and go in for herbs and old women's remedies; they get them cheap, and grudge the money they must pay to a regular practitioner."²³ One doctor in Damascus, Dr. Teufik, was entrepreneurial enough to use this to his advantage by offering his own personal remedy for sale, advertising it in *Arewelk'* in 1907, citing his hospital credentials and attaching a letter with official seal from the French consulate that lauded the cure rate of his tonic.²⁴

Tonics, remedies, restoratives, digestives and elixirs of all sorts were advertised in all of the Armenian newspapers of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, just as they were in European and American newspapers of the time. Cod liver oil preparations were especially commonplace because it was hailed as a treatment for consumption, one of the principal causes of death in the nineteenth century. A host of wasting diseases were identified as "consumption" in the nineteenth century; many of these would have benefited from the vitamins later discovered to exist in cod-liver oil. However, the most common disease classed as "consumption" in the nineteenth century was undoubtedly tuberculosis, the bacterium for which was discovered and identified by the German physician Robert Koch in 1882. Among the many premature deaths from tuberculosis (consumption) in the second half of the nineteenth century, two in particular affected the prominent Armenian intellectuals of the time, namely that of the much-revered poet-playwright, Mekerlich Beshiktashlean (1828-1868) and that of the renowned satirist Hakob

²³ Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 132. Even such a knowledgeable man as Hamlin mentions treating himself with a "blue pill followed by castor oil" for awful headaches experienced on a monthly basis while teaching at Bebek Seminary and adds the comment "Ugh!" that most consumers of this treatment must have felt; see Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 248.

²⁴ *Arewelk'*, 16 October 1907.

Baronian (1843-91), both of whose works were discussed and praised in the Armenian newspapers.²⁵

One of the cod-liver oil preparations was the American-made *Emulsion Scott*, imported after the Chicago World's Fair had introduced the variety and excellence of American-made products to the world. This cod-liver oil, which is still sold today in America as Scott's Emulsion was a regular feature in the ad section of *Arewelk'* in 1902, its trademark image of the fisherman with a large cod slung over his back easily recognizable (Fig. 25).²⁶ The emulsion, which was the result of research and experimentation, initially used the initials P.P.P. and three words "perfect, permanent and palatable" as a marketing slogan but soon introduced the fisherman image for greater consumer recognition. Its principal competitor in Hamidian Istanbul was an earlier cod-liver oil created by the Parisian pharmacist Thomas Hogg, which appears in the Armenian newspapers as *Huile d Hogg*.²⁷ This oil, which was widely touted as being more efficacious than others on the market in the mid-nineteenth century, was created from "fresh" cod livers rather than from old or rotted fish and therefore considered more pure and less nasty in taste and smell. As early as 1856 Hogg published an article on his extraction method in an effort to publicize proper technique.²⁸ A Parisian medical journal of 1882 discusses the controversy over the relative merits of dark versus light colored cod liver oil preparations and concludes that the lighter ones made from fresh fish liver, which smell and taste better, are of higher quality and

²⁵ Agop J. Hacikyan et al., *The Heritage of Armenian Literature* III (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005), 286-90 and 404-19.

²⁶ *Arewelk'*, 21 February 1902 and 24 February 1902.

²⁷ *Arewelk'*, 14 January 1902 and 21 February 1902.

²⁸ Thomas Paul Hogg, *Étude sur l'huile de foie de morue naturelle; ou, Du meilleur procédé d'extraction de cette substance destinée aux usages de la médecine . . .* (Paris: V. Masson, 1856).

greater efficacy than the darker oils; it cites *Huile de Hogg* as one of the standards of quality.²⁹

Both Scott and Hogg set up operations next to their cod source to ensure the freshness of their extractions.

In addition to cod-liver preparations, tonics that included quinine, which occurs naturally in the bark of the cinchona tree, were also popular. The medicinal qualities of the bark of the cinchona tree, which was discovered by the indigenous people of Peru and Bolivia, were introduced to Europe by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. By the nineteenth century quinine was used in many therapeutic concoctions and advertised to treat practically every complaint although its value was primarily due to its efficacy as an antimalarial drug. Quinine-based tonic-wines such as Quina Laroche and Vin de Bugeaud are two well-known examples that appear in the Armenian newspapers of the late Hamidian period as well as in contemporary European and American papers. Simple Quina Laroche was advertised to treat weakness, gastritis, convalescence and fevers; in Boston, two versions of Quina Laroche were advertised, not simply the regular tonic but one with added iron for anemia and the consequences of childbirth.³⁰ *Vin de Bugeaud*, a French tonic and nutritive wine with wild Bolivian cinchona bark and cocoa, sold also in Paris and New York, was advertised in *Arewelk'* as effective in cases of anemia, chlorosis, intermittent fever, chronic diarrhea, gastralgia, and convalescences of all sorts, including debilitated children, delicate women, and enfeebled elders.³¹ An advertisement for this tonic in 1892 in the *The Western Medical Reporter*, a journal subtitled “a monthly epitome of medical progress” states: “Vin de Bugeaud has enjoyed since 1858 the high approbation of the

²⁹ *Journal de Médecine de Paris*, Revue générale de la presse médicale française et étrangère, ed. A. Lutaud (Paris: 1882), 589-91.

³⁰ Cf. *Arewelk'*, 6 April 1899 and *Boston Evening Transcript*, 12 May 1905.

³¹ *Arewelk'*, 14 January 1902.

New York Academy of Medicine. Thousands of practitioners of all countries have spontaneously borne testimony to its efficacy.”³²

Vin Chapoteaut was a somewhat different remedy although it too was advertised as a nutritive stimulant for weakly patients in the Armenian papers.³³ This was a peptone-based nutritive wine that many ads “certify” through its use by M. Pasteur of the French Academy of Science and Paris hospitals. This alimentary wine contained chemically pure peptone, or digested beef, which explains its prescription for digestive ailments and constitutional weakness. Like the other remedies it was also considered beneficial for a variety of diseases such as cancer as well as painful menses.

A similar meat-derived alimentary remedy advertised in the Armenian newspapers alongside the other tonics and remedies was Somatose, which was marketed specifically for invalids and infants.³⁴ This pharmaceutical was created by the Farbenfabriken Friedrich Bayer & Co. of Elberfeld in Germany, which had become heavily invested in newer industries such as pharmaceuticals by the end of the nineteenth century, with the result that Germany’s economic output was surpassing that of Britain, which still relied heavily on textile manufacture.

Less a remedy than a nutritional product were the condensed milk and infant formula products advertised by the Swiss company Nestlé, formed in 1905 by the merger of the Anglo-Swiss Milk Company and Farine Lactée Henri Nestlé.³⁵ Two different images are used by the

³² *Western Medical Reporter*, vol. 14: 5 (Chicago: May 1892), 5, which also advertises on page 3 “The Sanitarium” of Battle Creek, Michigan, described as “an unrivaled place for chronic invalids,” which offers “all that pertains to modern rational medical treatments.”

³³ *Arewelk'*, 21 February 1902.

³⁴ *Arewelk'*, 9 April 1899.

³⁵ For “human milk substitutes” see: Jacqueline H. Wolf, *Don’t Kill Your Baby: Public Health and the Decline of Breastfeeding in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Ohio State University Press, Columbus: 2001), 158-86, 240-41, n. 5 especially, which states: “Condensed

merged company, the older image of a milkmaid with pail that advertises “Milkmaid Brand” Swiss milk and the newer image of a can of condensed milk with the words Farine and Nestle in large type.³⁶ Both ads emphasize the high quality of the milk and its use as baby formula and appear regularly in *Arewelk'* by 1907.³⁷

Numerous medical and pharmaceutical journals and reviews of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Europe and the United States discuss the uses of these various tonic-wines and alimentary remedies. The preponderance of ads for medicinal tonics and remedies in the Armenian newspapers shows how important these products were in the minds of the residents of Istanbul and the other cities and towns of the Ottoman Empire. It is worth noting that the longest-lived Ladino newspaper of the Ottoman Empire, *El Tiempo*, which at its height was read by half the Jewish adults of Constantinople, according to Sarah Stein, featured more advertisements for health products and services than any other type of advertisement.³⁸ Even for those without disease these products such as the tonics and supplements advertised in the Armenian and Ladino as well as in the Turkish newspapers of Constantinople, offered a life-line for both Ottoman Muslims and *raiahs* after famines, epidemics, and other natural disasters that periodically struck Constantinople. After the famine that struck Ankara in 1873-74, the city had

milk seems to have been the generic phrase for all canned milk, condensed *and* evaporated. Unsweetened, *evaporated* milk was actually physicians' canned milk of choice for babies, but they usually referred to it not as evaporated milk but as condensed milk....”

³⁶ *Decisions of Commissioner of Patents and U.S. Courts in Patent and Trademark and Copyright Cases* (1916), 219-20, which identifies Borden's Condensed Milk Company as the exclusive agent of Nestle and Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Company in the United States and explains the registration of the trademark milkmaid image with the words “Milkmaid Brand” in the US Patent Office in 1900.

³⁷ Milkmaid image in *Arewelk'*, 16 July 1908; 5, 10, and 12 August 1908; Nestle can image in *Arewelk'*, 11 August 1908.

³⁸ Stein, *Making Jews Modern*, 6, 187-92.

still not recovered in 1876, according to Burnaby, from the effects of the famine, which caused 18,000 deaths in the neighborhood of the town and another 25,000 subsequently due to the consequence of lingering effects.³⁹

The discussion of health-related advertising in the Armenian newspapers is not complete without mentioning two other categories of medicinal remedies, one for constipation and one for pain that frequently appear in advertisements of the early twentieth century. Both are very easily identified since the constipation remedy is called Purgen and the pain remedy is called Pain Killer in English.⁴⁰ The aptly named laxative Purgen was first marketed in Germany in 1900 and was soon being advertised all over the world, even as far off the beaten track as Tasmania.⁴¹ A stimulant laxative based on the newly discovered phenolphthalein, Purgen was considered extremely safe and very reliable and was sold in various strengths, infant, adult and strong. By 1910 Purgen was so well known that proprietary drug-makers all over the world were concocting their own mixtures and selling them under their own proprietary names during the second decade of the twentieth century.⁴² Less than scrupulous manufacture and advertising of patent-medicines had become so commonplace, in fact, that the Russian government decreed in 1907 that patent-medicine vendors must provide information about the composition and preparation of remedies. The *Journal of the American Medical Association* in 1912 published a book notice about a recently published exposé by a physician named Sokoloff that lists “the dangers and harms of

³⁹ Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 66.

⁴⁰ Purgen: *Arewelk'* issue 10 and 13 August 1907; 9, 13, 22 and 27 May 1908; 8 and 10 August 1908. Perry Davis Pain Killer: *Arewelk'* issues: 1, 8, 13, 16, 20, 22 and 27 May 1908, 6 and 10 August 1908.

⁴¹ See the Australian newspaper of Hobart, Tasmania, *The Mercury*, 25 July 1910.

⁴² James C. Whorton, *Inner Hygiene: Constipation and the Pursuit of Health in Modern Society* (New York: Oxford University Press: 2000), 95-96.

remedies advertised in the lay press” by fraudulent patent-medicine makers and includes Purgen as one of compounds being loosely copied.⁴³ Purgen was by no means the only product being advertised as laxative in *Arewelk* in 1907 and 1908; Villacabras was another frequently advertised laxative marketed with an image of the bottle.⁴⁴

The pain remedy called Pain-Killer that is seen in early twentieth century advertisements in *Arewelk* was initially concocted by a shoemaker named Perry Davis born in Massachusetts in 1791 and was widely marketed in the nineteenth century. Its popularity was no doubt owed to some extent to its narcotic component. This patent medicine which contained opium was, however, marketed as being efficacious against cholera and dyspepsia. A series of cholera epidemics in Istanbul during the nineteenth century would have produced a ready-made clientele for this remedy, which was also advertised as beneficial for both internal consumption (for circulation, pain, cramps and bowel complaints) and external application (for rheumatic pain, swelled face and toothache). Images in *Arewelk* show an outstretched hand offering a bottle labeled Pain Killer. In the United States the Food and Drug Act of 1906 required that drugs containing alcohol, cocaine, heroin, morphine and cannabis, be accurately labeled with contents and dosage. Labeling greatly reduced the sale of patent medicines containing opiates, which by the early twentieth century were understood to be dangerously addictive.

Appliances for the home: sewing machines and washing machines

Appliances for the home use are advertised in Armenian dailies although they are not nearly as numerous as the medicinal tonics and remedies. Those that do exist seem intended for

⁴³ *Journal of the American Medical Association*, v. 58 (17 February 1912), 510.

⁴⁴ *Arewelk* 2 and 16 July 1908 and 6 August 1908.

the lady of the house, specifically the sewing machine and the washing machine. Both of these were originally developed for industrial and commercial use during the period when factories and manufacturing centers were being built in many countries. Eventually their ease of use and time-saving character was recognized. They were then “miniaturized” and marketed to the modern household for the “modern” woman. The residential washing machine freed women from the heavy labor of washing just as the residential sewing machine allowed her to make garments quickly and easily for herself and her family.

The most common advertisement for appliances in the Armenian papers is for the sewing machine. The first sewing machine was patented as early as 1790 by Thomas Saint, but the actual introduction of the appliance to the world and its subsequent adoption for factory manufacturing and later for home use occurred only in the course of the nineteenth century. So important was the invention of the sewing machine for the daily life of people in the second half of the nineteenth century that its transformative character is regularly referred to by those who lived through the period before and after the appearance of the household sewing machine. Looking back on his long life when writing his autobiography in the 1890s, the missionary Cyrus Hamlin fondly recalls not just his college years with Longfellow as one of his admired teachers at Bowdoin College but the fact that he received “a pair of shirts of the nicest linen that could be found,” as a present after giving a public oration on commencement day in 1834. This present “of the nicest needlework” is remembered nostalgically as belonging to a time over half a century earlier, “when ladies’ fingers were the only sewing machines.”⁴⁵

Two names stand out in the history of sewing machines during the nineteenth century, the Frenchman Barthélemy Thimonnier and the American Isaac Singer. Thimonnier received patents

⁴⁵ Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 138.

for several industrial sewing machines in the 1840s and actually opened a factory hoping to produce military uniforms for France but was forced out of business due to attacks by tailors fearing job loss. Singer (1811-1875) was an inventor of various machines who in 1851 patented an improved sewing machine, easy to use and easy to adapt for home use and even made it available on an installment payment plan. Before Singer and the mass production of Singer & Co. sewing machines in the 1850s and 1860s, sewing machines were exclusively industrial machines made for garment, shoe and bridle factories and for tailors. Singer soon expanded into the European markets and became one of the earliest American-based multinational corporations with agencies in Paris and South America. Presumably the Paris agency for Singer helped to introduce home sewing machines to the Ottoman Empire. Ads for Singer machines exhibit a heraldic symbol, the Ottoman royal warrant, which was the seal of approval for purveyors to the Sultan's house.⁴⁶ Images of single home-use sewing machines also appear in Armenian newspaper advertisements.⁴⁷

Another popular appliance advertised in the Armenian newspapers was the washing machine. The standard image associated with the machine showed a woman wearing an apron dropping a piece of clothing into a barrel or open drum of water (Fig. 10).⁴⁸ In the mid-nineteenth century commercial washing machines were more advanced and more common than residential washing machines even in the industrialized countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom, but by the end of the nineteenth century residential washing machines had become standard equipment in the well-appointed house. Even in the Ottoman Empire residential

⁴⁶ See *Arewelk'*, 21 February 1902.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Arewelk'*, 31 December 1893 (Fig. 25) and 21 February 1902.

⁴⁸ See *Hayrenik'*, 1 July 1896.

washing machines were being advertised in the newspapers of Istanbul and sold to the households in the Ottoman capital.

The history of the washing machine in Ottoman Istanbul is extraordinarily interesting due to an unusual confluence of the dirt and disease of war together with the compassionate and inventive mind of the American missionary Cyrus Hamlin, who was commended for the important service he “rendered to the British army by erecting a washing establishment for the hospitals at Koululee” during the Crimean War.⁴⁹ This was by no means the only service that Hamlin rendered to the British army but is by far the most colorful. Moreover, it was the means by which the effectiveness of the washing machine can be said to have been introduced to the general population of Istanbul. After a British steamer had unloaded two hundred fifty men at the Kulelie hospital on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus in November 1854 following the Battle of Inkerman, Hamlin inadvertently picked up eleven Crimean lice on his gloves just by trying to help place a wounded Russian on a stretcher. After removing those “monsters” as he called them, Hamlin decided he must inspect the wounded and sick British inside the hospital, whom he discovered were “deplorably destitute of underclothing and covering.” The soldiers told Hamlin that “their clothing was so loaded with vermin that they preferred to suffer from the cold rather than from the vermin,” having had no washing done for six months since they had neither wood nor water with which to do it themselves. Discovering that it was not only new arrivals who suffered from lack of clean clothing and bedding, Hamlin inquired of the chief physician in charge why nothing was being done to alleviate the problem:

He replied that the Greek women only pounded the clothes in the salt water of the Bosphorus, and brought them back damp, which killed the men quicker than

⁴⁹ Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 481.

anything else. And besides, the clothes were so filthy they could not be cleansed and they were building a great chimney and furnace to consume them all.⁵⁰

Hamlin became so incensed seeing the suffering of the soldiers “with such an inhuman overseer” that he sought out the sergeant of the clothing and discovered a great hall with clothing for a thousand men piled up together with beds and bedding that had been “taken from the wounded and the dead with all possible abominations, and incredibly full of vermin.”⁵¹ Hamlin commented, “If anything could make war utterly accursed, it would be the Crimean lice! They are large, fat, disgusting, overgrown, *hellish*-looking creatures!”⁵² He explains how horrible their bite is—which he had personally experienced—and opines that they probably killed more English soldiers than did Russian bullets. Hamlin then went to Scutari and told the chief purveyor of the hospital that there were thousands of women—Armenian, Greek, and Turkish—in the Bosphorus villages who would be glad of washing work. He quickly hired a hired “a tumble-down house” that had a large garden suitable for drying the clothes and a huge kitchen with “an unfailing supply of water” and found twenty-two Greek and Armenian women eager for the work. Everything came to a complete halt when the neighbors complained about the horrible odor emanating from the clothing and the women all fled because the clothes were so filthy and loaded with vermin they feared to touch them. A solution had to be found and Hamlin found it by creating a washing machine so that the women could be spared the hand-laundering:

A thought struck me. It came of itself — a complete idea of one of the empty oak beer-casks lying at Kulelie, changed into a washing machine. I sent for my best workman, Pandazee, to come, with another man, to work all night, if need be . . . But the next morning, about nine o'clock, the machine was ready, and on the ground. A few women sullenly came, after much persuasion, to see it tried. I must

⁵⁰ Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 357.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 357-58.

⁵² *Ibid.*

produce a surprising effect on the first trial; and a large quantity of melted soap had been put unnoticed into the barrel. I took up the articles with tongs, and put them in, let on the water, and told the man to work the brake twenty minutes. Five or six minutes were found to be quite enough. The water ran off with a filthy, muddy color. Pure water was let in, till, after rinsing, it came away pure. The articles were taken out transformed!⁵³

All the women returned to work and more machines were made. Brushes made of fine brass wire were also needed and acquired by Hamlin to remove the lice eggs that had not come off in the boiling water of the washing machines. With good drying weather, thirty workers and six washing machines, three thousand articles could be cleaned in a day. The women earned thirty to forty-five dollars a month, the articles were cleaned at a rate of seventy-five cents per dozen large items, fifty cents for medium items and thirty-seven and one-half for small items. Hamlin remarked that the whole enterprise worked out exceedingly well for everyone. It took a long time before the entire hospital was cleansed of every sign of vermin, but “in the end the Crimean enemy was utterly subdued.”⁵⁴

In this way the benefits of the washing machine were introduced to all of the villages along the Bosphorus. Word of mouth of the miraculous invention would have spread to all the women of Istanbul in the mid-1850s. It is therefore no surprise that residential washing machines were being advertised in the newspapers of Istanbul in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and marketed to the ladies of the Ottoman capital and also no surprise that the washing tubs resembled the empty beer casks which Hamlin had so creatively recycled for the relief of the Crimean soldiers.

⁵³ Ibid., 361.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 363.

The fashionable Armenian

By and large the personal items of clothing, shoes, perfumes, and hair-dyes, which are advertised in the Armenian newspapers, are clearly intended to appeal to men and women wishing to appear fashionable in their time. These are the accoutrements of the modern man and modern woman, who are well-to-do residents of the Ottoman capital and other cities in the Empire. A “crazed pursuit of the latest fashion and the attempts to look *ifranji*’ (European),” has been recognized in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Beirut, a city like Istanbul where the “Westernization” can be said to be characteristic of the Christian commercial bourgeoisie.⁵⁵ Even cigarette smoking, which probably arrived in the Ottoman Empire from France in the mid-nineteenth century, played a significant role in the globalization of the Ottoman Empire. Its adoption by many classes of society relatively simultaneously suggests that it was identified less as a Western fashion than as a modern innovation, marketed by a strong local tobacco industry, which not only improved upon the pipe (*chibouk*) and waterpipe (*narghile*) but saved time in the faster paced modern world.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Cf. Abou-Hodeib, “The Material Life of the Ottoman Middle Class,” 586-87, citing the work of Nada Sehnaoui and Leila Fawaz who discuss the rise of a mostly Christian commercial class in Beirut despite the city’s substantial Muslim population. Abou-Hodeib is careful to note that Fawaz is aware that her and others’ reliance on European archives for trade with the West may have “overemphasized the role of Christian merchants at the expense of Muslim ones trading with the rest of the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, and sometimes even Europe.” Cf. Elizabeth Frierson, “Gender, Consumption and Patriotism: The Emergence of an Ottoman Public Sphere,” in Armando Salvatore and Dale F. Eickelman, *Public Islam and the Common Good* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 114, who remarks that “the temper of the times was clearly for European fashions, especially if they could be bought in Muslim stores or sewn from fabric bought in Muslim stores.”

⁵⁶ Rellie Shechter, “Selling Luxury: The Rise of the Egyptian Cigarette and the Transformation of the Egyptian Tobacco Market, 1850-1914,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (2003) 51-75, esp. 52-53, 58-59. Interestingly, Shechter (59) reports that British soldiers adopted the Ottoman and Russian habit of smoking Eastern tobacco rolled in paper during the Crimean War.

Clothing and shoes

An 1896 advertisement for simple clothing, written in Armeno-Turkish, shows the image of a young woman wearing a simple wide-brimmed hat and a long-sleeved shirtwaist dress buttoned up the front (Fig. 4).⁵⁷ She appears to be lifting the hem of her dress to avoid dirtying it or dampening it. Very different from the simple lines of the dress just described are the elegant lines of the sophisticated dresses seen in a later advertisement from one of the department stores in Istanbul. There in a 1908 issue of *Arewelk'* ladies' fashions at La Grande Fabrique S. Stein are advertised with a picture of two elegant ladies strolling beside each other clothed in sophisticated European-style walking dresses wearing elaborately plumed hats, one of whom carries a purse while the other carries a walking stick or cane of some sort.⁵⁸ A similar ad for the Stein store appears around the same time in *El Tiempo*, the Ladino newspaper of Istanbul, also promoting imported French and English clothing but for men and youngsters as well as women.⁵⁹ Interestingly, Stein appears to have had a completely different marketing strategy for its ladies' apparel than it did for its "department store" as a whole, where a boy street vendor carrying a sign on a stick advertised its other wares.⁶⁰

Elegant ladies such as those shown in Stein's ad for women require fashionable European heeled shoes such as are advertised in *Arewelk'* in 1907 and 1908.⁶¹ At the same time *The Shoe Retailer* of Boston carried a short article entitled "Shoes in Constantinople," which describes

⁵⁷ *Masis*, 8 December 1896.

⁵⁸ *Arewelk'*, 12 September 1908.

⁵⁹ Stein, *Making Jews Modern*, 178-182, fig. 6.2, *El Tiempo*, 6 April 1908.

⁶⁰ See section below on "Department stores."

⁶¹ *Arewelk'*, 14 January 1902; 15 and 23 January 1907.

customary Turkish shoes and shoe shops, reporting that Turkish shoes are like Japanese shoes, purposefully made loose fitting so as to be easily removed, as must be done on entering mosques and school buildings.⁶² The author of the article suggests that doffing street shoes and doning a toe slipper made of wood or leather is a queer custom but then he remarks that “they think us [Westerners] quite as queer” for taking our hats off and keeping our shoes on. Interestingly, the shop-keeper is said to stock “long soldier boots” as well as “red shoes for Armenians, blue shoes for Greeks, black shoes for Jews,” and all kinds of slippers. Needless to say, this is not the shoe store where the elegant ladies in European outfits shop.

Rubber-soled men’s shoes and boots, from Russia and from Boston are advertised in 1907 in *Arewelk'*, using images of the soles with a grid pattern in the rubber.⁶³ Those labeled from Boston were actually from the Hood Rubber Co. located in East Watertown where a lot of Armenian immigrants were employed in what was at that time the largest rubber shoe factory in the world and which was then celebrating its tenth anniversary of operation.⁶⁴ An even more interesting image can be seen for the Globe Trotter Shoe advertised in *Arewelk'* in 1908.⁶⁵ The ads employ a catchy image of a large-footed man, wearing a hat and big shoes while holding a shoe in his hand as he runs with one foot resting on a globe that has a banner around its

⁶² *The Shoe Retailer and Boots and Shoes Weekly*, vol. 64, no. 6, 9 November 1907 (Boston), 57.

⁶³ *Arewelk'*, 13 July 1907, which advertises Hood Rubber Company boots and shows on the left a sole stamped with the name of the company’s second quality brand, “Old Colony Rubber Company” and on the right a sole stamped with the name of the company’s first quality brand called “Hood Rubber Company.” Cf. *The Boot and Shoe Recorder*, vol. 51, no. 19, August 7, 1907 (Boston), 77 shows a full-page ad by Hood Rubber Company with an image of a first quality Hood stamped sole similar to that on the right in *Arewelk'* while page 81 lists the Hood Rubber Company and the names of its first quality and second brands.

⁶⁴ See below for discussion of Hood Rubber Company factory. See *The India Rubber World*, March 1, 1907 (New York), pl. xlv for a wonderful full-page ads with images of the factory in its first and tenth years.

⁶⁵ *Arewelk'*, 12, 19, 23, and 26 May 1908; *Arewelk'*, 5, 8, 12, and 29 June 1908.

circumference announcing The Globe Trotter Shoe. This shoe was apparently a side-line of the famous luxury brand of luggage (still being) made by the Globe Trotter Company founded by an Englishman, David Nelken, in Saxony, Germany, in 1897, which soon moved to England where it later became a favored brand of Winston Churchill as well as Queen Elizabeth.⁶⁶

Home décor

Home décor for the fashionable men and women of the modern world was also marketed to the educated upper and middle-class Armenians, often using French terms to add sophistication. An excellent example is provided by the Psalty store advertisement for furniture (*meubles*), draperies (*étoffes*), bedding (*litterie*), upholstery (*tapisserie*), mirrors (*glaces*) and luxury items (*articles de luxe*), which are listed by their French names alongside an image of a room with double draperies, a bed frame, a sofa, a folding table, a baby carriage and a rocking chair in *Masis* in 1896 (Fig. 34).⁶⁷ The use of the French terms suggests the ad is trying to appeal to sophisticated Armenians who know French and may have studied or visited France. This is a far cry from the miserable home goods shops described more than half a century earlier by Goodell and Hamlin when their wives were attempting to furnish their living quarters.

We found the dry-goods stores very unsatisfactory. Carpets and calicoes had flaring colors and big figures. An English lady (Mrs. Redhouse) who knew the languages and could talk Turkish, Greek, and French, was going to housekeeping at the same time. She found at Ruboli's store a beautiful carpet pattern, and immediately informed us. Wife also

⁶⁶ *Arewelk'*, 6, 15, 19, 23 and 26 May 1908.

⁶⁷ *Masis*, 8 December 1896. Cf. Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism: The Emergence of an Ottoman Public Sphere," 112-13, who speaks of Istanbul's "interwoven enterprises of factory, sweatshops, and home industries at the end of the nineteenth century as well as the advice to Ottoman consumers to support the local economy by buying local produced goods and avoiding imported goods."

found after much search some calico for sofa covering and curtains harmonizing with the carpet. Mr. Ruboli sent a man to make and fit the carpet and put it down.⁶⁸

Furniture, mirrors, chandeliers and other items of home décor were also to be found in the new department stores that were starting to appear in Istanbul in the late nineteenth century. Even if members of the emerging middle-class in the Ottoman Empire were unable to afford authentic Parisian furniture, they could still buy European-style look-alikes locally produced.⁶⁹

Perfumes and Hair-Dyes

Perfumes based on natural aromatics such as plants and flowers are known to have existed in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt. In the pre-modern era when personal hygiene left much to be desired and bathing houses were usually establishments outside the home infrequently visited and requiring payment, it is not surprising that perfumes were in high demand to mask unpleasant body odors and infrequently washed clothing. Arab and Persian processes for making perfumes and extracting oils from flowers like the rose by distillation. Subsequently, monarchs, including Catherine de Medici (1519-1589) began to employ personal perfumers such as the Florentine Renato who helped develop the perfume industry in France.

In the nineteenth century the Frenchman Edouard Pinaud (1810-1868), having apprenticed himself at a young age to learn the techniques of perfumery, moved to Paris and opened a perfume shop that soon excelled so much that he began to manufacture in large quantities in order to sell in bulk not only in France but abroad. By the middle of the nineteenth

⁶⁸ Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 189.

⁶⁹ Cf. Abou-Hodeib, “The Material Life of the Ottoman Middle Class,” 588-89, where this type of local cabinet-making is referred to in Beirut as “*ifranji* cabinet-making” (*nijara ifranjiyya*) as early as 1889.

century Pinaud had become the supplier to Napoleon III and his Empress Eugénie as well as Queen Victoria of Great Britain. Pinaud traveled extensively to find the best distributors for his products, which had by then won many awards at international fairs. In 1891 the Ed Pinaud Company launched its most successful perfume to which it attached the daring and suggestive name of *Flirt*, which proved an incredible marketing tool. Advertisements for Pinaud's perfumes are frequently seen in the Armenian newspapers of Istanbul during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Fig. 4).⁷⁰ It is interesting to note that Ahmed Vefik is known for a remarkable list of services he provided as *vali* to Bursa, including, "the introduction of rose-trees, and the production of otto of roses."⁷¹ According to the well-known 11th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Ahmed Vefik (who has his own entry) was so famous for this and his other contributions to Bursa that "he became so popular that when in 1882 he was recalled, it was thought advisable that he should be taken away secretly by night..."

Extracts from plants and minerals have been used since antiquity to darken, lighten or change the color of hair. Over the past two millennia the reasons for dyeing hair have varied from inducing fear in enemies during war to identifying prostitutes to restoring or maintaining a youthful or healthy appearance. By far the most common reason for dyeing one's hair has been and remains vanity. For centuries hair-dyeing was a vanity restricted for the most part to the well-to-do. Perhaps the most famous example of royal use of hair color to maintain the appearance of youth is that of Queen Elizabeth in the sixteenth century. Queen Elizabeth's auburn hair remained brilliant red throughout her long reign thanks to regular use of henna. In the nineteenth century two discoveries made the use of hair dye both more accessible and more

⁷⁰ *Masis*, 8 December 1896.

⁷¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (1910) 423-33, s.v. Ahmed Vefik.

effective; these were the identification of a substance called para-phenylenediamine (PPD) that worked as a synthetic dye and the recognition of the bleaching effects of hydrogen peroxide. As a result, by 1907 the French chemist Eugène Schueller was able to create the first commercial hair dye called “Oréale,” which he manufactured and sold to Parisian hairdressers and which later became the brand of hair-dye known today as L’Oréal.

The Armenian newspapers exhibit advertisements for men’s hair and beard dye with “before” and “after” images that resemble contemporary makeover advertisements (Fig. 11).⁷² Duplicate images of the head and shoulders of a full-bearded male with a thick crown of hair are displayed next to each other, the one on left a grey version and the one on the right a black version.

Here one is reminded of Burnaby’s overnight stay a Kurdish village where the Persian inhabitants, attired in loose blue garments, had their beards dyed red and some even had their fingernails stained. The Turkish escort for Burnaby considered the Persians “ridiculous creatures,” commenting: “Only think of the men dyeing their beards red! One would have thought that black would have been a more appropriate color.”⁷³ When Burnaby remarks that some of the English women dye their hair a light color, the escort replies that with women he can understand it because:

Every part of a woman is false, from her tongue to her smile, dyeing her hair red enables her to carry on the deception; but for men to dye their hair red—they might as well form part of a harem at once! However, these Persians are a nation of women.⁷⁴

⁷² *Hayrenik*, 1 July 1896.

⁷³ Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 267.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

The Armenian office-worker

Armenian men working in banks, businesses, hotels, and offices of all sorts at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century needed more than Western clothing and multi-lingual facility for dealing with Ottomans of all ethnicities as well as the many foreigners living and working in Istanbul. They needed the accoutrements of the modern worker. As white-collar workers in the modern world, they were expected to be punctual and manage their work-day appropriately. They needed to keep track of the time.

Pocket-watches

Some of the Armenian businessmen and office workers may have managed to keep track of the time by using the clock on the office wall, but most needed the newest accoutrement of the modern man, the pocket watch.

The wearing of watches is believed to have originated in the sixteenth century, with timepieces hung around the neck or attached to clothing. The designation pocket watch belongs to the late seventeenth century. It was then that Charles II of England (r. 1660-1685) introduced waistcoats and men began to put their personal timepieces into their pockets rather than wear them around their necks as women continued to do until wristwatches replaced pocket-watches after World War I due to the discovery during the war of the easy access and availability of wristwatches. Storage in pockets informed the design of the pocket watch; they became round and flattened with a chain for attachment security. The most popular pocket-watch in Istanbul in the early twentieth century, at least according to advertisements in the Armenian newspapers, was the Zenith pocket-watch, a high-end luxury product, manufactured in Switzerland. It appears

in numerous advertisements of 1907 and 1908.⁷⁵ The Zenith company was founded in 1865 by a twenty-two-year old who understood that the only way established Swiss watch companies could stay profitable and compete with the cheap pocket watches with interchangeable parts introduced in 1857 by the American Watch Company in Waltham, Massachusetts, was to go high-end and produce luxury timepieces and pocket watches. That decision helped define Swiss watches as luxury time pieces throughout the twentieth century.

Typewriters

At the end of the nineteenth century newspapers in the Ottoman Empire, including the Armenian newspapers discussed here, carried much of the same advertising found in contemporary Western newspapers. By that time there was no appreciable delay or lag in the world of Ottoman retail or wholesale merchandising even for current innovations for home, office or factory. A good example of the speed with which new designs and innovations appeared in the Armenian papers is provided by the Adler typewriter ads that begin to appear regularly at the very end of the nineteenth century and become common in the first decade of the twentieth century.

While the idea of typewriters had been studied and early models produced, it was not until just after the end of the American Civil War that the first practical typewriter which could type words faster than a man could write was produced in the United States. Mark Twain is, in fact, credited with being the first author to compose on the typewriter. In a letter to his brother written in 1875, Mark Twain reports:

I am trying to get the hand of this newfangled writing machine, but am not making a shining success of it. However this is the first attempt I have ever made,

⁷⁵ *Arevelk'*, 18 July 1907.

& yet I perceive that I shall soon & easily acquire a fine facility in its use... I believe it will print faster than I can write...It piles an awful stack of words on one page. It don't muss things or scatter ink blots around.⁷⁶

This was a problematic Remington no. 1 purchased in Boston and only able to produce capital letters; Twain had so many problems with this typewriter that he soon passed it on to a friend. However, nine years, later using a better version of the typewriter, Twain became the first author to deliver a typewritten manuscript—his memoir *Life on the Mississippi*—to a publisher. As a newspaper man and author Mark Twain would have appreciated the virtues of the typewriter almost immediately even though at that early period the typewriter was being advertised by Remington & Sons, makers of firearms and sewing machines, as a piece of equipment “the size of a sewing machine” due to its stand which was like that of a sewing machine and its treadle foot by which means its carriage returned. Clearly, this was not yet the portable machine that journalists might wish to carry on an overseas assignment. It was apparently considered a piece of furniture and was advertised for business and home as “as ornament to an office, study or sitting room.” Typing was offered as a course in New York schools beginning in 1878 and the New York YWCA, which soon thereafter provided typing courses to women, paved the way for women typists to become secretaries and stenographers.

America was far distant from the Ottoman Empire, however, which meant that only rare or exclusive American items unobtainable from closer European centers were advertised in the Ottoman papers and sold in the Ottoman Empire. Just as typewriters began to be considered essential equipment for the home or business at the end of the nineteenth century a relatively new German firm in Frankfurt decided to start production of typewriters. This firm, the Adler

⁷⁶ Mark Twain, Letter to his brother Orion, typewritten from Hartford, and dated December 9, 1874 (original at Vassar College).

Company, was only formed in 1896 and initially made bicycles, automobiles and motorcycles but its owner decided to produce typewriters for small and large businesses as well as homes after introducing some improvements to the American patents.

Adler produced its first typewriter in 1898 and thereafter introduced a succession of new and improved models, making Adler among the most famous companies manufacturing typewriters. Its models made their appearance in the Armenian papers of the Ottoman Empire almost immediately even though other companies' typewriters of the time, for instance, those made in the United States, did not appear. The Adler ads are very easy to spot because of the Adler trademark image showing a large eagle (*Adler* in German) alighting on the roller of the typewriter.⁷⁷ The fact that Germany was a preferred friend and trading partner at this time may also help explain the proliferation of Adler ads.⁷⁸

An interesting tidbit of information from 1901 states that the Turkish customs authorities prohibited the entry of typewriters into Turkey because the authorship of a typewritten document could not be established or a person using a machine traced—which brings to mind the fact that typewriters had to be registered in Syria until well past the mid-twentieth century due to

⁷⁷ *Arewelk'*, 18 July 1907.

⁷⁸ See also Toufoul Abou-Hodeib, "The Material Life of the Ottoman Middle Class," 585, for a reference to "the 1908 boycott of Austro-Hungarian goods in response to Vienna's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Ottoman Empire," which is described as an early example of consumption becoming "politicized." Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism: The Emergence of an Ottoman Public Sphere," 118-20, has an interesting discussion of this boycott. Cf. no. 78 for Abdülhamid's banning of American-made typewriters when German-made Adlers are being advertised; this may be an earlier example of "politicized consumption."

government censorship.⁷⁹ The report adds, “A large number of American typewriters in various Turkish custom-houses have been refused admittance and ordered to be returned.”⁸⁰ Of course, the keyboards for these typewriters were all made for Latin letters used in English and European languages, with which the multi-lingual Armenians, Turks and foreigners working in the Ottoman capital were familiar.

The Arabic letter typewriter suitable for Ottoman Turkish as well as for Arabic and Persian documents was not invented until 1899 by Selim S. Haddad, a Syrian-born artist working in Cairo famous for painting a portrait of the Anglo-Austrian officer of Egypt and the Sudan later known as “Slatin Pasha” or Sir Rudolf Carl Freiherr von Slatin (1857-1932) in 1897 in Cairo.⁸¹ Slatin, whom Haddad depicts in native costume, had recently escaped from an eleven-year captivity by the Mahdi in the Sudan and published a best-selling book about his adventures.⁸²

⁷⁹ Abdülhamid II had placed a ban on the importation of typewriters in 1901 after the arrival of 200 US-made typewriters in 1901 (customs ban referred to in following footnote). Theodore Herzl’s gift of an Arabic keyboard typewriter to the Sultan was rejected because Herzl wanted a Zionist charter for Palestine which the Sultan opposed. See Liat Kozma, Cyrus Schayegh, and Avner Wishnitzer, eds., *A Global Middle East: Mobility, Materiality and Culture in the Modern Age, 1880-1940*, Library of Middle East History; v. 50 (London: IBTauris, 2015). A typewriter was apparently found among Sultan Abdülhamid II’s belongings after his deposition and has been identified as the Herzl typewriter. However, the *New York Times* article on Haddad, entitled “An Artist-Inventor from Mount Lebanon: Selim Haddad’s New Alphabet and Typewriter will Facilitate Study of Oriental Literature,” 21 August 1904, based on an interview during one of Haddad’s visits to New York reports: “The Sultan of Turkey and the Khedive of Egypt are in possession of handsome machines in white enamel and gold, built on the new alphabet, and also the Turkish and Persian Ministers in Washington....” When Atatürk later introduced the new Turkish alphabet on 1 November 1928, he abolished the use of Arabic script and officially lifted the ban on the importation of typewriters; however, Adler typewriters were clearly advertised and sold in Istanbul during Abdülhamid’s final years as Sultan.

⁸⁰ Jerome Bird Howard, ed., *The Phonographic Magazine*, v. 15, (Cincinnati, OH: The Phonographic Institute, 1901), 136.

⁸¹ Wellcome Library Collection, London, no. 45797i.

⁸² *Fire and Sword in the Sudan: A Personal Narrative of Fighting and Serving the Dervishes, 1879-1895*, translated by F.R. Wingate, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Edward Arnold, 1896), issued in German the same year.

Two years later Haddad invented the Arabic keyboard for which he obtained a US patent in 1899.⁸³ Haddad apparently got his initial inspiration from attending the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 where he went to study the art collections but got interested in mechanics; he also went to study art and mechanics at the later Paris Exposition where he stopped on his return to Syria from America.⁸⁴

Kodak Film

Advertisements for Kodak film using an image of a camera on a tripod appeared frequently in *Arewelk'* in 1907 and 1908.⁸⁵ Kodak was founded by George Eastman in 1888 to take advantage of his invention of roll film a few years earlier. The Kodak camera introduced in 1888 was fixed focus and used roll film with 100 exposures. Professional photographers all over the world began to use Kodak cameras and film. Pocket-sized Kodak cameras called Brownies were introduced as early as 1900. Amateur photography was well-established by the turn of the century due to Kodak film and Kodak cameras.⁸⁶ The ads for Kodak film, which become commonplace in *Arewelk'* during the first decade of the twentieth century, employ an image of a large fixed focus box camera on a tripod surrounded by the words Kodak Films. This is a professional camera, not the little Brownie, but it is Kodak film that is being advertised since

⁸³ US637109, filed on August 12, 1899, issued November 14, 1899.

⁸⁴ *New York Times*, 21 August 1904, 8, "Artist –Inventor" article discussed above.

⁸⁵ *Arewelk'*, 14, 16, 21 and 23 May 1908; 7, 9, and 17 July 1908; and 6 August 1908.

⁸⁶ For an excellent article on the introduction and evolution of commercial photography in nineteenth-century Istanbul, which focused initially on portraiture of individuals and groups but which was soon employed by both professionals and amateurs to record and illustrate a variety of other subjects, see Nancy C. Micklewright, "Personal, Public and Political (Re)constructions: Photographs and Consumption," in Donald Quataert, ed., *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1558-1922: An Introduction* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 261-87, esp. 273- 83.

Kodak was *the* film of the time. It is not surprising to find ads in *Arewelk'* because newspapers, publishers and advertisers of all sorts required the services of professional photographers. Here it should be noted that Fesch's 1907 book on Constantinople includes numerous black and white photos of the city and its people at work.⁸⁷ Black and white photos of important buildings and institutions as well as of prominent figures and celebrities, ranging from politicians and world leaders to an Armenian actor playing Othello, appear on the front page of *Arewelk'* regularly after the Young Turk Revolution in July 1908.⁸⁸

Public spaces in the modern world

Fashionable men and women became accustomed to strolling the streets and window-shopping in the modern world. Big cities everywhere developed public spaces, not just parks and pavilions but interior spaces such as exposition halls and department stores where the well-to-do bourgeoisie could meet and mingle, admire and purchase, and show off their fashionable attire. The great expositions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries all showcased the latest inventions and creations of every country that participated. People traveled nationally and internationally to see these great expositions not just to be entertained but to learn about the newest technology and the ground-breaking inventions of the day. The Chicago World's Fair and the various Paris Expositions provided some of the greatest international exchanges of ideas, art, science and technology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Department stores

⁸⁷ Paul Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid* (Paris: M. Rivière, 1907).

⁸⁸ *Arewelk'*, 28 July 1908 (Grand Vizier Seyid Pasha); 8 August 1908 (S.A. Kiamil Pacha); 25 August 1908 (Othello); 5 September 1908 (Arpiar Arpiarian).

By the end of the nineteenth century department stores carrying a wide range of objects in their various departments had arrived in Istanbul.⁸⁹ This was some decades after department stores were established in Britain, France and other European countries as well as in the United States. Conspicuous consumerism began to appear in the major urban centers throughout the world during the course of the nineteenth century due to the many innovations and inventions of the industrial age. A consumer society had emerged, and shopping became a pleasurable activity, promoted to engage the sophisticated and curious mind. Large retail establishments with separate departments specializing in different goods, such as clothing, furniture, appliances, cosmetics, etc. made a dramatic appearance in the middle of the nineteenth century. Variable pricing and the boisterous bargaining it required were replaced by fixed prices and relaxed consumers. Newspaper advertising brought the customers to the stores for newly arrived goods as well as for special sales. Amenities that are still in use, such as reception rooms or information centers, internal restaurants and lounges for reading and writing as well as play areas for children were introduced. Exchanges and refunds were introduced as guarantees for the integrity of the stores and their merchandise. Catalogs began to be sent out to customers informing them of the variety of goods and their prices.

In Paris the eighteenth century novelty stores developed into the nineteenth century department stores with various goods displayed in large plate glass windows. The importance of

⁸⁹ See Elizabeth Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism: The Emergence of an Ottoman Public Sphere," 109-112, where the author rightly notes that the "addition of display windows to new department stores in Pera and Galata" transformed both shopping itself and the nature of display and required more adaptation from Muslim women than from their Christian or Jewish counterparts in Istanbul. Cf. Sarah Stein's account of advertisements for Department stores and fashionable clothing and accoutrements for men, women and children in the Ladino newspapers of Constantinople at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries in *Making Jews Modern*, 177-87.

novelties in the emergence of a “modern” society should be emphasized. Consumers expected to see and admire new products, innovations and inventions that could improve their homes and businesses. The novelty business was made up of two basic types of material, international goods and patented inventions. International goods and products could be sold to new customers far beyond their original manufacture area due to increasing import-export business throughout the civilized world. Patented inventions and innovations were another kind of novelty of modern times, which were showcased at the national and world expositions being staged on a regular basis in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Nouveautés, the category into which French department stores fell in the mid-nineteenth century, are one of only four categories in the chapter entitled “Paris industriel” in the Paris Exposition catalogue of 1867—the other three being *Bazars et Galeries*, *Photographie*, and *Confection, modes* (Fashion)—presumably because these were the premier categories in which Paris could compete or outshine contemporary rivals such as London and New York.⁹⁰ The author makes it clear that the chapter is not inclusive of the thousand and one varieties of Parisian industry, many of which are discussed in the chapter entitled “Paris pratique,” but here “on se bornera à indiquer ici...les quelques maison qui priment dans l’industrie de luxe et de fantaisie.”⁹¹ Department stores had indeed become show places for the new industry of luxury and fantasy that was mesmerizing the consumer society of the nineteenth century and helping to define “modernity” in their eyes.

The earliest novelty store turned department store in Paris, Au Bon Marché, founded in 1838, was listed under the category of *Nouveautés* in the chapter on “Paris industriel” in the

⁹⁰ Edmond Renaudin, *Paris-Exposition; ou, guide à Paris en 1867 ... orné de cartes, plans et gravures* (Paris: Charles Delagrave et C^{ie}, Libraires-éditeurs, 1867).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 455.

Paris Exposition catalog of 1867; its two locations or branches were described as “immenses magasins.”⁹² Interestingly, the first of Au Bon Marché’s competitors, the famous French department store Printemps, founded in 1865, which was advertised in the Armenian newspapers of the late Hamidian period, was not listed in the Paris Exposition catalog, apparently due to its recent creation.⁹³ Printemps was only one of the great Parisian department stores of the second half of the nineteenth century, with which all visitors to Paris, including many Turks and Armenians from the Ottoman Empire, would have been familiar. By the end of the century France was known internationally for the number and quality of its grand department stores. One of the better known French authors of the second half of the nineteenth century, Émile Zola (1840-1902), even set one of his novels in a department store appropriately called “The Ladies’ Paradise” in French and explored both the good and bad aspects of modern society with its consumerism. Like many other novels of the time Zola’s *Au Bonheur des Dames* (1882-1883) was first serialized in a French literary periodical before being printed in book form. Not just French nationals living in Istanbul but also French-educated Ottomans, both Turks and Armenians, would have been familiar with Zola’s work by the end of the nineteenth century.

British department stores were also flourishing in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is noteworthy that the department stores of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Europe and the United States derived some of the inspiration for their large, open and inviting spaces from a “modern” British engineering feat, the aptly named Crystal Palace, which was an unusual glass structure designed by Joseph Paxton and used for the opening of the Great Exhibition of 1851 by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. All visitors to London, including the

⁹² Ibid., 457.

⁹³ *Arewelk'*, 24 February 1902. Cf. Abou-Hodeib, “The Material Life of the Ottoman Middle Class,” 588, for French department store advertising in Beirut.

Turks and Armenians of the Ottoman Empire, would have visited and marveled at the luxurious spaces in the Crystal Palace, as Nemik Kemal did upon his visit. By the end of the century major shopping centers existed not only in London but also in Glasgow and Liverpool.

The Baker's Department Store, an establishment run by George Baker at nos. 241 and 500 on the Grande Rue in Pera, advertised all sorts of home goods and personal accessories in full-page ads in *Arewelk'* in 1907 and 1908. Travelers to Constantinople were informed in guidebooks of the time that George Baker carried "European articles" and listed some of the items, including "travelling outfit, Oriental goods, linendraper."⁹⁴ He was also said to have "an excellent selection of modern and old Turkish embroideries, and there is less trouble in bargaining, &c with him." To top it off, the guidebooks added that Baker "makes special arrangements for shipping goods." A good example of Baker's large ads displays images of over twenty home goods items, including various pens, candlesticks, hair brushes, metallic serving dishes, oil and vinegar cruets, perfume flasks, atomizers, vases, tongs.⁹⁵ Another shows roll-top desks, wardrobes and upholstered sofas.⁹⁶ Similarly, another large ad displays over twenty personal accessories, including briefcases, luggage, binoculars, toiletry sets, silverware organizer that can be purchased at Baker's Department Store.⁹⁷

Karlman's Department Store advertises using both Armenian and Armeno-Turkish to describe its home goods and clothing.⁹⁸ Stein Department Store has an image of young boy

⁹⁴ *Handbook for Travellers in Constantinople, Brûsa, and the Troad, with Index and Directory for 1907*, edited by Charles W. Wilson. (London: John Murray, 1907), 161-62.

⁹⁵ *Arewelk'*, 27 December 1907.

⁹⁶ *Arewelk'*, 14 July 1908

⁹⁷ *Arewelk'*, 25 September 1907. This ad focuses on items that the well-prepared traveler would want to carry while visiting the Ottoman Empire.

⁹⁸ *Arewelk'*, 3 January 1904 (Julian)

carrying a sign for the store that says, “Where do you go for the newest fashion? Stein. Where do you go for a good hat? Stein. Where do you go for jewelry? Stein.”⁹⁹ American department stores were established not only in New York, but also in Philadelphia and Chicago during the second half of the nineteenth century. However, I have not been able to find advertisements of the American department stores in the Armenian newspapers.

Expositions of industry and industrial equipment

All the big international and national expositions or fairs had displays of the newest industrial equipment. Machines of various sorts for different industrial purposes can be seen in the Armenian newspapers. Some of the most recognizable machines can be seen in the large ad in *Arewelk'* displaying images of different types of sewing machines for different types of production. Here it is good to recall the boot factory employing 450 men that Burnaby visited in Erzingan in 1877.¹⁰⁰ Forty thousand pairs of boots had been made in the previous two months but another twelve thousand were urgently needed in Erzeroum to supply the Turkish and Kurdish troops ordered up to defend the empire from the upcoming Russian attack. The officer in charge of the factory, however, has not received all the supplies needed to facilitate the work although he shows Burnaby the English thread manufactured in Glasgow that he has adopted in place of a much weaker though cheaper French thread. “In one room a number of Armenian and Turkish lads were working sewing machines,” according to Burnaby, and all were paid by piecework. Burnaby’s analysis is interesting: “The boots manufactured in the establishment were made to lace high up over the ankle, and with very thick soles. They are much heavier than

⁹⁹ *Arewelk'*, 21, 28 July 1907 and 14 August 1907.

¹⁰⁰ Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, 202-3.

those furnished to English troops, and would be apt to tire the soldiers during a long day's march.”¹⁰¹ This may help to explain why imported rubberized footwear is advertised in the Armenian newspapers.¹⁰² A 1907 issue of *Arewelk* shows ads for Russian-made rubberized footwear next to American-made ones from Boston, USA when *The India Rubber World* states that “the American consular office at Constantinople estimates the total annual value of footwear at between \$370,000 and \$430,000 and all other rubber goods at from \$150,000 to \$170,000,” making footwear the bigger part of imported rubber goods.¹⁰³ It ranks the US third, behind Russia and Germany, in supplying Turkey and names three US brands “which are preferred by the wealthy classes on account of being light in weight and attractive in shape.”¹⁰⁴ Some of the most interesting of such ads are those of Hood rubber-soled shoes and boots, manufactured by the Hood Rubber Company in Watertown, Massachusetts, a town still known for its Armenian roots, due in part to the Hood factory which employed a lot of Armenian workers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁰⁵ Massachusetts was the center of the shoe-making

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 203.

¹⁰² See above and *Arewelk*, 5 December 1907.

¹⁰³ *The India Rubber World*, June 1, 1907 (New York), 286.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, where it continues, “Those who prefer heavier and more durable goods buy the Russian products.”

¹⁰⁵ See Hood Rubber Company Records, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School, Cambridge, MA. See also the book by the granddaughter of Frederic Clark Hood: Elizabeth Hood Pigford, *Front & Center: Frederic Clark Hood & the Hood Rubber Co.* (self-published, 2008), and the digital archive at <http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~bak00172>. See also “Destination Watertown,” a documentary film of 2010 by Roger K. Hagopian, narrated by Robert Mirak of the Armenian Cultural Foundation, that focuses on the Hood Rubber Co. but also gives a brief history of the Armenian migration that contributed to the success of the multi-acre complex in East Watertown, which included an automated factory, research lab and employee center offering medical services and tutoring in English. See also MHC Reconnaissance Survey Town Report of 1980 (esp. p. 6) for Watertown: www.sec.state.ma.us/mhc/mhcpdf/townreports/Boston/wat.pdf

industry in the United States until World War I due to its innovators and inventors like Charles Goodyear, Sr., whose invention of the rubber vulcanization process that allowed rubber soles to be sewn to uppers was employed in his son's welting machines in 1877. The Hood Rubber Company, founded in 1896, made rubber-soled shoes and boots using the new vulcanization process; the factory rented the patented machines and employed over ten thousand workers in the early twentieth century.¹⁰⁶ The company specialized in durable and casual footwear used as work boots and athletic shoes, but it also provided rubberized heels and soles to more formal leather footwear. Many of Hood employees were recent immigrants like the Armenians who fled the Ottoman Empire during and after the Hamidian massacres of 1894-1896 and especially the Adana massacre of 1909, and who settled in large numbers in factory towns such as Lowell, Massachusetts, which produced textiles, and Watertown, with its Hood factory shipping Hood boots as far away as Istanbul.

Insurance for fires and other losses

Big business and multi-national corporations such as those operating in Istanbul in the late nineteenth century required the protection afforded by insurance, as the advertisements in the Armenian papers demonstrate. This is understandable since a history of fires plagued Istanbul, as the list of "Notable Conflagrations in the World's History" published in a 1915 insurance yearbook for fire and marine, makes clear.¹⁰⁷ As late as August 12, 1911, one can read in the

¹⁰⁶ For summary and images, including nineteenth and twentieth century photographs of the Hood factory, see: The Digital Public Library of America, Exhibitions: Best Foot Forward: The Shoe Industry in Massachusetts. <http://dp.la/exhibitions/exhibits/show/shoe-industry-massachusetts/early-shoemaking/industrialization>

¹⁰⁷ *The Insurance Year Book, 1915-1916, Fire and Marine*, 43rd annual issue (The Spectator Company, New York: 1915), 480-81.

newspaper *The Spectator*, published in London, reports of the great fire that recently devastated the city and occasioned the appeal published by several of the paper's foreign correspondents requesting relief donations, "thankfully received by Lloyds Bank ... Cheques should be crossed to the "afc Stamboul Fire Fund, British Committee." The letter of appeal states that,

One can walk for several miles over nothing but ruins and smouldering cinders stretching from the Sea of Marmora almost to the shore of the Golden Horn. 2,500 dwellings, shops, and other buildings have been destroyed. Many thousands are absolutely destitute.¹⁰⁸

The signatories of the appeal, who include Gertrude Lowthian Bell, ask "for help on behalf of the unfortunate men, women, and children who have lost their homes and household goods in the recent catastrophe at Stamboul."¹⁰⁹ They note that "the property of few has been covered by insurance, and that the need for assistance is great. British residents at Pera and Galata are co-operating with those of other nationalities in succouring the victims of the fire."¹¹⁰

Inhabitants of the city were accustomed to fires since they occurred with such regularity. A relatively early edition of an English handbook for travelers in Ottoman capital published in 1871 by the same John Murray who published the Ubicini translation by Lady Easthope remarked that Pera was then "the best-built suburb of the capital," having burned several times in the century.¹¹¹ The Reverend Goodell includes first-hand, eye-witness accounts of the many fires that he and his family personally experienced and suffered through during his forty years in

¹⁰⁸ *The Spectator*, August, 12, 1911 (London), 13.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ *Handbook for Travellers in Constantinople, the Bosphorus, Dardanelles, Brousa and Plain of Troy* (London: John Murray, 1871), 64. Interestingly, the title page of this early handbook lists publishing houses in Paris, Alexandria, Malta and Constantinople, where the handbook may be found.

Istanbul.¹¹² Less than a decade after Goodell left the Ottoman capital Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Constantinople* of 1871 states: "It is no longer customary for the Sultan to go out to a fire. Indeed, it would be hard for him to do so, as a fire occurs nearly every night, and sometimes several during the twenty- four hours."¹¹³ Watchtowers, fire engines carried on the shoulders of four men, and the process of hiring men to put out fires are described in the handbook, with the horror of such catastrophes detailed.

Terrible fires of 1865-1866 required the editor to mark their extent on earlier maps of the city since streets were being materially altered. The fire of September 5, 1865, broke out in the Demir Kapou quarter and destroyed nearly one-fifth of "Stamboul." The handbook describes it in these terms:

This terrible conflagration — fanned by a strong NE. wind — spread from the Golden Horn across the peninsula to the Sea of Marmora, destroying nearly 8,000 houses, 20 mosques, 2 Armenian and Greek churches, a large number of baths, khans, and public buildings. The total property destroyed is estimated to have exceeded several million pounds in value. Instead of the former wooden edifices, the government has determined that either stone or brick buildings are alone to be constructed, and this much-to-be-commended resolution is, it is said, to be generally applied to the capital on both sides of the Golden Horn.¹¹⁴

Further fires followed in 1866 but did not reach the level of destruction of the 1865 fire. There seemed to be no end to fires, however, despite the change in building codes. A short account of the conflagration of Pera on June 5, 1870 is given in the same handbook of Constantinople.¹¹⁵ It is said to have broken out in the Armenian quarter in the street called Valide Chesme and spread

¹¹² William Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire: Or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell by his son-in-law E.D.G. Prime, D.D.* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1875), 114-20, 342-43, 348-49.

¹¹³ *Handbook for Travellers in Constantinople* (1871), 65-66.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 76.

to all the wooden houses in the vicinity. Luckily, most of the inhabitants “had gone to Hunkiar Skelesi to celebrate the fête of the tenth anniversary of their Constitution.”¹¹⁶ This fire spread rapidly and engulfed both sides of the Grande Rue of Pera and even gutted the British Embassy that was protected by a leaden roof and iron shutters. The handbook sums up the destruction, stating, “More than 3,000 houses, many of them handsome stone mansions, were totally destroyed... It was impossible to ascertain the number of lives lost, but it is supposed that between 500 and 1,000 persons perished in the flames.”¹¹⁷

Considering the history of fires in the Ottoman capital, it is not surprising that an insurance yearbook listing fire and marine insurance companies throughout the world in 1894-1895 reports that “The Societe Gernerale d’Assurance Ottomane was recently organized at Constantinople,” and remained the only domestic fire insurance company in the city for many years.¹¹⁸ Foreign companies provided most of the fire, marine and life insurance to protect the foreign businesses operating in the Ottoman capital and the foreigners residing there. Sir Edwin Pears discusses the long history of fires in Istanbul and one that he experienced during his residence.¹¹⁹ He also provides some useful information about fire insurance and life insurance in the Ottoman capital:

Constantinople being so liable to fires, it was natural that there should be a great many fire insurance companies. Twenty of these were British. Some excellent

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 74. Here the “Constitution” refers to the Armenian Constitution of 1860 described in Chapter 1.

¹¹⁷ *Handbook for Travellers in Constantinople* (1871), 75. A decade later *Appleton’s Guide Book* reports (835) that: “Before the fire of 1870, Pera had 70,000 European inhabitants, but the catastrophe reduced them to about one-half that number.”

¹¹⁸ *The Insurance Year Book, 1894-95, Fire and Marine*, 22nd annual issue (New York: The Spectator Company), 82. Cf. *The Insurance Year Book, 1918-1919, Fire and Marine*, 46th annual issue (New York: The Spectator Company, 1918), 477.

¹¹⁹ Edwin Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople: The Recollections of Sir Edwin Pears 1873-1915* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1916) 313-14.

French companies also existed, as well as Swiss, German, and Austrian. The respectable companies of various nationalities formed what they called a Fire Committee [of which Pears was the legal advisor] to defend the interests of their companies.¹²⁰

It is also no wonder that the Armenian newspapers frequently advertise fire insurance and life insurance.¹²¹ Ads for L'Equitable Insurance des Etats-Unis and even more appropriately Phénix Assurance of Austria and of France—since the phoenix is reborn from the fire—appear in *Arewelk'* in the years immediately preceding the 1911 fire. Apparently, only well-capitalized businesses and well-heeled residents could afford insurance since reports of the 1911 fire make clear that most people lacked insurance. Even then there many disputes with the Government's law courts, according to Pears, due to some trying to throw the burden of loss by fire on wealthy companies and others regarding life insurance as gambling and therefore contrary to Islamic law.¹²²

Transport: shipping lines and rail

Travel to and from Istanbul changed dramatically during the course of the nineteenth century. Forty-days after leaving Boston with his new wife and setting out for Constantinople, Cyrus Hamlin reached Smyrna in January 1839 on the way to missionary work in the Ottoman capital. “After ten days' refreshing intercourse, we left in the steamer *Stamboul*, of which we had read in America. It was, I believe, the first steamer that opened regular communication

¹²⁰ Ibid., 315-17.

¹²¹ Cf. Stein, *Making Jews Modern*, 192-95, about insurance advertising in the Ladino newspapers.

¹²² Pears, *Forty Years in Consantinople*, 316-17.

between Smyrna and the great capital. Other lines soon followed.”¹²³ By the mid-nineteenth century there were five regular lines of Ottoman steamboats going between Constantinople and the cities of Smyrna, Salonica, Izmid (Nicomedia), and Broussa (using its port at Kremlik). The Armenian sarrafs owned these lines and operated them without direct assistance from the Ottoman state.¹²⁴ European travel-guides of the last quarter of the century list various commercial routes to Istanbul (always called Constantinople in European guide books) by a combination of rail and steamer in Europe and the Mediterranean. The route and steamer line, *Messageries Maritimes* that Burnaby took to arrive in the Ottoman capital in 1876 can be experienced by reading such guides.¹²⁵

Two principal rail lines running in and out of the Ottoman capital were in operation by the beginning of the twentieth century, one with trains to and from Adrianople with service on to Vienna and Paris (run by the Oriental Company) and another with trains to Ankara and beyond (the Asiatic line). There were also local branches. Major rail schedules were posted in the newspapers, sometimes with an image of train pulled by a steam locomotive.¹²⁶ The important link between Constantinople and Thessaloniki via Alexandroupoli and Adrianople inaugurated in April 1896, which took three years to build turned out to be critical for the Greek-Turkish War of

¹²³ Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 179.

¹²⁴ Ubicini, *Lettres* I, 287.

¹²⁵ Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Constantinople* (1871), 6 (Burnaby's steamer route from Marseilles), 7-8 (list of all steamer lines, running from Constantinople), with hints about reliability, cost, and comfort: "The worst accommodation is aboard the Greek and Turkish steamers." Cf. *Appleton's European Guide Book for English-speaking Travellers, Part II, Including Switzerland, Germany . . . Greece, Egypt, Algeria and the Holy Land . . .* 25th edition, completely revised and corrected (New York: D. Appleton and Co., and London: Sampson Low, etc., 1888), 827-835 for Routes 212 and 213 from London to Constantinople.

¹²⁶ *Arewelk*, 21 February 1902.

1897 because it made speedy transport of Turkish troops possible along a line safe from coastal attacks by the sea. As a result, a decisive Ottoman military victory was possible.

Leisure and pleasure

Certain advertisements in the Armenian newspapers seem to promote a secular non-Muslim way of life. As Christians, Armenians would not have been subjected to the Muslim prohibition of alcohol. Thus, advertisements for French apertifs and cognac do not seem inappropriate, especially since they had become common before and after-dinner drinks among the well-heeled social classes of many countries in the nineteenth century. What is unexpected, however, is their association with the Sultan, whose seal of approval was awarded to a domestic brand of cognac despite the Islamic prohibition against alcohol.¹²⁷ Here it might be remembered that the missionaries Smith and Dwight reported seeing “a hogshead of New England rum” being carried across Anatolia in 1830.¹²⁸ They were astounded to find that enterprising American merchants had found a “market for their poisons” until they were told that “about a third of what reaches Constantinople is bought by Georgian merchants.”¹²⁹ Some of the alcoholic drinks advertised in the Armenian papers of Istanbul was undoubtedly intended for Armenians and

¹²⁷ *Arewelk'*, 31 December 1893.

¹²⁸ Eli Smith, H.G.O. Dwight, and Josiah Condor, *Missionary Researches 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* (London: G. Wightmann, 1834), 131. Hereafter, this book will be cited with only Smith and Dwight as authors because Josiah Condor was a British editor and author who compiled a 30-volume worldwide series of historical travel guides entitled *The Modern Traveller*, and Conder has attached his *Memoir of the Geography and Ancient History of Armenia* to Smith and Dwight's missionary travelogue.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

other Christians and foreigners living further east in Anatolia or even in the Georgian cities beyond.

Amer Picon, an orange-flavored aperitif made by Picon & Co. of Bordeaux, France was regularly advertised in *Arewelk'* in the first decade of the twentieth century.¹³⁰ Alcoholic beverages were permitted to Christians, of course, but advertising was no doubt limited all the same. Of some interest is the fact that the manufacturer tried to market the drink as both a tonic and a proprietary medicinal preparation against malaria, which could help to explain its advertising in *Arewelk*. In the United States, however, Amer Picon was declared by U.S. Customs to be dutiable (at \$2.60 per proof gallon) as belonging to the class of “bitters containing spirits.”¹³¹ Secular pleasures did not need to be disguised in the United States as they did sometimes in the Ottoman Empire, but one had to pay appropriately for the pleasure.

Another type of unexpected advertisement in keeping with secular life were those marketing ladies' corsets despite the Islamic admonition about the requisite modesty of dress for women in the Ottoman Empire.¹³²

6.2 Global News, Information, and Literature in the Armenian Newspapers

¹³⁰ *Arewelk'*, 18 and 26 Jan 1907; 16 May 1908, *Arewelk'*, 8 August 1908.

¹³¹ *United States Compiled Statutes Annotated*, 1916, compiled by John A. Mallory, vol. 6 (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co., 1917), 6291-6292, Ch. A, Duties upon Imports, Schedule H. no. 240

¹³² *Arewelk'*, 13 July 1907. This advertisement is appearing five years after Turkish women were being told “Do not wear the corset,” not just for reasons of health or modesty but for patriotic reasons, namely, to avoid imitation of the West and to buy local. See Elizabeth B. Frierson, “Gender, Consumption and Patriotism: The Emergence of an Ottoman Public Sphere,” 114-16, 122-23.

Educational or instructional information comprised the largest part of the contents in Armenian dailies that were not advertisements for products or services. In 1867 in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Dadian wrote, “Les sujets que traitent ces journaux sont assez varies; la politique, l’histoire, la littérature et les sciences leur fournissent un continent d’articles adaptés au goût de leur lecteurs habituels...”¹³³ However, he finishes that thought by noting, “le fond consiste principalement en reminiscences de provenance française.”¹³⁴ Dadian was bemoaning the fact that Armenian papers in Istanbul were full of French cultural news and not Ottoman news of interest to the Armenian readers. He was referring to the fact that many of the Armenian literary figures of the time wrote about their travels in France, including Hrant Asatur who upon his return to Istanbul in 1884 published in *Arewelk'* a series of recollections called “*Kyanke i Fransa*” (“Life in France”), primarily about Paris, where he had gone to study law.¹³⁵

Early in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century the Armenian periodicals and newspapers of Istanbul became less fixated on France and French ideas and more focused on life and topics in the Ottoman Empire and especially in Turkey itself. At the same time international news and information became more global in orientation. Later in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century global news, discoveries, histories and entertainments eclipsed local Turkish articles of similar content. This was due not only to Abdülhamid II’s strict censorship of domestic information but also to the fact that the global world had by turn of the century so far outpaced the Ottoman Empire that important “modern” news, discoveries, art and literature were all imports into Turkey.

¹³³ Mekerdich Dadian, “La société arménienne contemporaine: les Arméniens de l’empire ottoman,” *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1 May 1867), 924.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 531.

Readers of the Armenian newspapers, like readers in general, considered themselves members of the modern world. They wanted to learn about other countries and other customs and know what was happening elsewhere. Armenians were already spread around the world and familiar with many parts of it. Multilingual Armenians living in France and elsewhere, began to translate a good deal of popular modern literature into Armenian so that it could be serialized and sold in the Ottoman Empire and abroad. Other Armenians living in Istanbul itself translated the news and informative articles from foreign papers and books into Armenian for the local papers. At the same time, however, more native Armenian literature, written by the Armenian intelligentsia, was serialized and more reporters wrote about daily life and events in the Armenian schools and communities. By the end of the nineteenth century the global Armenian had been born.

Educational and instructional articles of multi-national and multi-lingual interest

The educational and instructional articles published in the Armenian papers of the late Hamidian period, to which the majority of surviving papers date, include a variety of articles of cultural and historic interest. For example, the list of topics covered in *Arewelk'* in 1908 in the months before the Young Turk Revolution includes several on "Life in America" with subtitles of "The Americans," some of which name the author and the translator.¹³⁶ A slightly earlier "Life in America" article, which continues onto the second page, discusses the phrase "Home Sweet Home," gives a New York byline and names a translator.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ *Arewelk'*, 8-9 July 1908, written by Andre Ferdieh(n) and translated by Ch. Nemde.

¹³⁷ *Arewelk'*, 24 February 1908.

A long series of articles on “Ancient Greek Art and its Origins” by Dikran Surmeyan was published in *Arewelk'* in late June and early July 1908.¹³⁸ In the same months a series of articles entitled “Literary Album” by Apisoghom Der Sarkisyan examines the literary output of several important figures, including the feminist Zabel Yesayan as well as Professor Khatchadurian and Diran Cherakian in addition to a group identified in the subtitle as “Spiritual Literary Men.”¹³⁹

An article entitled “Life in Berlin” focuses on philosophers such as Kant and Schopenhauer.¹⁴⁰ There is also an article written by Mekerdich Barsamian on the German philosopher and Protestant theologian Eduard Zeller (1814-1908) under the heading “German literati,” which is a combination obituary and posthumous account of Zeller’s work.¹⁴¹ Zeller, who is well-known for being the first to use the adjectival term “*übermenschliche*” that later as a noun (“*Übermensch*,” Superhuman) was extensively used by Nietzsche and the propagandists of the Nazi Party, wrote a great deal on ancient Greek philosophy. His principal interest for Armenians, however, was as the author of a history of the Christian Church, which included discussion of the divisions in the Church over theological questions such as the monophysite belief of the Armenian Church.¹⁴² There is an article by Mesrob Sahagian entitled “Provincial Literature and its Importance,” and in the same issue an article on “Persian Literature” featuring Omar Khayyam.”¹⁴³

¹³⁸ *Arewelk'*, 23-24 June 1908 and 2-3 July 1908.

¹³⁹ *Arewelk'*, 9 July 1908 (Yesayan), 3 July 1908 (Khatchadurian), 13 July 1908 (Cherakian), and 23 June 1908 (spiritual literary men). Cf. Chapter 4 under section “Recognizing the role of women” for more on Yesayan.

¹⁴⁰ *Arewelk'*, 16 July 1908.

¹⁴¹ *Arewelk'*, 28 and 31 March 1908.

¹⁴² Eduard Zeller, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche* (Stuttgart: Franckh, 1847).

¹⁴³ *Arewelk'*, 14 July 1908.

In February 1908 *Arewelk'* published many articles about poetry in different languages and cultures, which included accounts of not just French poetry but also Ottoman poetry and even Armenian poetry.¹⁴⁴ In a discussion of Ottoman translation the following month a French poem of consolation by Sully Prudhomme (1839-1907) entitled *Les yeux* was printed on the front page of *Arewelk'* together with an Ottoman version entitled *Gözler*.¹⁴⁵ The author, Stepan Tabakyan was interested in discussing the poet's use of monorhyme, in which the last words of the first and third lines of each stanza rhyme (*beaux* and *tombeaux*; *jours* and *toujours*, etc.) and the last words of the second and fourth line of each stanza end in another rhyme (*nombre* and *d'ombre*; *l'aurore* and *encore*, etc.). Prudhomme had been awarded the first Nobel Prize in Literature in 1901 for his poetic composition which demonstrated "idealism." The choice of this particular poem of consolation for explication, however, was probably owed to the fact that Armenian literature was full of similar poems of lamentations for the dead and for suffering over centuries of Armenian history.

Several other articles on Ottoman literature, the Turkish language, and Turkish poetry were published.¹⁴⁶ Linguistics and literature were favored topics in *Arewelk* in the year before the Young Turk Revolution. A discussion of Esperanto, a favored solution to universal language, was included among the many articles on linguistics.¹⁴⁷ In a country such as Turkey and a city such as Istanbul where so many languages and dialects were spoken the idea of a universal language would have had great appeal.

¹⁴⁴ *Arewelk'*, 12 February 1908 (Armenian poetry); 13 February 1908 (Ottoman poetry); 19 February 1908 (French poetry).

¹⁴⁵ *Arewelk'*, 20 March 1908.

¹⁴⁶ *Arewelk'*, 19 December 1907 (Turkish language); 7 January 1908 (Ottoman Yet Turkish Language); 28 January 1908 (National Ottoman Literature); 6 March 1908 (Turkish poetry).

¹⁴⁷ *Arewelk'* 12, 14, 21 and 28 October; 8 November 1907; 25 February 1908 (Esperanto).

The subject of colloquial language and print is considered in two articles.¹⁴⁸ This would have been a topic of considerable interest to the writers and translators working for *Arewelk'* and presumably to their readers as well. Ever since writers such as Mark Twain had started using their characters' real idiomatic and colloquial language, fictional literature had separated from formal nonfictional literature such as history, biography, narrative prose and essays. The Armenian papers were full of translations of both fiction and of nonfiction, for which the best translators tried to create the flavor and character of original author's style.

An obituary celebrating the life and work of the German philologist Heinrich Hübschmann (1848-1908), appeared in several installments beginning in the month after his death.¹⁴⁹ Hübschmann's specialty was Oriental philology, and following his ground-breaking discovery of the origin of the Armenian language, he became professor of Iranian languages at Leipzig and later professor of comparative philology at Strasbourg. In 1875 Hübschmann demonstrated that the Armenian language was an entirely separate Indo-European language and not a branch of the Iranian languages. Using the comparative method of linguistic study he separated native Armenian words from later Iranian loan words. It is not surprising that Armenian newspapers would run detailed obituaries and feature stories about Hübschmann's work.

Articles by H. Lousarpi focus on "Literary Life in France" and "The History of French Literature."¹⁵⁰ A long article entitled Gustave Flaubert is primarily a translation and abridgement

¹⁴⁸ *Arewelk'*, 24 and 27 January 1908.

¹⁴⁹ *Arewelk'*, 28 February 1908; 7 and 14 March 1908.

¹⁵⁰ *Arewelk'*, 22 June 1908 (literary life) and 6 July 1908 (History of French Literature). Cf. Gustave Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, first published 1894, 2nd éd. rev. (Paris: Hachette, 1895).

of a section about the famous author describing his various works taken from Gustave Lanson's *Histoire de la littérature française*, published over a decade earlier.¹⁵¹ Lanson (1857-1934) was a Sorbonne professor of French literary criticism who later became infamous as the subject of satirical attacks by Jean-Paul Sartre. He was interested in the sociology of literature and uncovering the ways in which the author, the reader, the text and the various social influences interact. A few years after the *Arewelk'* articles Lanson was a Visiting Professor at Columbia University, where in 1911, among other things, he lamented the decline of the study of French in favor of the study of German in American colleges.¹⁵² Three asterisks (*) stacked to make a pyramid are used to separate sections translated directly from Lanson from the translator's own work. This interweaving of new authorship and translation seems to be a standard feature of the educational articles in the Armenian newspapers. The newspapermen would have had a font of readily available material from which to draw if fifty percent or more of their articles were translations.

One of the more unusual articles discusses "neurasthenic" literature of women, following in the footsteps of the French writer Octave Mirabeau (1848-1917), who was celebrated throughout Europe in the late Hamidian period and whose work was translated into over thirty languages.¹⁵³ His expressionist novel *Les vingt et un jours d'un neurasthénique* (*The Twenty-one Days of a Neurasthenic person*) of 1901, poked fun at "neurasthenia," which had become a popular diagnosis for a nervous disease, particularly of women but also of workers, suffering from symptoms of fatigue, anxiety, headache, depression, etc. Neurasthenia was identified as a

¹⁵¹ *Arewelk'*, 11/24 January 1908.

¹⁵² *The New York Times*, 22 December 1912.

¹⁵³ *Arewelk'*, 26 February 1908.

disorder as early as 1869 by a prominent American neurologist, George Miller Beard (1839-1883). Later, the term “Americanitis” was coined by the prominent philosopher and psychologist William James (1842-1910) due to the belief that Americans were particularly prone to the psychological disorder. An elixir named “Americanitis Elixir” was even developed to treat the condition. Most interesting is the fact that this nervous disorder was associated with the stress caused by urbanization and increasing competitiveness in business. Rest cures were often assigned to men and women diagnosed as suffering from neurasthenia. Contrary to psychological belief at the time, Mirabeau’s novel, which was full of cynicism and real-life allusions, suggests that removal from Paris to the solitude of the country for a summer vacation does not allow the neurasthenic to escape the madness of modern life. In addition to Mirabeau, many well-known authors, some of whom were said to suffer from neurasthenia themselves, depicted neurasthenic characters in their novels, including Virginia Woolf, Marcel Proust, and, most notably, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, whose famous story, *The Yellow Wallpaper*, is an account of a woman diagnosed with the condition and subjected to a rest cure that was basically solitary confinement which brought on insanity. Articles such as this in *Arewelk’* would have made the Armenian readers feel connected to contemporary literature and literary criticism, both serious and the satirical, and consequently sympathetic to or skeptical of the psychological disorder.

A large number of articles in *Arewelk’* during the two months before the Young Turk Revolution are dedicated to various series of articles of public education, which had become a focus of many nations by this time. National progress was understood to be dependent upon the education of the masses in the newly global world of the early twentieth century. The topics discussed in the Armenian papers at this time, some in as many as five parts, include “The

Condition of Education in the Provinces,” “Boy and Girl: the Mixed Instructional (Coeducational) System,” “Educational Work in Izmir,” and “Central Education: School and Press.”¹⁵⁴ The enormous interest in and advocacy for education had long been an important subject in Armenian newspapers and journals, as the work of Utudjian, Mamurian, Berberian, Dussap, Sibil/Sibyle Asatur, and Zabel Yesayan has already demonstrated. Armenian public school education, once the exclusive province of the Armenian Church, had become a completely secular concern by the 1860s when the Armenian National Constitution was written. Six months before the five-part series on education mentioned above a long article on female education specifically was published in *Arewelk'*.¹⁵⁵ The emphasis on female education underscores the reality behind the clauses in the National Constitution requiring equal education for girls as for boys. It should be noted that all the articles on “Central Education” were written by the same man, described as a Doctor (probably a PhD), named D. Topdjian. Topdjian had written several articles on education for the *Arewelk'* the previous year as well. He probably had some kind of official position in the Armenian schools and may have been remembered by the readers of *Arewelk'* for his earlier articles on “Psychological Questions” (“*Hokepanagan Harts'er*”).¹⁵⁶ The author of one of the pieces on coeducation is identified as Josef Gogler. Neither Topdjian nor Gogler are otherwise known to me.

¹⁵⁴ *Arewelk'*, 3 and 6 July 1908 (provinces); 25 June 1908, (coeducational); 22 June 1908 (Izmir—cf. related articles in earlier issues 6796, 6808-9); 7-8, 11 and 15 July 1908 (Central Education). Cf. an earlier article on education in *Arewelk'*, 16 August 1893, printed shortly before it was suppressed due to the massacres of the mid-1890s.

¹⁵⁵ *Arewelk'*, 28 December 1907. Cf. an earlier article on women and important issues,

¹⁵⁶ See below, n. 173

An interesting aspect of some 1908 issues of *Arewelk'* are the “Letters to the Editor” which begin to appear around that time and are written in response to earlier articles. The authors are identified by name and city.¹⁵⁷

Conservative newspapers such as *Biwzantion* apparently did not fully embrace the new secularism in the interests of maintaining ties to the Armenian Church and to the Sultan during uncertain political times. In early July 1908 Biwzand Kechian, owner and editor of *Biwzantion* wrote an editorial on the Holy Scriptures and modern life (modernity) in an issue focusing on matters of interest to his Armenian Christian readers.¹⁵⁸ The same issue included an article by Melkon Asadour discussing Christ’s sermon referring to Caesar while equating Caesar with the Sultan.¹⁵⁹ Kechian’s focus on religion continued in another issue several days later in an article entitled “The Anglican Church and the other Churches.”¹⁶⁰ Around the same time *Biwzantion* published an advice column entitled “Lying and Unfaithfulness in Marriage” translated by K. Khorasanjian.¹⁶¹ Kechian’s earlier position in the 1890s arguing against the publication of “immoral” literature (with which Zohrab took offense) clearly allowed exploration of immoral behavior for the purpose of religious condemnation. In 1907 Fesch describes Kechian as a “journaliste de valeur,” which might explain his paper’s greater circulation than *Arewelk'* in 1908 despite its more conservative and religious character.¹⁶² Articles on religion are less common in *Arewelk'* in the year before the Young Turk Revolution, but they do exist; one such article is that

¹⁵⁷ *Arewelk'* issue 6827, 2 July 1908 (by Simon Mikaelian) and issue, 6834, 10 July 1908 (by Sir Vaheh Balezanian of Izmir).

¹⁵⁸ *Biwzantion*, 1 July 1908.

¹⁵⁹ *Biwzantion*, 1 July 1908.

¹⁶⁰ *Biwzantion*, 6 July 1908.

¹⁶¹ *Biwzantion*, 3 July 1908.

¹⁶² Paul Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid*, 66-67.

on the general topic of “Theology and Philosophy,” which includes accounts of the life and work of several prominent figures including the German Lutheran philosopher and botanist, Johannes Reinke (1849-1931).¹⁶³ Reinke was the author of *Die Welt als Tat*, who introduced the term “theoretical biology and was a critic of Darwin’s theory of evolution, preferring instead to explain biological change through “morphogenesis” and genetic regulation, which he called the “Dominanten” theory.¹⁶⁴ Armenians would have been interested in his work because of Reinke’s discussion of the relationship between religion/philosophy and science.

A long article on the Ottoman Imperial Museum with a photograph of the classical façade describes the museum as “Louvre-esque.”¹⁶⁵ This article was written on the occasion of the opening a new wing to the famous archaeological museum. Comparisons such as this would have made the Ottoman people of all ethnicities feel important and modern since their museum could be compared to the world-renowned Louvre. A few days earlier an article discussing the Director of the Imperial Museum, Hamdi Bey, appeared together with a photo showing him wearing a European suit, eyeglasses and a fez.¹⁶⁶ Except for the fez, the Director could have been mistaken for a European intellectual. Osman Hamdi Bey (who was of Greek descent) was known throughout the world for his excavation, together with Yervant Voskan (who was of Armenian descent) of the Royal Necropolis in Sidon, Lebanon, which in 1887 brought such famous pieces of ancient art to Istanbul as the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus.

¹⁶³ *Arewelk'*, 8 February 1908.

¹⁶⁴ Johannes Reinke, *Die Welt als Tat: Umrisse einer Weltansicht auf naturwissenschaftlicher Grundlage* (Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1905).

¹⁶⁵ *Arewelk'* 18 December 1907.

¹⁶⁶ *Arewelk'*, 14 December 1907.

Quite a number of articles about various aspects of Ottoman Literature and the Turkish language appeared in *Arewelk* in the year before the Young Turk Revolution. In the months before the Young Turk Revolution *Arewelk* also includes articles on the “History of Ottoman Literature” by Stepan Tabakyan and “Life in Cilicia,” for which, not surprisingly, the author is listed as “correspondent” rather than by name due to the political tensions in the region.¹⁶⁷ Articles of this kind, which were “sensitive” since they focused on real life in the Ottoman Empire and had potentially dangerous implications, might help explain why non-controversial papers like *Biwzantion* enjoyed greater circulation numbers in 1908 in the months before the Young Turk Revolution.

Women are mentioned frequently in one capacity or another, in literature and in education especially, but there are also articles on “Women’s Clubs” and “Women in Russia.”¹⁶⁸ An article entitled “Our Young Ones” discusses children’s issues and another entitled “Country Life” discusses rural issues.¹⁶⁹ These were clearly designed to appeal to female readers of the Armenian newspapers.

Scientific and technical articles about international discoveries and theories

In the newly globalized world of the late Hamidian period scientific and technical articles about international discoveries and theories become increasingly frequent. The modern world demanded progress on all fronts, in the home and in society at large, and the key to that progress was recognized to lie in science and technology. Ottoman Turkey and all of its inhabitants,

¹⁶⁷ *Arewelk*, 12 June 1908 (Ottoman literature) and 7 July 1908 (Cilicia).

¹⁶⁸ *Arewelk*, 21 February 1908 (Women’s Clubs); 1 February 1908 (Women in Russia).

¹⁶⁹ *Arewelk*, 11 January 1908 (Youth); 22 October 1907 (Country life).

whether Turk or not, wanted to modernize for the survival and prosperity of the empire. In the late Hamidian period, to which most surviving Armenian newspapers date, instructional articles about scientific developments, technical innovations, medical discoveries, public health initiatives, and useful inventions of all kinds regularly appear in the Armenian newspapers, frequently as translations from foreign papers, journals and books since it was less expensive to translate than to hire scientific and technical reporters. The Armenian newspapers represented a multi-national world to its readers, with full international exchange of information and “news” insofar as the latter did not threaten the throne of Abdülhamid II.

After the reappearance of *Arewelk'* in 1898 following the long suspension during the mid-1890s, scientific and technical columns become regular features. Some of the most interesting are the detailed articles on the Pelton water-wheel and on cable cars such as the one in the Ottoman capital.¹⁷⁰ The Pelton water wheel was a water turbine invented by an American, Lester Allan Pelton (1829-1908), in the 1870s. It produced energy in a new way, from the impulse of moving water, as opposed to the earlier method of producing energy from the dead weight of water. This allowed for a very efficient turbine, which was of great interest to countries and companies trying to produce energy from hydro-power. The *Arewelk'* article includes several images of the water wheel at work, in order, perhaps, to inspire its use in the Ottoman Empire. The cable car article in *Arewelk* would have been of great interest to the people of the Ottoman capital due to the construction of the short underground funicular railway called the Tünel in the 1870s, which opened for service in January of 1875. This funicular, still in use today, was originally of greater importance because it connected the two most important neighborhoods in Istanbul in the second half of the nineteenth century, namely Pera (modern Beyoğlu) and Galata

¹⁷⁰ *Arewelk'*, 17 December 1898 (water-wheel) and 8 October 1898 (cable car).

(modern Karaköy). A French engineer visiting Constantinople in 1867, the same year as Mark Twain, recognized the need for ease of travel between the two heavily trafficked financial hubs of the city, the lower area of Galata where the stock exchange, banks, companies and port were located and the upper area of Pera where foreign embassies, hotels, exclusive shops and luxury residences were located. The people of Istanbul could take immense pride in their Tünel because it was the world's second oldest underground urban rail line, second only to the London Underground opened a mere twelve years earlier. This funicular railway was therefore an immediately recognizable symbol of modernity and progress in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷¹

A close look at the scientific and technical articles in *Arewelk'* in the year preceding the Young Turk Revolution are particularly instructive. Science was perceived as broad enough to encompass public health and agriculture while technology was recognized as the source of innovations, machines and devices that improved public health and agriculture. Many articles are therefore devoted to agriculture, new farming techniques and the various methods to improve harvests; there are even accounts of beer-making and bee-keeping.¹⁷² Numerous articles were likewise printed on various aspects of health and medicine, often entitled "Medical Questions" or "Medical World," which often included discussions of parasites, lung health and tuberculosis, a common and fearful disease of the period.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ It is listed separately, alongside other modes of transportation including the three existing tramways in 1907 and the railways, steamers, etc., in Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Constantinople, Brûsa, and the Troad, with Index and Directory for 1907* (John Murray, London: 1907), 156.

¹⁷² *Arewelk'*, 17 and 23 October 1907; 28 November 1907; 5, 11 and 27 December 1907.

¹⁷³ *Arewelk'*, 1, 5 and 16 October 1907 (Medical); 3 February 1908 (tuberculosis); 9 and 11 March 1908 (lung health).

Interestingly, health itself was now recognized as including not just the body but the mind. Science was increasingly called upon to study and solve the mechanisms and mysteries of the mind as well as of the body. In the months preceding the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 the same Dr. D. Topdjian who wrote about education in *Arewelk'* also wrote a number of articles in installments about “Psychological Questions” (“Hokepanagan Harts’er”) that focus on the history and theory of the movement called spiritualism (*spiritism* in French), which arose in the mid-nineteenth century. This movement gained a great following in the world as a modern offshoot of a longstanding belief that aspects of the physical world which cannot be explained by the laws of nature are actual manifestations of the invisible spiritual world.¹⁷⁴ Earlier ideas of animism and magic found in many primitive religions are predecessors of this modern spiritualism. The early twentieth-century articles in *Arewelk* demonstrate how very up-to-date Armenian newspapers were with respect to current fads and issues, since modern spiritualism was still credited by many, including Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, as a real science of communication through mediums with spirits (of the dead) although it had been debunked as a great fraud by others.¹⁷⁵ Even though concepts such as the “spiritual,” as opposed to the “material,” had been explored in earlier issues of Armenian papers that discussed morality and religion, this is the first example in the Armenian papers of the nineteenth century movement known as spiritualism being investigated under the guise of a psychology. Although a skeptic himself, Topdjian clearly is interested in providing a full history, with all relevant pros and cons, so that readers will believe him to be an impartial observer giving an evenhanded account when he concludes that science does not support the theory of spiritualism as interpreted by its

¹⁷⁴ *Arewelk'*, 1 June 1908 (first installment); 28 or 29 June 1908 (last installment). Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., (1911), 705-8, s.v. Spiritualism.

¹⁷⁵ *Arewelk'*, 29 June 1908, is the last.

contemporary followers.¹⁷⁶ In the opening installment Topdjian discusses terminology and outlines the issues under investigation, including the relationship between the soul, spirit, mind, and body. His final two installments which are subtitled “What Science Says About the Matter of Spiritism” and “Spiritualism and Science” are, however, the most interesting. In these installment Topdjian uses both science and religion to discredit the movement. Topdjian considers himself both a Christian and a man of science. Even though he mentions the apparitions of the Virgin Mary at Lourdes in France in 1858 and the miraculous healings associated with Lourdes, he thinks such phenomena should be ascribed to the power of faith and true religious belief. Topdjian clearly considers Spiritism to be an affront to traditional faith which for Topdjian meant Armenian orthodoxy. For Topdjian Spiritism was both pseudo-science and pseudo-religion.

An article entitled “*Kidagan Ash’Kharhen*” (“From the World of Science”) also appeared on the front page of *Arewelk’* in June 1908, the same month that Topdjian was producing his Spiritism articles.¹⁷⁷ Articles with this heading were not, however, regular features of the paper. A long article on the life and work of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) appeared in *Arewelk’* five years after his death, describing his anthropological and biological theories that were so influential in the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁸

The history and technique of photography were discussed in several articles in *Arewelk’* in 1908 just as black and white photographs, usually of well-known or celebrated people, began

¹⁷⁶ Topdjian discusses mediums, magnetic currents, table-turning, etc.

¹⁷⁷ *Arewelk’*, 22 June 1908.

¹⁷⁸ *Arewelk’*, 21 January 1908.

to appear regularly.¹⁷⁹ There are many articles on “Mechanical Craftsmanship” and “Mechanical Drawing,” obviously of interest in a country trying desperately to industrialize.¹⁸⁰ An interest in chemistry, particularly the chemistry of drugs that affect human physiology, is revealed by a series of articles on alkaloids, of which the most well-known are morphine, strychnine, quinine, ephedrine and nicotine.¹⁸¹ There is an article on calendars and almanacs, which would have been of great interest to the Armenians who had to deal with their own church calendar (Julian), the international standard calendar (Gregorian) and their Muslim countrymen’s Islamic calendar (Hijri).¹⁸² There was another article on astronomy and the moon.¹⁸³ Interest in this subject was a new development in the early twentieth century. People the world over were being instructed in the subject of astronomy, recently popularized by scientific discoveries and innovations. Amateur telescopes were even being marketed to a newly interested public awaiting what they had been told by scientists and astronomers would be the reappearance of Halley’s Comet in 1910, a periodic comet not seen since 1835.

Clearly, the educational and instructional articles as well as the scientific and technical articles in Armenian newspapers like *Arewelk'* were intended to inform the Armenian readership

¹⁷⁹ *Arewelk'*, 8 and 9 January 1908. For the introduction and evolution of commercial photography studios in Istanbul and the state collections of photographs assembled by Abdülhamid II, see Nancy C. Micklewright, “Personal, Public and Political (Re)constructions: Photographs and Consumption,” in Donald Quataert, ed., *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1558-1922*, 261-87, esp. 273- 83. Cf. Elizabeth B. Frierson, “Gender, Consumption and Patriotism: The Emergence of an Ottoman Public Sphere,” 112, and “Unimagined Communities: State, Press, and Gender in the Hamidian Era,” Ph.D. dissertation. Department of Near Eastern Studies. Princeton University, 1996, 49-58.

¹⁸⁰ *Arewelk'*, 18 November 1907 (craftsmanship); 7, 10 and 20 February 1908 (drawing); 17 March 1908 (drawing).

¹⁸¹ *Arewelk'*, 9, 16 and 20 December 1907.

¹⁸² *Arewelk'*, 10 January 1908.

¹⁸³ *Arewelk'*, 12 October 1907.

of current thought on a variety of interests, inventions and issues of the time. In doing so, the newspapers were able to make their Armenian readers feel truly connected to the modern world around them.

National and International “news” before, during and after the reign of Abdülhamid II

National and international “news,” whether before or during the reign of Abdülhamid II was rarely political and never sensitive and/or controversial. After his deposition on 25 July 1909 international reporting in the Armenian papers appears suddenly more fact-based and “newsworthy.”

The earliest description of the content of Armenian newspapers is given by Dadian in his 1867 article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* discussed above.¹⁸⁴ The “political” news in the Armenian newspapers that Dadian mentions probably consisted primarily of national news, more specifically of information about the strife and disagreements surrounding the creation and reorganization of the Armenian National Assembly and the drawing up and promulgation of the Armenian Constitution. Unfortunately, almost all the early Armenian newspapers from the beginning of the Crimean War up to Dadian’s article are lost to us although some patently political news, such as the open letter to the Patriarch in *Masis* in 1860 mentioned by the missionary Dwight, are documented elsewhere. Dadian speaks about two clear divisions in the editorial content of these early Armenian newspapers, one which places religious questions first and is devoted the defense of the Armenian Church and the other which tries to destroy the foundation of the national faith and does not disguise its penchant for Protestant ideas.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ Mekerdich Dadian, “La société arménienne contemporaine: les Arméniens de l’empire ottoman,” *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1 May 1867), 924-25.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 924.

It is doubtful that the Armenian newspapers of the early 1860s contained the political articles of the type being written at that time by the Young Ottoman intelligentsia such as Namik Kemal. Armenians had to tread a more circumspect path despite the history of Ottoman “tolerance” touted by Kemal, who states that the Ottoman empire in its infancy during a period of worldwide bigotry (*taassub*), “protected the Greeks...saved the Armenians in Iran and the Jews in Spain from the paws of oppression” and permitted “Christian princes and non-Muslim clerks in state service three-four centuries ago.”¹⁸⁶

Ten years after Dadian’s account, Abdülhamid II started to increase censorship, as noted above, and endeavored to gain control, one way or another, of all newspapers operating within the empire. Political news disappeared from all newspapers and international news became limited to non-controversial tidbits of human interest events or happenings that occurred in foreign parts.

Important international news was, however, missing not only from Armenian newspapers but also from Turkish papers. Niyazi Berkes points out that was incorrect in believing that the great increase in the readership of newspapers in the early years of Abdülhamid II meant that the readers and followers of the papers were receiving, “even if in summary, a knowledge of matters relating to the affairs of state, to patriotism, to civic virtues, to military achievements, and to the events of war.”¹⁸⁷ Berkes states that the Turkish press had, to the contrary, stop reporting on “lofty matters” as “political, social, and cultural subjects became susceptible to unexpected

¹⁸⁶ *İbret*, 10 June 1288 (1871); Cf. Gürpınar, *Ottoman Imperial Diplomacy*, 165, who correctly notes that tolerance does not imply two equal parties, but a superior party tolerating an inferior party.

¹⁸⁷ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 277, quoting a letter of Kemal printed in 1882.

interpretation and, therefore, hazardous.”¹⁸⁸ Instead, serious periodicals and even daily newspapers began to stuff their pages with news, articles, and pictures that had nothing to do with such matters,” the reason being that it was, “less possible to read hidden meanings into the types of material which were unpolitical.”¹⁸⁹

Sir Edwin Pears reports the astonishing refusal of the Sultan to recognize the British presence in Egypt:

During the whole of this period he [Abdülhamid] would never recognise the right of the British troops to be in Egypt, or recognise us as being in possession. It will astonish some of my readers to learn that from the Turkish newspapers, which were always severely censored, no student would learn that British troops ever were in Egypt at that time.¹⁹⁰

It is important to remember Pears’ assessment of the absence of historical fact in the Turkish newspapers of Abdülhamid II’s reign:

Not a line was permitted to be printed in any newspaper office until it had passed the censor. If a historian had to depend for his information upon files of Turkish newspapers, Egypt during these years would be considered to be still under the direct rule of the Sultan as it was before 1879. The word Armenia was not permitted to be printed. ' ' There is no such place," said the chief censor.¹⁹¹

Neither contemporary world history nor Ottoman history can be written--or even outlined--on the basis of Turkish newspapers under Abdülhamid.¹⁹² The same can be said of the Armenian papers under Abdülhamid. The eighth rule of Hamidian censorship as given by Fehmi, prohibits mention of attempted assassination of foreign rulers or seditious movements and events in

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, 214.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 226.

¹⁹² Cf. Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 277-78.

foreign countries. This means that four assassinations of world leaders, Czar Alexander II of Russia in 1881, Empress Elizabeth II of Austro-Hungary in 1898, King Umberto I of Italy in 1900, and the President of the United States McKinley in 1901, were not reported as assassinations in Ottoman papers. In the Turkish papers Empress Elizabeth was said to have died of pneumonia and President McKinley of anthrax.¹⁹³ In *Arewelk'* the Empress is given an obituary (d. 10 Sept 1898) but her death is not ascribed to an anarchist.¹⁹⁴ Similarly, when King Alexander and Queen Draga of Serbia were assassinated during the night of June 10-11, 1903 their simultaneous deaths were attributed to indigestion in Turkish papers. Anarchists and palace conspirators simply did not exist in the news vacuum of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹⁵ The natural death of Britain's Queen Victoria on January 22, 1901, at the age of 81 was, however, reported in *Arewelk'*. Six months before the Young Turk Revolution and almost seven years after the death of Queen Victoria *Arewelk'* printed an article about the life of Queen Victoria.¹⁹⁶ However, the natural deaths of Czar Alexander III of Russia in 1894 and Otto von Bismarck in 1898 either occurred during suppressions of the newspaper, appeared in issues that were lost or were not reported despite their great interest.¹⁹⁷ Here it must be emphasized that actual articles

¹⁹³ Bernard Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 3rd ed. Studies in Middle Eastern History (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 188.

¹⁹⁴ *Arewelk'*, 12 Sept. 1898.

¹⁹⁵ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 82: "when a foreign ruler became a victim of anarchists, the Turkish journalist wrote with insistence that he had died a natural death," which, due to the "insistent way of expression informed the reader that something was not quite in order."

¹⁹⁶ *Arewelk'*, 2 January 1908.

¹⁹⁷ The death of Alexander III (1 Nov 1894) is known to have occurred during a lengthy suppression. The death of Bismarck (30 July 1898) does not seem to be recorded in the issues of the following week. Other obituaries are known to have appeared within two to three days, clearly due to telegraphed news.

that do appear in the Armenian papers should be considered more important indicators of content than those that are missing for the simple reason that significant national and international events may have occurred during the numerous suppressions of the Armenian papers or may simply have been printed in issues that did not survive.

The late Hamidian period witnessed several wars that had nothing to do with the Ottoman Empire, including the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1895-96, the Spanish-American War of 1898 and the Boer War of 1899-1902 in South Africa. The first of those wars, the Italo-Ethiopian War could not have been mentioned in the Armenian papers because the papers were suspended due to the Armenian massacres of those years. The other two wars did not merit serious reporting in the Armenian papers.

Numerous natural disasters, important discoveries and significant cultural events are remarkably absent in Armenian newspapers of the late nineteenth century. Major non-political news of cultural interest would have included the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, which the Syrian artist-inventor of the Arabic keyboard, Selim Haddad, is known to have visited. This fair, also known as the World's Columbian Exposition and the Chicago Columbian Exposition, was held in Chicago to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in the New World in 1492.¹⁹⁸ It opened on May 1, 1893 and lasted six months until Oct. 30, 1893; it was a great financial success, drawing large crowds since it contained amusements as well as exhibitions. Buffalo Bill Cody set up his Wild West Show just outside the exposition after being denied a spot at the fair itself. Nineteen countries had their own building, of which Turkey was

¹⁹⁸ John Joseph Flinn, *Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: The Columbian Guide Co, 1893).

one.¹⁹⁹ There is no mention of the fair in the surviving Armenian papers of 1893 (which were published just before a long suppression), but the people of Istanbul and other Ottoman cities would have known about the Columbian Exposition in Chicago and would have heard about Turkey's contributions to the Exposition. The official guidebook to the Chicago World's Fair reports in a section entitled "Invitation to the World" that: "The newspapers of all countries were supplied with information free of cost... The result was that the people of all countries were made perfectly familiar with the scope and magnitude of the Exposition a year before its opening."²⁰⁰ So many international visitors in Chicago prompted the convening of other congresses and parliaments in conjunction with the Exposition, including the Parliament of the World's Religions from 11 September to 27 September 1893 which met in the World's Congress Auxiliary Building built for the Exposition but which now houses the Art Institute of Chicago. This was the first formal gathering of representatives of both the Eastern and the Western spiritual traditions from around the world. Islam was represented by an Anglo-American convert to Islam (who happened to be the former US ambassador to the Philippines)—perhaps because no traditional Muslim could be found to join the interfaith group in which new movements such as Spiritualism and Christian Science and the Baha'i Faith, considered heretical by Islam, were represented. This Parliament was considered radical for its time because it offered a public forum for non-Christian faiths.²⁰¹ As a radical gathering of global religious groups it would have made

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 31 and 145, where Turkey is praised for contributing to many exhibits, especially to the Manufactures and Transportation buildings, and providing its own separate building as well as a model of a Turkish village.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 30.

²⁰¹ Cf. The World's Congress of Religions—The addresses and papers delivered before the Parliament, and the Abstract of the Congresses, held in Chicago, August 1893-October 1893, under the Auspices of the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago: 1894).

an unexpected article in the Armenian papers, but evidence for actual reporting around that time is limited due to suppression.

Major non-political international news in the years after the Revolution of 1908 and before World War I were sometimes recorded in Armenian papers just as they were in papers around the world. Special mention must be made of the 1910 reappearance of Halley's Comet, which was for obvious reasons the most global event imaginable. Halley's Comet, the only known short-period comet clearly visible to the naked eye, was notable for several reasons in 1910, including its relatively close approach to Earth during which the first *photographs* of the comet were made, the Earth's orbit actually passing through the comet's tail for six hours on May 19th, and last but not least its eagerly anticipated arrival discussed in scientific journals and newspapers long in advance of the comet's appearance. Last seen in 1835 and known to reappear on schedule every 74 to 75 years, Halley's Comet caught the public's attention in 1910, focusing much interest on astronomy (even in Armenian papers) and increasing telescope sales. Mark Twain, who was born in 1835 when Halley's Comet had last passed over, was one of those waiting for Halley's Comet in 1910. A contributor to the *New York Times*, in fact, connected the great man to the great comet in a short piece two days after his death on the 21st of April 1910, noting that the comet reached its perihelion on 20 April 1910 and Twain died the next day.²⁰² Twain's obituary does not appear to have reached the Turkish and Armenian newspapers of the Ottoman Empire, but then his unfavorable reporting about the Ottoman capital in the 1860s would have been remembered by people well-versed in international literature. However, Halley's Comet was certainly of interest to the Ottomans and no doubt directly connected to the foundation of a new observatory, the Kandilli Observatory, in Turkey in September 1910 by

²⁰² *The New York Times*, 23 April 1910, "Mark Twain and Halley's Comet," by R. Friderici.

Fatin Gökmen (1877-1955), a lecturer in astronomy and probability at the Faculty of Sciences of the Ottoman University.²⁰³ Further study might well find fuller references to the comet in both Turkish and Armenian papers.

The Armenian newspapers were suppressed when the first Modern Olympic games were held in Athens, Greece (6-15 April 1896). Even had the newspapers not been suppressed due to the Armenian massacres under Abdülhamid, the very fact that the games were held in Greece may have precluded their appearance in the papers of the Ottoman capital.

Before the Young Turk Revolution of 25 July 1908 the closest thing to national reporting in the Armenian newspapers are the appearances and travels of Abdülhamid and the next closest thing are the congratulations to the Sultan on the occasion of his birthday and accession to the throne, the latter of which are written in the fulsome language of an earlier era (Ottoman Turkish heavily influenced by flowery Persian would have been “Armenized”) and not in Modern Armenian. *Arewelk'* celebrates the anniversary of the enthronement of Abdülhamid II in 1905 with an article that shows respect for the position of the Sultan in Ottoman society and for the traditions and customs of the Ottoman Empire despite the fact that the editors despised the man himself and his policies.²⁰⁴ This was a time when it was prudent to be identified with Ottoman patriotism and not with Armenian nationalism. Non-political news of lesser importance, whether of national or international origin, occasionally made its appearance in the Armenian newspaper. Some examples of this type of article are: the inauguration of bridges, rail and telegraph lines;

²⁰³ The earlier Imperial Observatory, established in Istanbul in 1867, was mainly a meteorological center. Gökmen's work at the Kandilli Observatory was said to have been “more astronomically oriented.” See *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, ed. Thomas Hockey et. al., Springer References series (New York: 2007) 427, s.v. Fatin Gökmen by Mustafa Kaçar.

²⁰⁴ *Arewelk'*, 1 September 1905.

the openings of factories, businesses and local fairs; and especially the obituaries of prominent non-political people.²⁰⁵

Like the Turkish papers, the Armenian papers of 25 July 1908 celebrated the fact that the previous day an order had reluctantly been given by Abdülhamid II to provincial authorities to make arrangements for parliamentary elections. Yalman tells us that censors were forbidden entry to the newspaper offices that day and that popular writers who had not been allowed to publish for years were able to once again.²⁰⁶ Similarly, *Arewelk'* on 25 July 1908 prints the headline, “Bravo! Majestic Sultan! [A] Constitutional Order [is] Established!”

Jubilation gave way to unease and anxiety as Bulgaria declared independence and Austria annexed Bosnia and Heregovina. Two days after the celebratory headline *Arewelk'* carries on its second page articles about a Bulgarian attack on Ottoman lands and the big problem posed by the national debt.²⁰⁷ Subsequently, a letter by Ahmet Midhat Effendi, formerly an associate of the constitutionalist reformers but subsequently “the mouthpiece of the Hamidian regime and a successful publisher, editor and writer,” is printed on the front page.²⁰⁸

Even more interesting is the lengthy article with the obituary of Arpiar Arpiarian, one of the original founders of *Arewelk'* in 1884 and a leading member of the opposition to Abdülhamid II.²⁰⁹ The article includes a black and white photo of Arpiarian, discusses his life and work, and

²⁰⁵ For example: *Arewelk'*, 18 December 1907 (new wing of the Imperial Museum), 28 and 30 March 1908 (Zeller).

²⁰⁶ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measure by Its Press*, 86-87.

²⁰⁷ *Arewelk'*, 27 July 1908.

²⁰⁸ Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 281.

²⁰⁹ *Arewelk'*, 5 September 1908.

states point blank that he was murdered in Cairo on 12 February 1908. Such an article could never have appeared before the Young Turk Revolution.

When the government fell in February 1909 the Sultan tried to reassert himself and a Counter-Revolution was initiated on 14 April 1909 calling for religious law and an all-powerful Sultan. According to Yalman the only “outrage” committed was the destruction of the Turkish newspaper offices of CUP and an allied daily. Abdülhamid II regarded the press as his principal obstacle to power so it is no surprise that the papers were forced or cowed into giving the Sultan the “old-time phraseology” and a “long list of deifying titles” during the first days of the Counter-Revolution.²¹⁰

During the two-week, short-lived Counter-Revolution the Turkish papers soon discontinued their flattery of the Sultan. Both Turkish and Armenian newspapers celebrated Abdülhamid II’s deposition on April 27, 1909. The following day, 28 April 1909, *Arewelk’* carried the headline: “The Red Sultan has been Dethroned! The Renaissance of the Ottoman Fatherland! Sultan Mehmet V comes to Power!”²¹¹ Interestingly, the word *hayrenik* (fatherland) is used here for the Ottoman fatherland when it had previously been used in the Armenian papers to suggest the Armenian homeland in the Caucasus. The suggestion is that the Ottoman fatherland will be reborn with a new Sultan. *Vatan* and *hayrenik* were, of course, terms frequently employed by both Turkish and Armenian reformers in their literary work throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, sometimes in the inclusive Ottoman sense and other times in the exclusive Turkish or Armenian sense alone. This celebratory issue of *Arewelk’*,

²¹⁰ Yalman, *Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press*, 97-98.

²¹¹ It is incredible that Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 282, has the audacity to declare Abdülhamid II “one of the most eminent of all Ottoman sultans” even if he notes that the man ended his life “in obscurity and disgrace.”

along with later issues, begins an interesting debate surrounding the idea and feasibility of constitutionalism and Ottomanism. Articles are printed on major political figures, especially those of the Young Ottoman and Young Turk movements. One of the most interesting of these articles is that in *Arewelk'* on 1 May 1909 with the title “Midhat Pasha: Founder of Ottoman Constitutionalism.” This article not only celebrates Midhat Pasha’s role in the 1876 constitutional movement but also discusses the process of political reform and the status of the Armenian community in Ottoman politics during the 1876 constitutional period. By reminding the new Sultan Mehmed V of Midhat Pasha’s constitutionalism at a time of great political flux, *Arewelk'* is sending a message to the new Sultan, expressing the hope of the Armenian community that he not betray the “Ottoman people” the way Abdülhamid II did.

6.3 Serialized literature

Newspapers, like magazines and journals, needed subscriptions and regular readers to balance their budgets and stay in business. One of the easiest ways to guarantee readership and therefore solvency was to attach something the readers wanted in every issue, and that meant serialized literature. Like the episodes of TV series and the sequels of movies today for which people tune in regularly or buy tickets eagerly, the essays and stories serialized in late nineteenth and early twentieth century papers around the world became standard content in the Armenian newspapers of Istanbul.

All the Armenian papers carry serialized literature at the bottom of one or more of their four pages. Armenian publishers recognized the appetite of the people of Istanbul for modern literature and, like their fellow publishers of other languages, translated and serialized popular modern literature. Modern literature was a window into the world for Ottomans of all

ethnicities. For Armenians in particular, who were now spread out around the globe on different continents and in different countries, reading modern literature accomplished two things. It not only helped them understand where their friends and relatives were living abroad and but also suggested to them where they might wish to go if the Ottoman Empire became untenable.

Tracing the history of serialization from France and England to the Ottoman Empire and subsequently to the Armenian newspapers is not difficult. During the nineteenth century serialized fiction increased dramatically in popularity in countries around the world.

Serialization in magazines and newspapers as well as in stand-alone installments helped both authors and publishers since it provided regular salaries to struggling writers and regular subscription fees to publishers. Serialization was an inexpensive way in which to put an author's work before the public and to gage whether or not the expense involved in publishing in book form was warranted by the work's popularity. The majority of nineteenth century works of fiction were serialized before being published in book form. Serial installments of the popular writers of the day were awaited with considerable impatience.

After Charles Dickens published *The Pickwick Papers* in twenty monthly installments in 1836-1837 to enormous popular and financial success, authors around the world followed suit. Dickens himself continued to serialize his novels until his death in 1870. Other English writers, including his friend Wilkie Collins serialized their work in the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century. In America Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mark Twain and Henry James all published novels in magazines in serial form in the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century. It should be recalled here that Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad* was first commissioned by a newspaper before his travels in 1867 and later published in book form for subscribers in 1869. *Schribner's Monthly* magazine stated in 1878 that "it is in the magazine that the best

novelist always appears first.²¹² In Russia Leo Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* and Fyodor Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* were serialized around the same time.

A forerunner of the regular serialization of literature in newspapers in the Ottoman Empire was the serialization of the *Thousand and One Nights* in the 1820s Turkish-Arabic bulletins of Muhammad Ali called *The Khedive's Journal*.²¹³ Regular serialization of literature in the magazines, journals and newspapers of the Ottoman Empire, including the Armenian newspapers under consideration, began, however, only in the second half of the nineteenth century and increased dramatically over time. The inspiration for this serialization came primarily from France and French writers. In France, not long after Dickens initiated the serialization craze among gifted writers, Eugène Sue's *Les mystères de Paris* was serialized in 1842-1843 and his *Le Juif errant* in 1844-45. At about the same time Alexander Dumas's *Les trois mousquetaires* and *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* were serialized in rapid succession in 1844-1845, and Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* was serialized in 1856.

The Turks and the Armenians who formed the reading public of Istanbul had learned French in school. Many had even studied in France or traveled in France. Some had even worked as translators of French newspapers for the government or as translators of French books for newspapers or publishers. Educated Armenians in Istanbul and Izmir led a translating frenzy to make the most popular novels available to the common people in order to increase literacy and develop Modern Armenian vocabulary.²¹⁴ This translation movement flourished between 1850 and 1880. Some of the best known translators of this period were Karapet Ütüdjian (1823-1904),

²¹² *Scribner's Monthly, An Illustrated Magazine for the People*, conducted by J.G. Holland, under subheading "Magazine," in "Topics of the Time," vol. XVII, no. 1, (Nov. 1878), 146.

²¹³ See Chapter 3, note 125.

²¹⁴ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 77, 366-67.

Grigor Chilinkirian (1839-1923), and Matteos Mamurian (1830-1901). Chilinkirian translated Hugo's *Les misérables*, Lamartine's *Raphaël*, Abbé Prévost's *Manon Lescaut*, de Musset's, *La confession d'un enfant du siècle*, Sue's *Mathilde*, and Georges Sand's *Mademoiselle de la Quintinie*.²¹⁵ Mamurian translated Dumas's *Les trois mousquetaires* and *Vingt ans après*, Sue's *Les mystères de Paris*, Beaumarchais's *Le barbier de Séville*, Jules Verne's *Le tour du monde en quatre-vingt jours* and *L'Île mystérieuse*, and Scott's *Ivanhoe*.²¹⁶ Early in his career Mamurian translated several works of Voltaire, *Zadig*, *Jeannot et Colin*, and *Micromégas*, which are known to have been serialized in *Masis*, as mentioned earlier.²¹⁷ The review he established in Smyrna in 1871 and published for thirty years, *Arevelyan mamul*, however, has made his name more famous for Armenian periodical literature in the nineteenth century.²¹⁸ Similarly, Utudjian and Chilinkirian are remembered for their great contributions to discussions of social and cultural issues in periodical news and reviews.

In the Armenian newspapers more short stories and novels were translated from other languages, principally French, and serialized than were written in Armenian and serialized. By the late nineteenth century French authors of popular B level fiction, such as Xavier de Montépin, and Jules Lermina, were the rule and authors of high literary repute the exception in the newspapers, as we have seen here in the close examinations of the Armenian newspapers from 1896 and 1898. In 1908, the year of the Young Turk Revolution, *Arewelk'* chose to translate and serialize *Le mystère de la chambre jaune* by Gaston Leroux (1868-1927), a locked room detective story that has been compared to the work of Arthur Conan Doyle. It is interesting

²¹⁵ Ibid., 367.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 306-7.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

to note that the Armenian translation was probably made directly from the French serialization which preceded the separate publication of a French book since both the French book and the Armenian serialization appeared in January 1908.²¹⁹ Leroux's most famous work, *Le fantôme de l'Opéra*, was serialized in France in 1909-1910 before it was published as a book in 1911.

Arpiarian and his stable of writers and colleagues contributed their own original works of fiction, as already noted in the discussion of the Armenian intelligentsia of the nineteenth century. However, they also wrote as many or more opinion pieces or editorials and contemporary notices about newsworthy events and people. They hid behind pseudonyms and false identities to protect themselves and their families. Abdülhamid II wanted anonymity and conformity without reference to contemporary Turkey or its inhabitants.

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930), the author of the Sherlock Holmes detective stories published his first work featuring the celebrated detective, *A Study in Scarlet*, in 1887, and afterwards wrote many more serialized short stories and novella featuring the detective. Curiously, Abdülhamid II is known to have been a great fan of the Sherlock Holmes stories, and he himself is the subject of an Ottoman detective novel based on a fictional murder in the palace with the Red Sultan playing a cat and mouse game with Sherlock Holmes.²²⁰ The author Yervand Otian describes this and another fictional work as “contemporary historical novels,” because it is more than a detective story since it treats Abdülhamid II as the villain and highlights evil aspects of his Sultanate.²²¹ Of course, Otian published this in 1911, two years after the deposition of

²¹⁹ *Arewelk'*, 28 January 1908. This novel was first published in France in the periodical *L'Illustration* in installments in the fall of 1907 and then published separately in 1908.

²²⁰ Yervand Otian, *Abdul Hamid yev Sherlock Holmes* (Abdul Hamid and Sherlock Holmes), 1911. Cf. Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 631.

²²¹ Hacikyan et al., *Heritage of Armenian Literature* III, 104.

Abdülhamid II, but the title and structure of the story around the famous English detective underscores how well-known Sherlock Holmes and the short stories of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle were in Istanbul in the early twentieth century even though many were yet to be written. Conan Doyle's stories of the detective cover the period from about 1880 to 1914 and are therefore roughly contemporary with the reign of Abdülhamid II, but the author of Sherlock Holmes continued to produce short stories and novella about his famous detective up until 1927.

6.4 Conclusion

Reading the Armenian newspapers of Ottoman Istanbul has produced a wealth of information about the interests of educated, middle-class Armenians living in Istanbul and their compatriots living in other urban centers in the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Despite extreme censorship under Abdülhamid II it is possible through the assortment of advertisements in the Armenian newspapers to draw a good picture of the daily lives of the Armenian middle class and to list the material products they deemed essential in the modern world. It is also possible through the essays, poems and stories of the Armenian middle class to identify their hope for equality of opportunity in the Ottoman Empire and their dream of becoming an integral part of the modern Western world.

CONCLUSION

Close examination of the content in four Armenian newspapers of Istanbul from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has established the existence and revealed the character of the “global Armenian” who lived in Istanbul under Abdülhamid II and disappeared from there at the onset of World War I, only to reappear here and there throughout the world in the succeeding decades. The global Armenian of the Ottoman capital belonged to an educated and sophisticated group of people familiar with many languages and many countries, either through foreign education and experience or native studies and exchanges. Armenians of Istanbul considered themselves members of the modern world that had no borders. This idea of a borderless modern world would have been a relatively natural outgrowth of living in and moving around in the Ottoman Empire since it encompassed so many countries with their own languages and customs. Armenians had been displaced and moved westwards numerous times in their long and troubled history and were widespread in the West by the late nineteenth century. Their world was a Western world, first introduced to the Ottoman Turkey by France, but subsequently developed by multi-national diplomacy and trade. Globalization may have created the global Armenian but Armenians themselves contributed significantly to the globalization of the Western world.

Modern thought and modern society in Ottoman Istanbul were a product of many things coming together slowly but inevitably in the nineteenth century and increasing dramatically in the early twentieth century. The intelligentsia of Ottoman Istanbul led the way. Among them were numbered Ottomans of all races and religions as well as foreigners of many nationalities and many interests, from diplomat to merchant to missionary to author and journalist. This dissertation has attempted to listen, at least briefly, to all of their voices in their own words and

in their published work in order to create a full picture of Armenian society in Istanbul at the turn of the century. A general progress of civilization had occurred with the introduction of the railroad, the steamboat and the telegraph. These inventions facilitated global communication and trade, which resulted in an expansion of commerce and an increase in travel. This progression toward a modern world and a modern society would not have been possible, however, without the exchanges of information made possible, not simply by the national and international expositions of the nineteenth century, such as those held in London, Paris and Chicago, but also by an impressive proliferation of books, schools, and newspapers in that century.

This dissertation has looked closely at the history and development of four Armenian newspapers to ascertain not only what Armenians were thinking, doing, and reading but also what they were wearing, buying, eating and drinking in the approximately sixty-year period from the introduction of Armenian newspapers in Istanbul to the deposition of Abdülhamid II and the onset of World War I.

Print, especially popular print, changed the course of history in the world, and it did so earlier in the West than it did in Ottoman Turkey. Popular print, consisting primarily of newspapers, magazines, and the serialized literature that appeared in them before appearing in book form, is the best evidence for the globalization of the modern world that reached Istanbul in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Within popular print, advertisements for local and multi-national business, for national and international travel and transport, and for products and services are the best evidence for the global nature of the modern world.

The global Armenian of Istanbul might be dressed in a French gown or English suit, be wearing American or Russian shoes, carrying Globetrotter leather goods, sporting a Swiss Zenith pocket-watch, drinking French liqueur or Ottoman cognac, sewing on an American Singer,

typing on a German Adler, swallowing German laxatives, taking American pain-killers, and feeding his or her infants Swiss condensed milk.

Using nineteenth and early twentieth-century advertisements, memoirs, histories, essays and stories as the primary evidence of that tumultuous period, I have tried to bring to life the many currents of thought that circulated and percolated in the increasingly sophisticated and sensitized Armenian community of Ottoman Istanbul in the decades before World War I. The Armenians of Istanbul and the other ethnic and religious communities of the city were transformed by globalization during these decades as they embraced the modern world and the promise and products it offered. Unfortunately, all progress toward this goal of modernity ground to an abrupt and homicidal halt in 1915 with the eruption of hostilities that began World War I. At this point progress met impasse.

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