

THE BOURGEOIS TRANSFORMATION AND OTTOMANISM AMONG
ANATOLIAN ARMENIANS AFTER THE 1908 REVOLUTION

OHANNES KILIÇDAĞI

BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY
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by

Ohannes Kılıçdağı

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After the 1908 Revolution

This thesis examines the bourgeois transformation and the Ottomanist discourse among Anatolian Armenians. The period it focuses is between the 1908 Revolution, which was saluted with joy by most of the people in the Ottoman Empire, and the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, which was the beginning of the end for the Empire. This thesis utilizes two periodicals in Armenian published just after the Revolution as primary resources, one in Sivas and one in Harput. The main parameters along which the bourgeois transformation is examined are the mechanical and scientific advance, the expansion of the modern Western-style education, the emergence of voluntary associations and public life, the implementation of the rule of law, and the examples of entrepreneurship. A certain level of improvement was realized in all these parameters except the implementation of the rule, which should be provided by the state. This failure in establishing the rule of law made all other developments toward bourgeois society vain. One aspect of the bourgeois transformation is the emergence of public opinion and its increasing importance. This thesis also looks at how some Armenian intellectuals and professionals in Anatolia tried to shape Armenian public opinion around the Ottomanism. These opinion leaders achieved to create a certain level of resonance in the Armenian community. However, the catastrophe of the First World War ruined all these efforts.

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Başlık: İkinci Meşrutiyet Sonrası Anadolu Ermenilerinde Burjuva Dönüşümü ve Osmanlıcılık

Bu tez Anadolu Ermenilerinde burjuva dönüşümünü ve Osmanlıcılık söylemini incelemektedir. Odaklandığı dönem, imparatorluğun halklarının büyük bir kısmının coşkuyla karşıladığı İkinci Meşrutiyet (1908) ile imparatorluk için sonun başlangıcı olarak nitelenebilecek Balkan Savaşları (1912-13) arasındaki dönemdir. Bu tez birincil kaynak olarak, Meşrutiyetin ilanından sonra biri Sivas'ta diğeri Harput'ta Ermenice olarak yayınlanan iki süreli yayından faydalanmıştır. Burjuva dönüşümünün temel ölçütleri olarak bilim ve teknolojiye gelişmeler, Batı tarzı eğitimin yaygınlaşması, gönüllü sosyal örgütlerin ve kamusal hayatın ortaya çıkışı, hukukun üstünlüğünün ve kanun önünde eşitliğin tesisi, girişimciliğin yaygınlaşması ele alınmıştır. Devlet tarafından sağlanması gereken hukukun üstünlüğünün ve kanun önünde eşitliğin tesisi hariç bütün bu alanlarda belli ilerlemeler kaydedilmiştir. Hukukun üstünlüğünün ve kanun önünde eşitliğin tesisindeki bu başarısızlık diğer alanlardaki ilerlemeleri de boşa çıkarmıştır. Burjuva dönüşümünün bir başka vechesi de kamuoyunun ortaya çıkışı ve artan önemidir. Bu tez aynı zamanda Anadolu'daki bazı Ermeni entellektüellerinin Ermeni kamuoyunu Osmanlıcılık etrafında şekillendirme çabalarını incelemektedir. Bu kanaat önderleri Ermeni toplumunu Osmanlıcılık etrafında şekillendirme konusunda belli bir başarı da sağlamışlardır. Fakat, Birinci Dünya Savaşı felaketi bu çabaları darmadağın etmiştir.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Once I saw a photograph. The photograph depicted a scene from the 1908 Revolution in the Ottoman Empire. At first glance, the composition in the photograph was perplexing for the observer: On the one hand, there were the masses carrying a big flag with a star and crescent, constituting one of the essential elements of Turkish nationalism. On the other hand, after a closer look at the picture revealed the three principles of the French Revolution, fraternity, liberty, and equality, written in Armenian on the same flag. The political and cultural synthesis reflected in this photograph – the Turkish flag, the Armenian language, and the French Revolution – was exciting for a historian and social scientist since it presented many conceptual “attractive” puzzles. Also, it showed how the 1908 Revolution was a critical historical moment for the peoples of the Ottoman Empire since it produced such syntheses as above.

There is a general agreement among the historians of the Ottoman Empire that the period between the 1908 Revolution and the beginning of the Balkan Wars in 1912 was one in which many critical events happened and many discussions that shaped the future of the country were held. The 1908 Revolution was a new beginning for most of the groups in the empire. Especially non-Muslim groups saw it as a first step toward complete, real equality and democratization. In other words, the people expected that the governing mentality and methods of the state would change. However, the changes that the 1908 Revolution brought about were not restricted to

the state. A new kind of social, economic, and cultural life in society started to emerge. In a sense, a general transformation occurred gradually. What ruptured this process dramatically was the series of wars started by Tripoli and continued by the Balkan Wars and the First World War, which ruined all efforts made for a country which would be internally more peaceful, more democratic, and more wealthy.

In this thesis I will examine the atmosphere, the expectations and disappointments, the signs of transformation, and the Ottomanism discourse among the Anatolian Armenian community after the 1908 Revolution. I will focus on the Armenian community mainly for two related reasons. First, the real and complete integration of the Armenian community, especially those living in Anatolia, into the social and political life of the country as a legitimate group of citizens was one of the important age-old problems of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, any work illuminating the social and political situation of this group of people would make a contribution to this discussion, and understanding of the so-called “Armenian Question”. Second, though in another sense and context, the “Armenian Question” is still one of the “hot” debates in Turkey. It is one of the major channels through which Turkish society sees and judges its history. So, opening an alternative perspective through new sources would also make a contribution to the current debates on the “Armenian Question”. However, the direct aim of this thesis is not to make a complete discussion of the history, and the content of the “Armenian Question”. Rather, this thesis discusses the situation of the Anatolian Armenians around different conceptions, like bourgeois transformation, public sphere, public opinion, and Ottomanism. But hopefully, the findings presented in this study will make a positive contribution to the debate of the “Armenian Question” indirectly in the hands of scholars, and “laymen”.

In the second chapter I will examine the footprints of a transformation among Anatolian Armenian community after the 1908 Revolution around the concept of “silent bourgeois transformation” borrowed from David Blackbourn.¹ First, I will give a brief explanation of the concept of bourgeois transformation. Then follows the depiction of such a transformation in Anatolia after 1908 along some parameters and by using concrete cases taken from primary sources as evidence. The parameters along which the transformation discussion goes on are the mechanical and scientific advance, the modern Western-style education, the emergence of voluntary associations and public life, the implementation of the rule of law, and the examples of entrepreneurship. In other words, these parameters are the indicators of a bourgeois transformation. Nevertheless, they are not only symptoms of the bourgeois transformation, but also they constitute the main body or content of the change. The second chapter examines the situation in Anatolia at the beginning of the twentieth century along these indicators.

In the third chapter I will examine Ottomanism as the discourse of this transformation. One of the important parameters of the bourgeois transformation is the emergence of public man and public opinion. This is necessary to transform a mass into a “people”. This is also a prerequisite of democracy because democratic states need a form and level of “peopleness” that is not essential in other forms of governing.² Ottomanism in the Ottoman Empire was the discourse and ideology that was supposed to create such “peopleness”. Moreover, Ottomanism emerged as a binding ideology between the central state and the new emerging, educated middle class and elite of the provinces. As a reflection of this situation, in the second

¹ David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984, pp. 176-205.

² Craig Calhoun, "Imagining Solidarity: Cosmopolitanism, Constitutional Patriotism, and the Public Sphere," *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): p. 153.

chapter, after describing the general comments, attitudes of some of the provincial Armenian intellectuals toward the Revolution briefly, I will try to demonstrate how they made an effort to shape (Armenian) public opinion in accordance with Ottomanism, how they promoted military service as an essential prerequisite of citizenship and encouraged the Armenian community to perform this duty, what their projects and suggestions were for the creation of an Ottoman nation and the development of the country. To make all these more understandable a brief historical and conceptual account of Ottomanism as an ideology and a policy is given at the beginning of the second chapter.

Primary Sources

Although there is a huge literature of Ottoman history, the number of works that utilize primary sources in the Armenian language, for various reasons, are so few that at this point there is a big vacuum. As a miniscule part of this voluminous but untouched mass of primary sources, in this study I use two main primary sources both in the Armenian language: a newspaper published in Sivas, named *Hoghtar*,³ and a periodical published in Harput named *Yeprad* (Euphrates).

Yeprad is a biweekly periodical published by the American college⁴ in Harput. The faculty of the college made the main contribution to the content of the periodical. Also, the editor of the periodical was one of the teachers of the college, Garabed Soghigian. Besides them, sometimes articles written by religious leaders of the local Armenian community were also published. Indeed, it is a periodical with a rich content. The professors of the college wrote articles analyzing the social and political situation of the country, and presented their projects and suggestions for a

³ Seemingly, this was the name of a neighborhood in Sivas.

⁴ Detailed information about this college is in the second chapter.

better future of the empire with its all elements. An interesting series of articles appeared with headline “The East and the West” (*Arevelk U Arevmoodk*) in which one of the professors, Hovhannes Boujikianian, makes social, political, and cultural comparisons between the life in Europe and in the “East”. Another series is related to hygiene with the headline “Hygiene Notes” (*Aroghchabahagan Noter*). This series was written by a doctor named Pier Tasho. He gives practical advice to protect health. Additionally, some letters sent by the Armenian compatriots in the United States appear from time to time in *Yeprad*. They talk about the life and difficulties in America. Frequently, one can also come across poems and short stories on the pages of *Yeprad*. At the end of each issue there is a section of news. In this section both local and global news are reported. Because of this rich content, every issue of *Yeprad* is more than twenty pages. I used twenty issues of *Yeprad* published between November 1909 and February 1911.

As for *Hoghtar*, the newspaper of Sivas, it can be qualified as a more modest individual attempt. Each issue consists of four pages. Maybe, it is more accurate to call it a bulletin. However, it relays very valuable information. As it is written in the newspaper, the owner, principal and the editor were same person: G. A. Barsamian. It must have been planned as a weekly newspaper, but as is understood from the dates of each issue irregularities occurred and sometimes it was published once in two weeks. Usually, in every issue there is a literary piece on the first page, mostly a poem, but also continuous short stories. Later, a short editorial appears. Sometimes, guest authors wrote short articles instead of the editorial. The most valuable part of the newspaper is the “Chronicle”. In this section what was going on in the town and in the villages is relayed as short news. Important national and international events

are also mentioned in this section. This study utilizes thirty-two issues of *Hoghtar* published between December 1911 and October 1912.

As is said in English and Turkish literature on Ottoman history there is no work that utilizes Armenian local primary sources published in Anatolia. Moreover, it is nearly impossible to find these sources in Turkey. As a matter of fact, the periodicals utilized in this work came from the libraries in Armenia. Therefore, it is not easy to find and study them. However, Ottoman historiography will become richer if this kind of sources are examined more.

The Representativeness of the Sources

Before proceeding to the main chapters, one point should be made. This thesis does not claim that the Armenians mentioned in this study constitute a representative sample of the whole Ottoman Armenian community with all its classes and groups. It can be said that the Armenian authors and individuals in this work were a part of the provincial Armenian intellectuals and middle class. Therefore, their position should not be understood as the unique Armenian position. On the contrary, one of the claims of this thesis is that there was no such “unique Armenian position” in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. In sum, they do not talk in the name of all Armenians. However, and very importantly, *their position and ideas cannot be regarded as negligible, marginal, or ineffective among Armenians*. These authors, especially the ones writing in *Yeprad*, constituted the most educated class of not only the Armenian community, but also the whole Ottoman Empire. They were the opinion leaders of the people. Among them there were college professors who gave education to thousands of Armenian students, clergymen of high rank who had the chance to influence the community through sermons and their respectful position

in the eyes of the people, newspaper editors who had the chance to reach people directly and regularly, poets, and artists. As a result, there is every reason to reach the conclusion that their position, ideas and projections were influential to a certain extent. Comparatively speaking, there is no reason to assume that they were less influential among Anatolian Armenians than, let's say, Namık Kemal, Ahmet Mithat, or Yusuf Akçura were among Muslims. Similarly, like every study that takes old newspapers as its primary sources, this study also assumes that the periodicals reflect the atmosphere of their time, and the attitude of people at a certain level.

So, although the ideas and position of the actors relayed in this thesis cannot be regarded as “the sole Armenian position” it is certain that they are vitally important in both understanding and analyzing the late Ottoman history.

CHAPTER 2

THE FOOTPRINTS OF A BOURGEOIS TRANSFORMATION IN ANATOLIA AFTER THE 1908 REVOLUTION

The Bourgeoisie and Democracy

The idea that there is a positive correlation between parliamentary democracy/liberalism and capitalism on the one hand and the existence of a firm bourgeois class on the other has been expressed frequently in social sciences. These works evaluate a mature bourgeoisie as a prerequisite for the establishment of the liberal democracy.⁵ It is depicted as the primary actor, as a class, that is supposed to realize the project of liberal democracy and capitalism. As Blackbourn says, many scholars consider England and France as “successful” examples of this model.⁶ According to the widely accepted narration, the existence of a strong bourgeois class brought about the democracy in these countries. These “finished” cases became the yardstick against which other countries are measured. Blackbourn argues that in these discussions Germany is positioned as a counter example in the sense that the democracy movement failed in this country because of the absence of a strong bourgeoisie that was supposed to fight for it.⁷ The German bourgeoisie, unlike its counterparts in England and France, could not play its “normal” role and be strong enough against the state bureaucracy. It was unable to become an alternative power

⁵ For a major and influential example of this kind of works see Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* Boston: Beacon, 1967. In this work, Moore compares the cases of England, France, and the United States with Japan, Germany, China, and Russia. Roughly speaking, he concludes that the strong bourgeoisie (in the first group) leads to democracy; the combination of weak bourgeoisie and strong state (in Japan and Germany) leads to fascism; and the coalition of weak bourgeoisie and strong peasantry (in Russia and China) to communism

⁶ He also mentions some revisionist studies that question the role of the bourgeoisie in the emergence of democracy and capitalism in England and France. These studies are quite skeptical about the power, unity, and self-consciousness of the bourgeoisie. For example, see Blackbourn and Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History*, pp. 169-170.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

holder vis-à-vis the state; on the contrary, it became dependent on the state to a certain extent since it did not achieve its economic objectives by its own efforts, but with the substantial assistance of the state.⁸

Despite this kind of common judgments of failure, Blackbourn tries to show that what German bourgeoisie did realize in the nineteenth century, though not a vociferous revolution through which it gained political power, but a “silent” transformation. Although this transformation was not a political revolution, the change it brought about was not marginal or negligible. The power of this transformation “was anchored in the (expansion of the) capitalist mode of production, in civil society, in the rule of law, and associational life.” It was a slow but continuous change in the law, in the mechanical advance, in the patterns of sociability and the formation of public with its opinion. In other words, this was a long-term process through which a new mentality, life style, and man, which was public man with his new patterns of taste, patronage, and philanthropy, came into existence.⁹

In this chapter I will search for the signs of this kind of “bourgeoisie” transformation through Armenian sources in Anatolia after the 1908 Revolution. It is important to excavate such an underneath transformation in Anatolia since there has been a general understanding, in the past and present, that Anatolia is more “traditional” and “stagnant” part of the country. This chapter will try to make a contribution by adopting a different view of Anatolia and looking at those components and movements of the region, which have been largely ignored until today.

⁸ Ibid., p. 162.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 16, 164, 175, 176.

The 1908 Revolution and the years following also mark a critical period since the Revolution was regarded by many of the contemporaries as a first step toward democratization and stable internal peace.¹⁰ But, it turned into a “missed opportunity”. Was it because of the lack of such a silent, and undercurrent change toward a bourgeois society? The aim or the claim of this chapter is not to give a final or definite answer to this question, affirmative or negative. Nevertheless, I will try to show that a search through the primary sources of the time might provide some clues that will allow us to draw at least a sketchy picture in which the footmarks of a silent bourgeois transformation may be seen.

However, before talking about the clues of such a “bourgeois transformation” it would be better to make two points about the term “bourgeoisie” as a class and an agency. First, although the meaning and content of the term “bourgeoisie” seems easy to explain at first sight, and although it is widely used, in fact, it is difficult to make an effective definition of “bourgeoisie” valid for all times and places. In other words, it is not easy to draw the borderlines of the bourgeoisie as a group. As Blackbourn says, bourgeoisie can be classified as a historically elusive class.¹¹ Another difficulty in making the definition of “bourgeoisie” is to separate it as an abstract term usable in every context from the West European bourgeois experience.¹² In other words, in the discussion of the bourgeoisie, the Western (European) experience has become a reference point, which might be restrictive in other contexts, and lead to alternative, and more useful perspectives being ignored.

¹⁰ The examples of this kind of expressions from primary resources of the time will be mentioned in the second chapter. However, for a sample of studies and contemporary figures that regard the Revolution as a starting point, see Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Hürriyet'in İlanı* İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2004, p.5, endnote 7. For a description of how the people in Anatolian provinces met the Revolution jubilantly, see Kudret Emiroğlu, *Anadolu'da Devrim Günleri* Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1999.

¹¹ Blackbourn and Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History*, p. 168.

¹² Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* New York Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 9.

Throughout this chapter the term “bourgeoisie” is not used in the strict sense referring to only those who own material means of production. Besides big businessmen, professionals, shopkeepers, and intellectuals, who have “the ideological means of production”, are included in the category of bourgeoisie.

The second point that I want to make before passing to cases from the primary sources is that the active agents of a bourgeois transformation do not have to be directly and only those individuals belonging to the bourgeois class. What is more important than the sociological identity of the individual actor is the status of the action.¹³ To put the same thing differently, what is critical is the establishment of a new life style in which new patterns of interaction, new values and norms become valid. It does not differ much whether solely bourgeois people follow these new patterns. If, for instance, some segments of the aristocracy or the peasantry adopt these new bourgeois patterns and norms this does not change that it is a bourgeoisie transformation since its base is the values and norms of the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, wherever and whenever other classes accept its claims of universality, this transformation becomes more successful. If this transformation seems a “bourgeois interest”, instead of a “general interest of society”, it faces more resistance. The more it is silent, the more effective it is.¹⁴

A new life style becomes entrenched. Borrowing the term that Blackburn and Eley use in the German context, this is the *embourgeoisement* of society.¹⁵ Also, Engels’ description about the classes in England, relayed again by Blackburn, refer to this fact: “Britain had a bourgeois bourgeoisie, a bourgeois aristocracy, and a bourgeois working class”.¹⁶

¹³ Blackburn and Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History*, 204.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

Now we can turn to trace the footprints of such a transformation in the Ottoman context along some parameters.

Mechanical and Scientific Advance

One element of bourgeois transformation is the advance in mechanical civilization and science. Throughout nineteenth century Europe, material success against nature was a celebrated phenomenon. Every mechanical innovation was considered as a liberating power from nature. For example, the steam engine, steamship, railway, telegraph, as such successes, were saluted with joy. Admiration of and praise for scientific and technological progress became frequent. Public festivities were organized on the occasion of opening a bridge, viaduct, or railway.¹⁷ As Blackbourn shows that most aspects of “the brave new mechanical world were particularly associated with the bourgeoisie.”¹⁸ Science became a source of legitimacy and power for the middle class and urban elite. As an indicator of this, a large number of Mechanics’ Institutes were founded in the urban centers of Britain after the example of the London Institute, established in 1824.¹⁹

What was the situation of science and technology in Anatolia at the beginning of the twentieth century? Although one cannot say that Anatolia was a technologically and scientifically advanced region at that time anyway, primary sources show that there were some efforts in this way. It is not possible either to claim that these efforts were evenly distributed across Anatolia. However, it seems there were some “nodes” where these activities were concentrated. One of these

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 185, 186. For a capable description of how scientific and technological progress became the principal (almost only) criterion of civilization in 19th century European popular and intellectual thought, see Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Man: Science, Technology and Ideologies of Western Dominance* Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1989.

¹⁸ Blackbourn and Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History*, p. 187.

¹⁹ R. J. Morris, "Clubs, Societies, and Associations," in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain: Social Agencies and Institutions*, ed. F. M. L. Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 411.

nodes was the Euphrates College of Harput. An exemplary scientific (technological) attempt to overcome nature came from the faculty of this college in the making and installation of a seismograph.

As is well known, eastern Anatolia is a region where big earthquakes happen frequently. Losses because of these earthquakes, both human and material, have been a chronic problem of the country. Despite this fact, earthquake studies in Turkey, especially in Anatolia, remain extremely insufficient today. Knowing this situation, it is perplexing to learn that a seismograph was installed at Euphrates College in Harput in 1906. Moreover, this device was made at the College. We learn this from an article written by Henry H. Riggs²⁰ in the 5th issue of *Yeprad*. In 1907 and 1908 the seismographs were replaced by improved ones. Riggs reports that the last seismograph was so sensitive that it could record even those vibrations equal to one thousandth of one millimeter. It was also possible to determine the distance, intensity, and the manner of the earthquakes. So, beginning from 1906, the earthquakes that happened in the vicinity of Harput were recorded by these seismographs. Riggs says that since the installation of the seismograph 380 earthquakes had been recorded. These recordings were sent to centers of earthquake studies abroad for interpretation, among which were centers in Germany, Russia, Spain, Italy, and even Mexico. In the exchange for this, books, pictures, and maps for earthquake studies were received from those centers. One section of the college library was full of every kind of book about earthquakes. It is unnecessary to mention

²⁰ Henry H. Riggs was the president of Euphrates College between 1903 and 1910. He was born in Sivas in 1875 of missionary parents. He lived in Turkey until he went to the United States for higher education. He graduated from Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota. Before becoming the president of Euphrates College, he taught at Anatolia College, Marsovan, graduated from Auburn Seminary in 1902. He was in Harput until August 1917, in the United States between August 1917-January 1919. He returned to Harput in May 1919, but was kicked out by local authorities. He died in Beirut on 14 May 1943 during missionary and relief work. He knew Armenian, Turkish, and Kurdish very well. (Henry H. Riggs, *Days of Tragedy in Armenia: Personal Experiences in Harpoot, 1915-1917* Ann Arbor: Gomidas Institute, 1997, p. xi.)

how important it is to record earthquakes to study them, and establish international connections in scientific issues for the sake of information sharing. In Harput they established such a web of international connections about earthquake studies in the first decade of the twentieth century.²¹

We learn from the same article that the college also kept meteorological records for twelve years. Riggs says that they were able to make detailed measurements of heat, air pressure, rains, snow, and clouds, and kept monthly reports. They sent these reports to the government and various places such as Egypt.²²

Scientific activities that contributed to the improvement of life quality in Harput and its vicinity are not restricted to these studies. A pharmacist by the name of Yetvart Tashcian made a chemical analysis which compares samples taken from various wells and fountains in the nearby area with the content of healthy drinking water. Twelve different samples were taken and compared in terms of seven different measures (nitrogen, sulfur, lime etc...). The results were published to inform the people so that they could choose the drinking water with the best quality.²³ If such a detailed analysis could be made this means that there was a chemistry laboratory sophisticated enough to carry out such experiments in Harput. In addition, if the very great threat of epidemics is taken into consideration, then the value of such a work is clear.

As another example of the efforts to make social life more hygienic, they started to publish a series of articles in the 18th issue of *Yeprad* under the name of

²¹ It is a question that whether Turkey would suffer so much from earthquakes today if those studies could have been continued.

²² *Yeprad*, Jan. 1, 1910, No: 5, pp. 80-83.

²³ *Yeprad*, Dec. 15, 1910, No: 22, p. 360

“Hygiene Notes”, in which a doctor named Pier Tasho²⁴ gives practical information for readers to avoid diseases and have healthy lives. He writes about subjects such as preventive medicine, nutrition, the health of newborn babies, health education at schools, and creating a healthy environment. He proposes that public life and space should be designed by regarding the necessities of hygiene. The essential principles of hygiene should be taught at primary schools as if they are religious principles, so that they become “like a faith that endures throughout life”.²⁵ It would not be wrong to say that these articles were informative for people, and a factor contributing to the general life conditions.

Before passing to another dimension of bourgeois transformation, the articles in *Yeprad* that emphasize the importance of material progress and railway are worth mentioning. As I said, nineteenth century European people saw a positive relation between railway and human happiness. Even literary works, poems and novels were written in the praise of railway and about the prosperity it brought. People admired this new mode of transportation.²⁶

Although there was no railway in Harput at the time when the articles in *Yeprad* were written there is a constant expectation of and demand for railway in these articles. The authors qualify the railway as one of the most important preconditions of prosperity and development. As one of the authors says, after the Revolution, provincial people “dreamed of railways reaching all corners of the country.”²⁷ In the same issue, another author also emphasizes the importance of the railway by using some word games. For example, since the pronunciations of the

²⁴ It is written in *Yeprad* that this doctor was given a medal, *Medaille de merite scientifique et Humanitaire*, by *Academic Physies Chimique Italienne* due to his activities at the local hospital. This is another good example of scientific progress. Moreover, beside the example of earthquake studies, it shows that the connections of the region with institutions from other countries were considerable. *Yeprad*, Dec. 15, 1910, No: 22, p. 356.

²⁵ *Yeprad*, Sep. 15, 1910, No: 18, pp. 292-295.

²⁶ Blackbourn and Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History*, pp. 185-187.

²⁷ *Yeprad*, Jan. 1, 1910, No: 5, p. 70.

words “spirit” (*voqee*) and “steam” (*shoqee*) in Armenian are very similar, in a sentence, in which he says that they live in a country where the spirit of civilization does not exist, he puts the word “steam” in parenthesis after the word “spirit”. He complains that the railway, which is the “forerunner” and “sign” of civilization, circumscribes only the edges of the country and never stop by the interior villages. “We live in such a country that instead of trains, donkey, horse and mule move.” The author Boujikianian, who was one of the *Yeprad* teachers, says these in an article criticizing “the laziness, dishonesty, and idleness in the East” by comparing it with “the West”. Since the words of this author are exemplary of how intellectuals tried to establish new values of work and material progress among the people, it is worth quoting it here at some length:

“This country is virgin but fruitless...The laziness of thinking chains us. We lack the spirit of invention, innovation, and entrepreneurship. Even our pace is slow.

The symbol of the East is yawning instead of vigor. Someone visiting Europe gets the impression of a big hive. Europeans love their jobs. They run out of breath, work, move, laugh, dance, invent. Machines work continuously, their noise makes one deaf. In Europe everybody, young or old, boy or girl works and earns his living with his own labor. Factory is the synonym of activity. Europe is nothing but a borderless network of factories, bourses, banks, post offices, and harbors. There, luck is created, destiny is made...

Europeans are men of work, but we Asians are men of dream. We expect everything from nature or fortune. We should learn vigor, invention, hard work, and innovation from Europe. The political, economic, and social salvation of Turkey depends on this.”²⁸

²⁸ *Yeprad*, Jan. 1, 1910, No: 5, pp. 90-92.

The similarity between these ideas and the view of the nineteenth century European bourgeois toward civilization, work, and material progress²⁹ is clear. These words indicate that there was an effort by a group of provincial Armenian intellectuals to establish European bourgeois norms and values in Ottoman society. They were supporters of the European bourgeois ideology of the nineteenth century.

How did they transmit this ideology to the public? The major way of this was education, both formal at schools and informal at public conferences.

Education

One of the most important factors of bourgeois transformation is modern, Western style education. It is the main tool to change people's mentality and shape public opinion according to new values and norms, which is essential for the success of the transformation. Moreover, the role of education in bourgeois formation is also critical. The education is a source that endows class with cultural capital. The education and social networks become a social source that "articulates the social and economic boundaries of the social group, endows them with a vision, and thus transforms the group into a social class." As Göçek argues, "in the development of the Ottoman bourgeoisie, the cultural capital of credentials acquired through Western style education was as significant as the material capital of wealth attained through commerce and production."³⁰ Therefore, education, specifically Western style education, was important in the formation of the Ottoman bourgeoisie, be it Muslim or non-Muslim. What was the situation of Western style, modern education in Anatolia at the beginning of the twentieth century?

²⁹ Explained above by reference to Blackbourn, pp. 4,5.

³⁰ Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, p. 81.

Even the existence of such an institution like Euphrates (*Yeprad*) College (and other American colleges in Aintab, Marsovan, Tarsus, and Sivas) is an indicator in itself that some major steps were taken in terms of education.³¹ As an example of these institutions it will be informative to give brief information³² about the history of and the education given at Euphrates College.

The activities of the Harput Armenian Evangelical Union officially started in 1865. With the support and under the direction of American missionaries this union was running many schools at different levels. In the middle of the 1870s the number of students reached such a level that a need for a college occurred. Reverend Dr. Crosby H. Wheeler collected more than \$140,000 in the United States for the establishment of the college. A sum of \$40,000, collected by local Armenian contributors, was added to this amount and the college was founded in 1878. Its original name was the Armenia College. However, as a result of objections of the Turkish authorities, its name was changed to *Yeprad* (Euphrates) College in 1888.

The main institution behind this college was, like many other American schools in Anatolia, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). Therefore, the governance model of the college, similar to that of American Board institutions elsewhere, was to have a board of trustees in the United States, initially chosen by the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM in Boston. The Board of Trustees was to elect the College President, who was to be an American Board missionary. There was also a Board of Managers that functioned in Turkey. Its

³¹ For a voluminous and talented description of these schools see Hans-Lukas Kieser, *Iskalanmış Barış: Doğu Vilayetlerinde Misyonerlik, Etnik Kimlik ve Devlet 1839-1938*, trans. Atilla Dirim İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005. Although these schools were missionary schools, meaning the motives of the founders were religious, indeed they gave a modern and very good education of the time. In time school (education) started to come before the Book (the Bible).

³² I take this information from this article: Frank Andrews Stone, "The Heritage of Euphrates (Armenia) College," in *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, *UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series. Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces*. (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2002).

members were elected by the ABCFM missionaries in Harput. However, local Armenians were given the chance to have their members on the Board of Managers if they were able to make a certain level of financial contribution. In fact, it had been initially thought that property and control of the college would have been transferred from the Board of Trustees in the United States to the local Board of Managers after 1925.³³ However, the life of neither the college nor the Armenian community of Harput lasted so long. The life of the college ended with the events of 1915.

The college accepted both boys and girls as students into its five departments: kindergarten, primary, intermediate, high school, and college. Each of the first four departments followed a three-year curriculum whereas the college program lasted five years. A student could thus receive a continuous formal education of fourteen years (excluding kindergarten) at Euphrates College.

Armenian was the main language of instruction at the college because this was the mother tongue of most of the students. All of the advanced students, however, also learned English well enough to be able to use American textbooks. Turkish and French were also taught at the college.³⁴

To obtain an idea about the composition of the graduates and what they did after graduation it is useful to examine a sample of them, which is possible through a report by trustees. Stone, relying on this report, mentions that within twenty years 148 men received diplomas. Of them, 125 became teachers. Of these alumni, 27 were ministers, 25 were businessmen, 13 physicians, 4 farmers, 2 surveyors, and 1 lawyer.³⁵ During the final decade of the college, 1905-1915, many of its graduates went on to study medicine or pharmacy at the American University of Beirut. Others

³³ Ibid., pp. 210-211.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 213.

³⁵ The sum of these numbers is more than 148. So, in this distribution the women graduates must be taken into account.

went to the United States to study dentistry, engineering, law or medicine,³⁶ as some examples mentioned below. Due to the 1915 Armenian deportation, some of them were never able to return to their homeland although their initial aim was to do so. Nevertheless, many of those who had gone to the States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries for higher education returned and worked in their homeland. Some of them became members of the faculty of Euphrates College.

The faculty of the College, most of whom were Armenians, had received valuable educations at the many of the leading institutions of their time. For example, Harutiun Enfiejian, a graduate of the College, had attended Yale University before returning to teach at his alma mater. Similarly, another professor, Donabed Lulejian, had studied biology at Yale University. Professor M.A. Melkon,³⁷ the first native Protestant teacher in Harput, first attended Bebek Robert College before continuing his education in Switzerland.³⁸ We see that Euphrates College became a mediator, helping its students, teachers, and other professionals to go to especially the United States, but also to Europe, for higher education or improvement in their professions. These people received their educations at the best universities of the time and then returned to Anatolia in order to lecture both at schools and public conferences. They thus made remarkable contributions to the material development of the region, and to the intellectual development of the people.

These people were from various fields such as music, medicine, and engineering... There is much news about these people in the periodicals. For example, it is written in the 1st issue of *Yeprad* that Samuel Khachadurian, who gave

³⁶ Stone, "The Heritage of Euphrates (Armenia) College," p. 215.

³⁷ Upon the death of Prof. Melkon in the United States, an article about his biography and studies was published in the 22nd, 23-24th issues of *Yeprad*. He had worked at *Yeprad* College for 18 years, and emigrated to the United States after the events of 1895 in which his life had been seriously threatened. *Yeprad*, Dec.15, 1910, No: 22, pp. 351-354; *Yeprad*, Dec.31, 1910, No: 23-24, pp. 369-372

³⁸ Stone, "The Heritage of Euphrates (Armenia) College," 218.

music lectures at the college, returned from Stuttgart, Germany where he had been trying to improve himself in his field. He would start over the lectures again. Similarly, Donabed Lulejian, another professor of the college, had been sent to the United States to study naturalism for two years. Examples are not restricted to these. We learn from the 8th issue of the *Yeprad* that Mardiros Boujikianian and Garabed Museghian, who were graduates of *Yeprad* College 1897-1898, and teachers at the German school in Mamuret-ul Aziz, had been sent to Germany by the German missionary to improve their specialization and return.³⁹ In the same way, through a scholarship of 600 dollars provided by the people from Harput living in the United States, Mesrop Jamgochian had been sent to the States to study pedagogy at Yale University.⁴⁰ He was supposed to come back and take on administrative tasks at the national schools.

The contribution of these people was not restricted to lectures at schools. Ordinary people also had the chance to listen to them at conferences open to public. For example, a man called Mikael Minasyan, who had received an education in the natural sciences and philosophy at Harvard and Yale universities, gave a series of conferences on various topics in Harput, Mamuret-ul Aziz, Huseynik.⁴¹ The contact of local people with such intellectuals was a way of constituting public opinion, which will be discussed in coming pages.

Examples are not only from Harput. The Armenian community of Sivas also sent many of its members to other big cities for education. There is an article in the 27th issue of *Hoghtar* with the headline “Fellow Countrymen Students Are Coming Back.” In this article, the names of a group of people who went to other places, especially Istanbul, in order to study in several fields are mentioned. Interestingly,

³⁹ *Yeprad*, Feb. 15, 1910, No: 8, p. 137.

⁴⁰ *Yeprad*, Dec. 15, 1910, No: 22, p. 364.

⁴¹ *Yeprad*, May. 15, 1910, No: 14, p. 236.

one of them graduated from military school. In fact, their fields are quite diversified. Some others are from the disciplines of pharmacy, veterinary, agriculture, medicine, law, forestry, and music. Fourteen names are mentioned as getting higher education out of their hometown of Sivas. According to the news, some of them had finished their educations and returned to Sivas and some were about to finish. The author of the article says that they were proud of their fellow countrymen. “A society that has such an agile youth does not die”.⁴² Like *Yeprad* College in Harput, the American college in Sivas also sent some of its Armenian teachers to America for specialization in their fields. For example, it is written in *Hoghtar* that Mr. Rakoobian returned from the States after following courses in his field.⁴³

Women were also sent abroad for education. Mrs. Esther Asdikian and Miss Diroohe Yildizian,⁴⁴ both teachers at the girls’ department of the *Yeprad* College, were sent abroad for the same purposes, like the men mentioned above.⁴⁵ The education of women was given remarkable importance, and regarded as critical. This conclusion can be easily drawn from the numbers given and articles written in the periodicals. For example, Hovhannes Boujikianian wrote a series of article with the headline “The West and the East”, in which he made comparisons between several aspects of the life in the West and the East. He allocated one of these articles to the woman question. In this article, he says that there are huge differences between women’s life in Europe and Asia. Women, the author says, have many disadvantages in the East. They are isolated from public life, “belonging to the kitchen.” They have no say in their own destiny. They cannot even choose their partner; love is forbidden to them. “Nature becomes silent when tradition speaks” in the East.

⁴² *Hoghtar*, Aug. 8, 1912, No:27, p. 105.

⁴³ *Hoghtar*, Sep. 22, 1912, No:31, p. 123.

⁴⁴ We learn from news in the 18th issues of *Yeprad* that Deroohi Yildizian returned to Harput one year later visiting various places in Turkey and Europe. *Yeprad*, Sep. 15, No: 18, p. 299.

⁴⁵ *Yeprad*, Nov. 1, 1909, No: 1, pp. 19-20.

As for intellectual life, the author continues there is no such thing for women. They are not interested in politics either. Only massacres interest them because they and their dear ones' lives are threatened by them. They have no dignity in Eastern society. After talking about these the author argues that flying requires two wings. These two wings are man and woman; the East has only one wing. He says that unless freedom is given to women and their dignity is recognized, civilization cannot be established.⁴⁶ It seems that this view was shared by at least some segments of the Armenian community since the number of women both as students and teachers at schools was considerably high.

According to statistics relayed by Stone, in the 1898-1899 academic year there were 37 female students in the college, and this number was greater than that of the males, which was 33. Coming to 1902-1903, the number of female students increased to 44 (and males 65). When we look at the total number of the students at all levels (kindergarten, primary, intermediate, high school, and college) of the same years, we see that there is not much difference between males and females. In 1898-1899, there were 548 male and 503 female students, and in 1902-1903 the numbers were 540 and 505, respectively.⁴⁷ For the sake of comparison, in 1903, there were slightly more than 300 students at Robert College, Istanbul in total.⁴⁸ As another statistic, we learn from *Yeprad* that in 1910, 29 men and 17 women graduated from *Yeprad* College. These numbers can serve as a dependable sample of the sex

⁴⁶ *Yeprad*, April 1, 1910, No:1 1, pp. 181-182. Indeed, there are some contrary examples to the claims of the author, showing the participation of women in social life and the high ratio of women in education compared to men; these examples are also relayed in this chapter. However, it seems that Boujikianian does not see the situation of women as sufficient. If we consider that he reaches this conclusion in comparison with the situation of women in the West he might be regarded as right. As a matter of fact, it is not possible either for us to reach definite conclusions about the general status of women in Anatolian Armenian community. Nevertheless, examples are sufficient to claim that the situation of at least one segment of the women was quite open to improvement. The importance of the status of women in society was grasped at least by some of the Anatolian Armenians.

⁴⁷ Stone, "The Heritage of Euphrates (Armenia) College.", p. 212.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

composition of the college. By combination of statistics a table showing the number of students at the college level can be made:

Table 1: Euphrates College student numbers⁴⁹

| Year | Male | Female | Total |
|----------------------|------|--------|-------|
| 1882-1883 | 150 | 89 | 239 |
| 1887-1888 | 50 | 44 | 94 |
| 1890-1891 | 79 | 67 | 146 |
| 1891-1892 | 34 | 39 | 73 |
| 1898-1899 | 33 | 37 | 70 |
| 1902-1903 | 65 | 44 | 109 |
| 1909-1910(Graduates) | 29 | 17 | 46 |

There are also some numbers from Sivas. In 1912, a communal school (comparing with today's it can be regarded as a high school) for boys had 17 graduates whereas its counterpart for girls had 14.⁵⁰ Der Mugrdechian relays some numbers from Arshak Alpoyachian regarding the Armenian students in Evdokia (Tokat). According to his accounts, in 1897 there were more than 400 boys and

⁴⁹ The number for the years 1882-1883, 1887-1888, 1890-1891, 1891-1892 are taken from Uygur Kocabaşođlu. He relays these numbers from ABCFM archives. See Uygur Kocabaşođlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika* Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2000; reprint, 3, p. 151. The years 1898-1899 and 1902-1903 are taken from Stone mentioned in 41st footnote. The numbers of 1909-1910 graduates are taken from *Yeprad*, June 15, 1910, No: 16, p. 277.

⁵⁰ *Hoghtar*, Aug. 8, 1912, No:27, p. 107.

almost 150 girls at the Evdokia (Armenian) National School. By 1903, that number increased to more than 800 students.⁵¹

Both male and female graduates of *Yeprad* College were not only from Harput. They came from various towns to Harput to study at the college. Some families did not hesitate to send their daughters from distant places such as Diyarbakir, Divrigi, Hajin, and Kesrik for college education.⁵² At the beginning of the 1910-1911 academic year there were around 1,000 students, including both boys and girls, who came from 25 different towns in Anatolia.⁵³

There was also a boarding school for girls in Marsovan (Merzifon), again established by the ABCFM. Its name was the Marsovan Boarding School for Girls; later when Anatolia College was founded (1886), it was renamed as the Anatolia Girls' School. Initially, it had been opened in Haskoy, Istanbul, but later was moved and reopened in Marsovan in 1865. The girls who wanted to enter this school had to pass an entrance examination about the subjects which had been taught at elementary level. Those who were admitted received a three-year education. Thus, this school might be regarded as a middle-level school. As an innovation in the Ottoman Empire, a branch for deaf students was also opened. The curriculum of the school included mathematics, history, botany, geology, physics, psychology, and domestic science. Armenian and Turkish were the language of education. English was added in 1882, and Greek in 1884 when Greek girls began attending the school.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Barlow Der Mugrdetchian, "A Farewell to the Armenians of Evdokia/Tokat," in *Armenian Sebastia/Sivas and Lesser Armenia*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, *UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series. Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces*. (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2004), p. 289.

⁵² *Yeprad*, June 15, 1910, No: 16, pp. 266-268.

⁵³ *Yeprad*, Oct. 15, 1910, No: 19, p. 303.

⁵⁴ Frank Andrews Stone, "Anatolia College and Sivas Teachers' College: Armenian Education in American Schools," in *Armenian Sebastia/Sivas and Lesser Armenia*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, *UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series. Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces*. (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2004), pp. 207-210.

As noted above, also a college, Anatolia College, was opened in Marsovan in 1886. It had a four-year post-secondary curriculum. Its students came from various places such as Kayseri, Sivas, Tokat, Yozgat and the Black Sea coast. The first year, including two-year preparatory classes, there were 100 students. By 1898, the number of students increased to 246, but only 46 were taking college-level classes. Although it was opened for Protestant Armenians later it started to accept other ethnic groups. In 1898 there were 55 Ottoman Greeks at the school. The charter of the college stated that, “no student in said College shall be refused admission or denied any of the privileges, honors or degrees of said College on account of the religious opinions he may entertain.” The administrative scheme of the college was almost the same as that of Euphrates College of Harput.⁵⁵

The library of the college contained more than 10,000 volumes (a great number for the Ottoman Empire). The college museum housed more than 7,000 botanical and zoological specimens. It was the most extensive natural science collection in Anatolia.⁵⁶

According to numbers relayed by Stone, in September 1913 the college had 32 faculty members: 11 Armenians, 10 Americans, 9 Greeks, 1 Swiss and 1 Russian; and 425 students: 200 Greeks, 160 Armenians, 40 Russians, and 25 Turks.⁵⁷

After the deportation of the Armenian community of Marsovan in 1915, the government suddenly closed the college, and confiscated its buildings. The American faculty was expelled to Istanbul. After two months in the capital four or five members of the staff were allowed to return in order to seek out former students, especially girls and the deaf pupils. At the end of the war the Board of Managers of Anatolia College reported to the Trustees in Boston that “fifty of their best teachers

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 212, 213.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 218.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 219.

and employees had been lost to the institution by death and by enforced emigration; and thousands of dollars worth property was stolen or willfully destroyed.” Anatolia College reopened on October 1, 1919 with four teachers from the old faculty and two workers. Additionally, seven new teachers were recruited from among the surviving alumni and former upper class men. The number of the students dropped to 150: 72 Greeks, 70 Armenians, 7 Turks, and 1 Russian. During the 1920-1921 academic year the number of boys at the college increased to 218. Two Turkish teachers, Zeki Ketani⁵⁸ and İsmail Şevket, joined the faculty. However, the conditions worsened. The Kemalists ordered the expulsion of the entire foreign faculty of the college on March 21, 1921. So, the college was officially closed, its property confiscated, and its students dispersed. Some Armenian and Greek professors, former members of the faculty, were accused of plotting an armed rebellion against the nationalist government of Turkey and executed in August 1921.⁵⁹

As for Sivas, a school, named Sivas Normal School was opened in 1880. Its aim was to prepare the most promising elementary school graduates for teaching careers. Also a boarding school for girls was later founded with a similar objective. In 1912, the secondary level program of the Sivas Normal School was expanded by its president, Rev. Ernest C. Partridge, and it became the Sivas Teachers’ College.⁶⁰ It was the first college-level program devoted completely to teacher education in the Ottoman Empire, sponsored by the ABCFM. In 1914 there were 502 students enrolled in its four departments: primary, intermediate, high school, and college.

⁵⁸ He was murdered on February 12, 1921 on his way home. According to College President George White the terrorists wanted to prevent a Muslim from teaching at a mission schools. However, others accused the Christians of the town for this murder.

⁵⁹ Stone, "Anatolia College and Sivas Teachers' College: Armenian Education in American Schools," pp. 220-223.

⁶⁰ As a matter of fact, I come across the news announcing this promotion in Hogthar of June 9, 1912, on the page 90.

However, the 1915 deportation and massacres did not allow the college to reap its harvest.⁶¹

In addition to the schools there were also many handiwork courses for women teaching subjects such as sewing and rug weaving. For example, the 8th issue of *Hoghtar* reports that eleven women received certificates from such courses.⁶² Similar news appears also in the 21st issue, mentioning the names of the women who had finished a sewing course at one of the Armenian schools in the town.⁶³ Another article, reporting on a program started and directed by one of the philanthropic societies of Sivas which had 200 women working on various crafts, gives us an idea about the size and effectiveness of this kind of attempt.⁶⁴ Another course in tailoring, again in Sivas, graduated fifteen women in 1912 with two Greek girls among them.⁶⁵ These examples show that they tried to enrich the economic and social life through improving the abilities of women and making them qualified labor power.

Generally speaking, at the end of nineteenth century the Armenian community of the Ottoman Empire had developed a web of modern schools that tried to reach the weakest parts of the community and strengthen them. This movement played a crucial role in the improvement of population. The total number of students at Ottoman Armenian schools at the end of nineteenth century, which was more than 200,000, gives an idea about the general level of education. This number was virtually 10 % of the Armenian population, and one third of these students were female.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Stone, "Anatolia College and Sivas Teachers' College: Armenian Education in American Schools," pp. 223-225.

⁶² *Hoghtar*, Feb. 28, 1912, No:8, p. 32.

⁶³ *Hoghtar*, May 26, 1912, No:21, p. 82.

⁶⁴ *Hoghtar*, Aug. 1, 1912, No:26, p. 102.

⁶⁵ *Hoghtar*, Aug. 18, 1912, No:28, p. 111.

⁶⁶ The percentage of students in some example places are as such: Palu(10%), Karahisar (14%), Kırkağaç (%16), Zeytun (2.6%), İzmir (8%), Kiğı (Erzurum-10%), Kayseri (22%), Kilikya (11.4%), Harput (10.8%). The ratio of female students to males in same places are: Palu (1:2), Karahisar

In sum, it can be said that there was a sufficient educational foundation in Anatolia at the end of nineteenth and beginning of twentieth centuries on which a bourgeois formation and transformation could be based. This organization was able to produce those people capable of realizing such a transformation.

Now, we can focus on another crucial aspect and instrument of this transformation: voluntary associations.

Voluntary Associations and Public Life

As mentioned above, in the nineteenth century Europe, bourgeois dominance was expressed through civil society. The main medium of this dominance was the voluntary associations. However, the emergence of the voluntary associations goes further back than the nineteenth century. For example, as Morris says, in Britain after the mid-eighteenth century, the number of the voluntary organizations increased considerably. The features that defined a voluntary organization as such were not much: "a set of rules, a declared purpose, and a membership defined by some formal act of joining". In the beginning the membership was largely constituted by urban middle class men. However, the voluntary associations were not limited to this group. According to Morris, since the second half of the eighteenth century was a time of dramatic change, the number of social roles played each individual increased in variety and number. This wave of change made it difficult to predict the course of events. The creation of voluntary associations was a response to this ambiguity, an effort to cope with the problems posed by change and complexity.⁶⁷ These associations constituted an assorted group such as reading clubs, musical societies,

(1:1.25), Kırkağaç (1:1.15), Zeytun (1:2.8), Kiğı (city center 1:1.14-towns and villages 1:5), Kayseri (city center 1:2.5-towns and villages 1:3.5), Harput (city center 1.5:1). For statistics see Levon Zekiyani, *Ermeniler ve Modernite: Gelenek ve Yenileşme/ Özgüllük ve Evrensellik Arasında Ermeni Kimliği*, trans. Altuğ Yılmaz İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2001, pp. 92, 105.

⁶⁷ Morris, "Clubs, Societies, and Associations," p. 395.

gymnastic and sporting clubs, and philanthropic societies with social purposes. A small list of examples can reveal this variety. Societies active in Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century such as the Amicable Debating Society, the Free Debating Society, the Conversation Society discussed matters of grand general philosophy like the question, “Whether Justice or Injustice depend upon the institutions of civil society or on Nature?”⁶⁸ This example shows how a voluntary association could contribute to the shaping of public opinion and political culture of a society. Additionally, they gave discipline and structure to discussions. In other words, they taught people how to discuss, which was (and still is) critical for the existence of democracy as a regime and a culture. However, not every voluntary association was engaged in such “serious grand” debates. As an early example, the Honourable Society of Improvers of the Knowledge of Agriculture, established in Edinburgh in 1723, was to serve members with general instruction on scientific agriculture and offer advice on specific problems.⁶⁹ In 1790s, the Anti-Slavery society became “a pressure group with its public meetings, petitions, and reports in the growing newspaper press.”⁷⁰ The economic distress in Edinburgh in 1812 caused an increase in the number of street beggars, and this led to the establishment of the Edinburgh Society for the Suppression of Beggars.⁷¹ For another example, the Woodborough Male Friendly Society, founded in 1826, provided sick pay and funeral benefits for members.⁷² Even such a short list of examples reflects the variety of voluntary associations in terms of activity and purpose.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 397.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 404.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 409.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 411.

⁷² Ibid., p. 399. For more examples showing the variety of the voluntary associations in Britain see p. 412.

Three critical points should be made about voluntary associations. First, it can be said that “associational life was one of the principal means by which the various constituent groups of the bourgeoisie actually (and physically) came together as a class.”⁷³ The voluntary associations became places in which people started to come together with others who thought and acted like themselves. Moreover, the voluntary associations included different and often contradictory strands within one social class, and “achieved to limit the clashes that must have occurred if those strands had been asserted by a contest for control or influence in the agencies of the state.”⁷⁴ In other words, these associations prevented a possible intra-class conflict. In sum, they contributed to, like modern education mentioned above, the formation of the bourgeoisie as such a class by both being a meeting medium and preventing clashes within the group.

Second, as Blackbourn argues, this kind of associations was non-corporatist in organization and intention. “It was public and voluntary, an alternative way of forming and expressing “opinion” to the fixed and prescriptive channels of the corporate state.” They started to fill the political and social gaps left by the state or other traditional institutions like guilds. They constituted a new intermediate structure between the state and individual. This new structure was independent from the family, household, neighborhood, and other traditional ties. Therefore, the main characteristics that made the voluntary associations different were free entry and leave, and on a relative independence from the state.

Third, these associations were the major way through which the bourgeoisie claimed social leadership of all. In these associations the bourgeoisie modeled the life style, tastes, norms and values, which were to be “good for all”. They also

⁷³ Blackbourn and Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History*, p. 125.

⁷⁴ Morris, "Clubs, Societies, and Associations," p. 410.

became patronage instruments of the bourgeoisie. Other classes became the recipients of “philanthropic support, cultural edification, and social patronage provided by a bourgeoisie which translated its local ascendancy into a claim to social leadership.”⁷⁵

The frequency of voluntary associations thus can be regarded both as a symptom of bourgeois society⁷⁶ and as an accelerative cause on its formation. Additionally, the voluntary associations might be guides in transition periods, where and when there is “no relevant system of values or, even more confusing, inappropriate or contradictory sets of values.” They can be a “used to adapt to new needs and relationships.”⁷⁷ Based on these arguments, if a bourgeois transformation were realized after the 1908 Revolution (a transition period) Anatolia, at least in our towns Harput and Sivas, then there must have been a considerable amount of activity by voluntary associations. Did the circumstances reflect such a picture? The information, gathered from primary sources belonging to that time, makes us reply to this question in the affirmative.

There were a number of voluntary organizations that worked to improve the quality of life both in Harput and Sivas. They were largely either philanthropic organizations that aimed to help the poor, give aid to students, or cultural organizations that performed such activities as opening libraries or establishing theatre groups. They made a remarkable contribution to social development and welfare. Gatherings were held for the benefit of these organizations. As a representative example, a meeting to increase the number of members of the Armenian philanthropic society (*Hay Parakortzagan Ingerutiun*) is relayed in

⁷⁵ Blackbourn and Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History*, p. 126.

⁷⁶ The voluntary associations did not remain restricted to the bourgeois class. For example, later working class in Europe used voluntary associations for their collective purposes. For the British case see Morris, "Clubs, Societies, and Associations," pp. 425-430.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

Hoghtar. It is reported that at the end of this meeting, during which the orchestra of the American college of Sivas gave a small concert, the members of the society increased to 92 with 48 new members.⁷⁸

A similar example comes from Harput: in the third issue (1911) of *Yeprad* it is said that a society, established by the participation of the Christian community of town to help the poor, continued its meetings. This society aimed to help the poor by finding appropriate jobs for them.⁷⁹ It seems that such associations were common. In Sivas, there was one established even by women exclusively. It is said that it was the first women's society of the town; and that while although in the beginning this initiative was found strange by the Armenians of Sivas, later they were persuaded that it was essential for women to have a society special to themselves. In August 1912, this society had 50 female members.⁸⁰ This is an important example showing the participation of women in social life.

The efforts to found voluntary associations for specific purposes were not restricted to women. The Armenian priests of Sivas, although whether they succeeded or not is unknown, wished to establish a union, and started to work to that end. They aimed to perform their mission better, to improve their and churches' position, both financially and spiritually.⁸¹ So, it seems that even some men of religion were aware of the importance of becoming an organized society, which can be seen as a factor making a positive contribution to the liveliness of cultural and social life.

Stone relays some examples of voluntary associations from Marsovan. There was an Anatolian Teachers' Association, which "worked for the improvement of

⁷⁸ *Hoghtar*, May 5, 1912, No:18, p. 71.

⁷⁹ *Yeprad*, Feb. 15, 1911, No: 3, p. 47.

⁸⁰ *Hoghtar*, Aug. 1, 1912, No:26, pp. 102-103. The name of the association is not mentioned.

⁸¹ *Hoghtar*, Aug. 8, 1912, No:27, p. 106.

educational methods in the compound and city.” There was also an active Anatolia College Alumni Association. The Anatolia Choral Union, directed by Professor Arshag Daghljan, one of the professors of the college, helped to introduce new tastes of Western music style. Literary clubs were another type of voluntary association in Marsovan. Armenian students joined in the Shavarshan Society, the Greek students in the Pontus Club. Later Russian and Turkish students also established their own literary associations. “During the winter months, all the clubs organized Friday evening cultural programs, open to town and gown.” After the 1908 Revolution, since the censor had been abolished, the Armenian and Greek associations started to public their own local newspapers. There was even a political club. Three of its twelve directors were college faculty in addition to one alumnus.⁸²

Some of these associations had ties with those compatriot Armenians who had gone abroad, temporarily or permanently, from their homeland but maintained their connections. It seems that they occasionally organized events to collect money to send to their homeland. For example, we learn from the fourth issue of *Hoghtar* that Armenians in New York organized an event for the board that took care of the poor in Sivas. They collected 300 dollars to send to Sivas.⁸³ Another time they sent, again from New York, 45 liras (about 220 dollars) for the Communal Orphanage and 22.5 liras (about 110 dollars) for the Communal Hospital in Sivas.⁸⁴ A society founded by the Armenians from Harput but living in the States was working to create a rich library in Harput.⁸⁵ The same society had been sending money to support the

⁸² Stone, "Anatolia College and Sivas Teachers' College: Armenian Education in American Schools," p. 218.

⁸³ *Hoghtar*, Jan. 21, 1912, No:4, p. 14.

⁸⁴ *Hoghtar*, Feb. 11, 1912, No:7, p. 27.

⁸⁵ *Yeprad*, Dec. 15, 1910, No: 22, p. 363.

communal school in Harput. For example, they sent 125 Ottoman liras in 1911 to be spent for needs to that end.⁸⁶

Similarly, some Armenians in the United States, especially the graduates of the *Yeprad* College, pledged to give more than half the cost of the hospital building that was being built in Mamuret-ul Aziz.⁸⁷ We learn from another news that this hospital opened in October 1910. Its name was the Annie Tracy Riggs Hospital. It is once more emphasized in this article that most of the money used to build the hospital had been given by Armenians, those living both in Harput and in the USA. For example, the land on which it was built was donated by an Armenian named Constantine Davudian. It was written in the governing statute of the hospital that every patient, regardless of his/her religion and ethnicity, would be accepted.⁸⁸ Moreover, we learn from the memoirs of Henry Riggs that later, during the Great War, this hospital became a place where wounded and sick Turkish soldiers received good medical treatment given by Armenian and American personnel, at the charge of the Red Cross, for fifteen months.⁸⁹

Receiving donations from compatriot Armenians living and working abroad seems to have been common. As a matter of fact, in the 16th issue of *Yeprad* there was a call made by a society established in Malatya (*Masiats Ingerutiun*) to meet the need for the intellectual and moral development of the district. The call is directed to Armenians of Malatya origin living in the United States for donations to spend for social activities in Malatya. This society established a library, an auditorium, and a night school in Malatya within two years. After these activities, they moved on to establish a printing house and a newspaper. They called on

⁸⁶ *Yeprad*, Feb. 15, 1911, No: 3, p. 47.

⁸⁷ *Yeprad*, Nov. 1, 1909, No: 1, p. 19.

⁸⁸ *Yeprad*, Oct. 15, 1910, No: 19, pp. 314-315.

⁸⁹ Riggs, *Days of Tragedy in Armenia: Personal Experiences in Harput, 1915-1917*, 19-21.

compatriot Armenians living in America to unite with them in these efforts with their financial and morale contributions. Moreover, and interestingly, they also say that they wanted to put an organ in the auditorium.⁹⁰ This example shows the contributions made both by this kind of voluntary associations to the social development of the region and of the Armenians abroad to these associations.

The Armenians who emigrated abroad continued to contribute to their hometowns. It seems that there was a considerable amount of financial remittances coming from the Armenians in the United States.

In sum, it is possible to observe through primary sources, at least initial steps of, the formation of associational life in this region. And this fact can be recorded as more evidence of the existence of bourgeois formation in some centers of Anatolia at the beginning of the twentieth century. The First World War and the Armenian deportation in the coming years, of course, changed the course dramatically, and tragically.

However, the pages of the newspaper and journals of the period under examination show that the social and public life in Harput and Sivas were not restricted to the philanthropic or social activities of voluntary associations. As understood from the news there was at least one concert, conference, or theatre performance every week. Various troupes, both amateur and professional, presented many different plays. It seems that people were eager both to perform and to watch performances. *Hoghtar* is full of this kind of news. For example, it is written in the second issue of *Hoghtar* that the Sivas Aramian School Students Society (*Aramian Varjarian Wsonaghagan Miutuın*) applied to government agencies with a petition for permission to present plays for the public.⁹¹ In the next issue of *Hoghtar*, a classical

⁹⁰ *Yeprad*, June 15, 1910, No: 16, pp. 264-265.

⁹¹ *Hoghtar*, Dec. 30, 1911, No:2, p. 7.

music concert, in which several pieces such as the Pastoral Symphony were played at the American College in Sivas, is described with admiration.⁹² Almost in every issue of *Hoghtar* there is at least one article describing or announcing a social, cultural activity like a concert, conference, or play. Some examples of activities performed are: a play called “Yevkine” written by Shirvanzade;⁹³ another concert at the American College; a play called “Adam and Eve” at the National School;⁹⁴ another play by Shirvanzade;⁹⁵ and a conference by Mr. Patridge, one of the teachers of American College, about some places in Europe, which he had visited.⁹⁶

The theatre companies and their plays had similar functions to associations. They created a sphere which was relatively beyond of the control of the state (sultan). They also provided a new sphere of discussion. The plots of the plays often dealt with contemporary social issues, which gave an opportunity to the public to discuss these social issues and create public opinion. The playwrights, actors, and audience could participate in public discussion through the plays. They used plays as “mediums to articulate their criticism of the current social order and debate future scenarios for Ottoman social change.”⁹⁷ Therefore, the high frequency of plays and other social events in the provincial towns of Sivas and Harput provided an appropriate tool through which public opinion about the current political circumstances or social projects for future could be shaped. In other words, this was a suitable ground (space) for public discussion, as an essential constituent of bourgeois society.

⁹² *Hoghtar*, Jan. 14, 1912, No:3, pp. 10-11.

⁹³ *Hoghtar*, Jan. 28, 1912, No:5, p. 19.

⁹⁴ *Hoghtar*, Feb. 11, 1912, No:7, p. 28.

⁹⁵ *Hoghtar*, Feb. 28, 1912, No:8, p. 31.

⁹⁶ *Hoghtar*, March 3, 1912, No:9, p. 35. In this conference, it seems that, lecturer showed the photographs of the places he had visited in Europe through a machine which the author calls “magic lamp”.

⁹⁷ Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, pp. 124,125.

Another interesting social event is a horse race announced in the 22nd issue of *Hoghtar*. It is written that all preparations had been made to make the event more entertaining. Even wrestlers had been called from various places to compete and that a bicycle race might also be arranged.⁹⁸ There are some other examples, but it is no use to repeat all of them here. However, there is a drama performance that deserves to be emphasized especially. According to the news in the 18th issue of *Hoghtar*, a group of Armenians performed a play in French with the name “Ordeal”, which depicted a historical scene of the twelfth century in three acts. During the play, notables of the city, including all foreigners and “Kumandan Pasha”⁹⁹, were present. After the play, the news says, Kumandan Pasha made a speech praising the performance.¹⁰⁰ This shows that from time to time government officials were also present at these activities. Additionally, performing in a foreign language in front of a quite diversified audience can be considered as an indicator of the richness and cosmopolitan quality of the cultural and social life.

Besides voluntary associations, newspapers and periodicals are other instruments of creating public opinion. Newspapers directed the bourgeoisie in constructing public opinion as readers discussed new ideas, concurred with the interpretation of bourgeoisie.¹⁰¹ In this sense, the periodicals that are examined in this study can be regarded themselves as factors contributing to the bourgeois

⁹⁸ *Hoghtar*, June 2, 1912, No:22, p. 87.

⁹⁹ His name is not mentioned.

¹⁰⁰ *Hoghtar*, May 5, 1912, No:18, p. 71.

¹⁰¹ Within the Ottoman context Göçek, following the famous theory by Benedict Anderson, says that if the Ottoman print media and newspapers had not emerged, the abstract vision of an Ottoman motherland would have not been able to replace the historic image of the paternal Ottoman sultan. "As the print media created an imagined Ottoman community, conceptualized an Ottoman public opinion, and sanctioned the alleged omnipotence of the Ottoman sultan, the abstract vision of the Ottoman motherland started to take root." Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, p. 125.

transformation and creation of public opinion.¹⁰² Although we do not have the circulation numbers of these periodicals we learn from the list published in various issues of *Yeprad* that the journal had more than ten agents in the United States. So, it can be assumed that a periodical that had numerous representatives countries as distant as the USA had a considerable level of circulation. Therefore, it can be said that these periodicals had a very informative role for the people. They both relayed the news and gave practical information to facilitate the daily lives of the people. Moreover, they provided opinion leadership for the people, which is critical, especially at political and social turning points like the 1908 Revolution. These periodicals also sharpened the literary appetites of the people through publishing short stories and poems. Besides those written originally in Armenian, there are many poems translated from different languages such as Spanish,¹⁰³ English, and German.¹⁰⁴ There is also a poem in *Hoghtar* by Seniha Hikmet, which is published in Turkish, but written in the Armenian alphabet.¹⁰⁵

Before ending this section, it is useful to say some words about the relation between the voluntary associations and out-groups, groups which were excluded from a significant share in the legitimate structure of power. Morris argues that the voluntary associations made a contribution to the participation of these out-groups to the public life. For example,

“the middle classes, women and working people of the labor movement all used voluntary societies, at different times and in different ways, to formulate new identities and values, to experiment with the new forms of social action and relationships and to provide support and help for each other. They all went on to make and sustain a claim for a share in

¹⁰² In addition to the periodicals in this study we learn from Der Mgrdechian that there was an Armenian biweekly periodical with the name of *Iris* published in Evdokia/Tokat between April 1911 and October 1912. See Mgrdechian, "A Farewell to the Armenians of Evdokia/Tokat," p. 289.

¹⁰³ *Hoghtar*, March 31, 1912, No:13, p.49.

¹⁰⁴ *Hoghtar*, May 5, 1912, No:18, p. 69.

¹⁰⁵ *Hoghtar*, Dec. 30, 1911, No:2, p. 5.

that legitimate power that goes with recognition and status within a dominant ideology, with an easy and uncontested place in public life and open access to the power and sources of the state”.¹⁰⁶

As such an out-group, the position of the provincial Armenians of the Ottoman Empire was exactly that described by Morris. It seems that they, as other out-groups in Europe, tried to utilize voluntary associations for the recognition, participation in public life as legitimate citizens. However, they could never find an environment in which the rule of law prevailed. The rule of law is also an essential prerequisite of bourgeois society. This point deserves further focus.

The Rule of Law

Although there was a rise in the associational and public life in some centers of Anatolia at the beginning of twentieth century another crucial factor for the formation and continuation of bourgeois society was the establishment of the continuous rule of law. The domination of the rule of law was (and is) a prerequisite for both formation and functioning of associational and public life, therefore of bourgeois society. In other words, if the rule of law cannot be practiced associational and public life mean nothing because only the rule of law can prevent the arbitrary acts of the central state or other figures like local powerful lords. The arbitrary deeds of state or other political actors can easily ruin the working of voluntary associations and make public life (opinion) completely ineffective. Additionally, without the implementation of equality before the law, which is an essential part of the rule of law, associational life cannot produce the expected results. Using Blackburn's comparison, it can be said that voluntary associations are the social counterpart of the

¹⁰⁶ Morris, "Clubs, Societies, and Associations," p. 436.

market economy: “one based on the mutual exchange of goods between formally equal partners in the market place, the other on the mutual exchange of opinions between formally equal citizens.”¹⁰⁷ If there is no rule of law, one powerful group of people can dictate their opinion over the rest; and this makes associational life meaningless and functionless. Therefore, the securing and consolidation of the rule of law is also another feature of bourgeois society.

However, creating an order in which the rule of law prevails was the deficiency of the Ottoman bourgeois transformation. Although some legal documents (the *Tanzimat* Edict of 1839, the *Islahat* Edict of 1856 might be given as examples) were produced and some steps were taken, beginning from the early nineteenth century, to implement the equality before law these written principles could not be practiced completely in actual life. In other words, there was always a difference between what was written in the law and what was (or was not) done by state officials and other local lords, particularly in the Anatolian provinces.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, the implementation of the rule of law constituted the borders of the Ottoman bourgeois transformation.

As a matter of fact, the Armenian intellectuals who wrote in the periodicals examined in this study constantly argue that the rule of law, and equality before the law should be implemented as soon as possible.¹⁰⁹ They also complain that arbitrary

¹⁰⁷ Blackbourn and Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History*, p. 197.

¹⁰⁸ This difference between law and implementation is a habit transferred to the Republic of Turkey. So, making a law is something and realizing it is something else.

¹⁰⁹ Besides its general importance for the existence and continuity of the bourgeois society, the rule of law also has a critical importance specifically for the Armenian Question in the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, this question was largely one of providing public order and justice equally for all. The life and property of the Armenians had been regarded as a legitimate prey both by state officials and local despots. Through 19th and early 20th centuries the Armenians from various regions in Anatolia had been constantly complaining that some local despots or state officials forced them to pay illegal tributes, otherwise they were killed. Their money, property, and girls were captured by force (some examples are mentioned in this paper also). Moreover, the perpetrators that did these did not face any punishment, even inquisition. Therefore, it is not possible to discuss the Armenian Question without considering the problem of the rule of law.

and illegal deeds of state officials and local notables are commonplace. They argue there can be no bright future for Turkey until such events are prevented. As an example of this demand for the establishment of the rule of law, in the first issue of *Yeprad* the editor Soghigian writes:

“The country expects that freedom should be realized, innocents should not pay for the crimes of guilty people, the rights of the weak should not be captured by the stronger, familial respect should be recognized, murders committed under the guise of religious and nationalist parties should be ended...”¹¹⁰

Similarly, H. Boucikianian, the author of the series “The East and the West”, strictly criticizes the situation of the provinces in which feudal lords still dominated. According to him, the possibility of mass murder continued to be a serious threat and the reason for emigration to the West. He complains of the chaos in the country by comparing it with the order in Europe:

“There (in Europe) the individual protects his freedom by obeying rules and laws; here, freedom means anarchy, and (here) law is a spider net to hunt the weak...There, nobody can enter into your garden without permission. There, rules compromise, here rules barbarism...without justice there can be no freedom and peace, and without peace there is no development and wealthy life. Without the internal peace the international independence of Turkey is only a joke, and without justice, and just conduct there will be no internal peace. We still live in the Stone Age. There is *neither respect nor power of law*...still government and bribery are synonyms, complementary of each other, cause and effect.”¹¹¹

As will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, the 1908 Revolution gave a strong hope to the Armenian intellectuals that finally the rule of law would be implemented. However, as time passed, they saw that illegal, illegitimate acts continued. Although they did not lose their hope they started to mention their

¹¹⁰ *Yeprad*, Nov 1, 1909, No: 1, p. 5. Italics are mine.

¹¹¹ *Yeprad*, Jan. 15, 1910, No: 6, pp. 98-100.

disappointment, as above. Similarly, in the same issue, another author, Mesrob Jamgochian, says that what the provincial Armenians expected, after so many victims, was not a sudden solution of age-old problems, but to see the sincere Ottoman spirit of the Constitution. However, he says, the provinces had not seen any benefit of the Constitution yet. There was no difference between the old and the new order.¹¹²

An exemplary incident, which shows the lack of the rule of law, is mentioned in *Yeprad* on 28 February 1911. The correspondent of *Yeprad* from Silvan¹¹³ wrote a news article with the headline “When Will the Constitution Reach Here?” In that article the correspondent complains the deeds of an agha named Mehmed Sherif against the local Armenians. For example, one night this Mehmed Sherif, with his friends, had gone to the house of an Armenian called Stepan and seized some property equal to 3,000-4,000 *kuruş*. The police had done nothing. A few months later, some relatives of Stepan had unlocked, seemingly for revenge, Mehmed Sherif’s house and stolen some goods. The police had immediately arrested them, and they had been sentenced to three years in prison. Fifteen days before the correspondent wrote the article, Mehmed Sherif had destroyed the properties of some Armenians whom he had suspected of helping those Armenians who had been sent to the prison. He had not stopped with this. According to the correspondent, he had demanded a field belonging one of the Armenians called Ovanes. Upon being rejected by Ovanes, Mehmed Sherif, with 11 men, had attacked Ovanes’ village. They had wounded six Armenians deadly. Although the Armenians had applied to the officials and there were witnesses, the police/gendarme had done nothing. Even, Mehmed Sherif had not felt a necessity to escape. He continued his life before the

¹¹² *Yeprad*, Jan 15, 1910, No: 6, p. 106.

¹¹³ Today Silvan is an administrative district of Diyarbakır.

eyes of the police. He even dared to provoke Kurdish women to beat the Armenian women, which they actually did.¹¹⁴ This event is an example showing how the rule of law and justice are critical issues.

In a similar event, according to *Hoghtar*, two Kurds killed an Armenian shopkeeper, Simeon Bekian, in Marsovan. As it is written, they killed him because he put their oxen under lock. He found the oxen wandering untethered. As usually happened, the Kurds fled and could not be caught.¹¹⁵

Hoghtar gives the news of a land seizure in Devekse (now Ekinli), Sivas. Although the details are not given in the paper, we learn that “two Turks seized the lands belonging to the Armenian community by force.” It is said in the same article that the Armenians had applied to the government with a petition.¹¹⁶ As far as is understood from a report in *Yeprad* there was a similar property problem in Charsancak between the local Armenians and the government. The government confiscated some houses and estates belonging to the Armenians, and, according to the article Armenians tried to take them back by applying the government.¹¹⁷

The subject of the editorial published in the 30th issue of *Hoghtar* was these illegal acts against Armenians. Direct quotation from the article at some length will be more explanatory:

“The Armenians around Van and Moush are put to the sword in the daylight, plundered, and kidnapped. Bloody bandit lords, incited and encouraged by the course of the current regime, have started to do every evil against the defenseless Armenians.

Local religious leaders and parties have screamed, begged for relief by telegrams; and when the patriarch

¹¹⁴ *Yeprad*, Feb. 28, 1911, No: 4, pp. 62, 63.

¹¹⁵ *Hoghtar*, May 26, 1912, No: 21, p. 83. There are some more examples mentioned in the newspapers from various places. Since they are similar to each other there is no use to repeat every one of them with details here in this paper. For example, in the 33rd issue of *Hoghtar* with the date of October 6, 1912 it is said that in Kokni(?) the Kurds stole some sheep from Armenians and fled.

¹¹⁶ *Hoghtar*, March 17, 1912, No: 11, p. 43

¹¹⁷ *Yeprad*, April 1, 1910, No: 11, p. 188.

showed those telegrams to the newly elected Minister of the Interior Danish Beg, he said, “these are usual events, there is nothing to be worried.”

Okay then, we will be beaten, but not cry, be tortured, but not wail.”¹¹⁸

Besides equality and justice, the legal accountability of officials is another dimension of the rule of law. This is another measure to prevent the arbitrariness of the state. It seems that Soghigian was also aware of this fact since in one of his article he says that it is the right and responsibility of the people to demand an account from those who govern their country, money, or property. For him, this is true both for communal (Armenian) and national (Ottoman) bodies. He says that “accountability should become a rule among us.”¹¹⁹

In sum, although there were strong demands for the establishment of the rule of law, as a crucial element of bourgeois society and transformation, in an overall evaluation it can be said that the implementation of the rule of law, especially in the Anatolian provinces, was a failure. In other words, it was the weakest ring of the bourgeois transformation although it was the essential part of bourgeois transformation and democracy.

Entrepreneurship and Economic Dimension

The last dimension of bourgeois transformation that examined here is the one which is mostly associated with the bourgeoisie as a class largely because of the Marxist definition of the bourgeoisie as the class owning the material means of

¹¹⁸ *Hoghtar*, Sep. 1, 1912, No: 30, p. 117. These kinds of repetitious events are very critical to understanding the process that ended with the signing of an agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Russia in Yenikoy, Istanbul at the beginning of 1914. This agreement gave a kind of autonomy to six eastern vilayets (Erzurum, Trabzon, Sivas-Bitlis, Van, Harput, Diyarıbekir). This region was supposed to be divided into two administrative parts and there would be a foreign inspector, with a quite high authority, at the head of each part. However, this agreement had never been implemented due to the First World War. See Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler: İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi 1908-1918*, vol. 1 İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998, pp. 601, 602.

¹¹⁹ *Yeprad*, March 1, 1910, No: 9, p. 144.

production. This is the economic dimension. Economic parameters such as market economy, private property, and individual entrepreneurship are essential determinants of the bourgeois society. Without these norms it is not possible to talk about the existence of bourgeois society. Therefore, a discussion of a bourgeois transformation in Anatolia at the beginning of the twentieth century should also look for these kinds of economic parameters.

In the examination of the primary sources we come across some examples which show that there were the dynamics to realize economic change along bourgeois norms and values. The efforts of private entrepreneurship are some of these dynamics. Describing these examples would be illuminative.

The first example comes from the textile sector, more specifically, the silk industry. A man called Krikor Ipekjian (who later changed his surname to Fabrikatorian, meaning to be the owner of factory) established a silk cloth factory in Mezre¹²⁰ in 1888. Later, he turned it over to his five sons. After 1891, new machinery from Europe and New England was imported. In 1903, some 300 women were employed in this factory. This number of workers was quite high for that time, and even for the present.¹²¹ The silk cloth produced here was of such excellent quality that goods bearing the “Fabrikator” label were, according to an Ottoman decree, exempted from custom duties and taxes and given free warehousing and dock facilities in Constantinople (Istanbul). The silk was exported to Europe, earning foreign exchange. The production process began with the raw cocoons and ended

¹²⁰ A small neighborhood very near to Harput.

¹²¹ For a better understanding through a comparison of to what this number of workers refers, it is useful to mention that today the Turkish government accepts those plants with 10-49 workers as "small", and with 50-250 as "medium". See the Law of State Aids For SMEs (Small and Medium Size Enterprises), law number is 1822.

with finished products ready for shipment.¹²² It is clear how important this kind of establishment was (and still is) for the development of both local regions and whole country. However, the tragic years of World War I ended this industrial beginning along with the lives of its entrepreneurs. Since those days, the region has been waiting for new entrepreneurs, local or not.¹²³

There is a similar case in Sivas also. In 17th issue of *Hoghtar* it is said that a branch of Oriental Rug Co., whose capital was 1,000,000 English liras and headquarter in Izmir, was established in Sivas. We learn from the same news that this company provided job for thousands of women (this must have been not only in Sivas, but everywhere the company had activity). As said in the article, it was regarded as an opportunity to increase regional wealth and employment. As a matter of fact, every day new demands to found business were coming from various places.¹²⁴

In an article in the nineteenth issue of *Yeprad* there is another example of remarkable entrepreneurship. A man called Mesrop A. Yeshilian wrote this article. He discusses the opportunities that the Armenian community had. He says that the Armenian community did not have to be only farmers. It was not the only way that they had to follow. On the contrary, the Armenian community could grow up to be specialists, and develop in industry also. The future was promising with its opportunities. For example, woolworks made by the Armenians of Gürün¹²⁵ could compete with those coming from Europe in terms of quality; moreover, they were

¹²² Stone, "The Heritage of Euphrates (Armenia) College.", p. 233. For details see Mark Kalustian, "The Fabrikatorian Brothers: Textile Kings of Ottoman Turkey," *Armenian Mirror Spectator* (1986).; and Boghos Jafarian, *Farewell Kharpert: The Autobiography of Boghos Jafarian* Madison: C. Mangasarian, 1989.

¹²³ The recent law on The Incentive for Investment and Employment with the number 5084 prescribes several incentives for the investments in 49 "underdeveloped" cities of Turkey. Both Sivas and Elazığ (Harput) are among these cities.

¹²⁴ *Hoghtar*, April 28, 1912, No:17, p. 68.

¹²⁵ Gürün is an administrative district of Sivas today.

cheaper. From another article we learned that at the beginning of twentieth century Sarkis Minasian, an Armenian entrepreneur from Gürün, brought looming and weaving machines from Manchester and Paris for his factory.¹²⁶ In Gürün there was also a textile enterprise called Tchokgarian/Khiridian with branches in Kayseri, Adana, Konia, and Aleppo. Although this enterprise did not import directly the raw materials of wool yarn came from Britain and dyes from Germany. In addition to its branches the company improved a quite extensive web of distribution including the cities of Beirut, Damascus, Iskenderun, Kilis, Aintab, and Istanbul.¹²⁷

Yeshilian, the author of the article in *Yeprad*, also relays an incident to prove his claims that the Armenian community had potential in industry. This anecdote is really exemplary and perplexing: One of the Parigian brothers from Huseynik¹²⁸ had gone to the United States at the end of the 1890s. He had stayed there for one year and learned how a winnowing machine was made. Later he returned to his hometown with the necessary information. They succeeded at making every part of the machine by melting and reshaping iron. Finally, they produced winnowing machine and started to sell the machines they produced cheaper than those coming from the United States.¹²⁹ If one regards the material and physical conditions of the time it becomes easier to grasp how much it was difficult and important to do such a thing. Thus, it can be regarded as an ideal example of entrepreneurship. Moreover, it was a personal attempt of a group of entrepreneur brothers without support coming from any institution or organization. It seems that they did not receive any support from the state either. Indeed, the general role of the state in bourgeois transformation is a

¹²⁶ Armin Kredian, "A Gurun Shawl on Cairo Wall," in *Armenian Sebastia/Sivas and Lesser Armenia*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, *UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series. Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces*. (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2004), pp. 312, 313.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 311, 313, 316.

¹²⁸ It was another town in the vicinity of Harput.

¹²⁹ *Yeprad*, Oct. 15, 1910, No: 19, pp. 304-307. Unfortunately there is no more detail in the article about the outcome of this attempt.

critical factor, as implied in the discussion of the rule of law. So, it is worth concluding this chapter by some comments on this topic.

Conclusion

In Germany, the state played an essential and supportive role in “the silent bourgeois transformation” in the nineteenth century. Besides providing the rule of law, it promulgated necessary commercial codes and other necessary laws, such as patent laws, expanded railways and national communication system, fostered the chambers of commerce. Moreover, its authority was crucial against those groups who wanted and tried to conserve old corporate interests, norms and values.¹³⁰ Similarly, as Morris explains, by the mid-nineteenth century voluntary associations in Britain turned to the state for the realization of their purposes. Especially in the field of education they admitted that they needed financial and legal power of the state to carry out the duty of the education of masses.¹³¹

As for the Ottoman case, it is very difficult to say that the state had a supportive position vis-à-vis the bourgeois transformation. The state did not, or could not, realize the material and legal changes necessary for the transformation. As argued, although some written legal documents were produced for the rule of law and the equality before law, the state was far from following through on these principles in the country, especially in the Anatolian provinces.¹³² As Keyder says, the perspective of the ruling elite of a state-centered empire, though supporting the

¹³⁰ Blackbourn and Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History*, pp. 177,178.

¹³¹ Morris, "Clubs, Societies, and Associations," p. 440.

¹³² The reasons of why the state (bureaucrats) did not or could not realize the rule of law or the equality before law might be various. It might not be true to claim that the whole "responsibility" of this belonged to the state as if the state and society were two separate entities. For example it can be said as a prediction or speculation that the Ottoman middle class (bourgeoisie) could not force the state to implement the rule of law since its economic power was not sufficient for such an action. Besides, there might have been some ideological, social, or international reasons. However, within the limits of the research done for this paper it is not possible to reach a conclusion on the reasons for the failure of law in Ottoman Anatolia as a part of the bourgeois transformation.

notion of bourgeois freedoms in the discourse, could not internalize these freedoms as a whole.¹³³

In sum, the signs taken from primary sources show that a “silent bourgeois transformation” was going on in Anatolia at the beginning of twentieth century, which must have started earlier in the nineteenth century. The restriction on this transformation was the implementation of the rule of law with the principal of the equality before law since the developments in this sphere were extremely slow and insufficient. Finally, the horrible years of the Great War caused a sudden and sharp rupture in the course of this transformation and did not give us a chance to see the its result.

¹³³ Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004, p. 87.

CHAPTER 3
OTTOMANISM AMONG THE ANATOLIAN ARMENIAN INTELLECTUALS
AFTER THE 1908 REVOLUTION

The big question of the nineteenth century for the Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals was how the state could be saved from falling apart. The policy of Ottomanism was seen as one of the possible ways of solving this puzzle. At least seemingly, some statesmen put the policy of Ottomanism into action in the nineteenth century. The *Tanzimat Fermanı* of 1839, the *Islahat Fermanı* of 1856, and the constitution of 1876 can be given as examples of the efforts to realize this project of Ottomanism. However, it received its greatest popular support just after the 1908 Revolution. People from different ethnic and religious groups were jubilant together about the Revolution, shouting the principles of fraternity, equality, and liberty in the streets of both the capital city and the provinces. Nevertheless, it did not work out as a final solution to hold different religious and ethnic groups together. The Empire disappeared within the coming ten to fifteen years.¹³⁴

Yusuf Akçura, in his article *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Three Policies) written in 1904, says that Ottomanism, though it might have been beneficial for the Empire, was an impossible project because of many insurmountable obstacles. One of these obstacles, according to Akçura, was the unwillingness of the non-Muslims and non-Turks to become united with the Turks under one identity, such as Ottoman. Akçura claimed that even if the equality before the law and full freedom had been

¹³⁴ It is sure that international events, such as the independence of Bulgaria, the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria, and the unification of Crete with Greece played a major role in the fate of the Empire. However, these are not the direct concerns of this thesis.

established non-Muslims would not have accepted Ottomanism.¹³⁵ “None of them consented to form a new nation by melting and mixing with a tribe (i.e. Turks) that ended their independence in the past”.¹³⁶ For Akçura, this was true for the nineteenth century as well as for the early 1900s when he wrote his article. According to him, Ottomanism was a dead duck.

Also, Ahmet Rüstem,¹³⁷ in his book published in 1918, says that after the 1908 Revolution the aim of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) was to strengthen the independence of the state vis-à-vis Europe, and unite all races living in the Ottoman Empire around the same national conception. He adds that if Christians had supported the CUP the realization of these aims would have been very easy. In other words, the CUP had not received the support that they expected from Christian subjects, especially the Armenians. He claims that the Armenian press, schools, churches, cultural organizations, and intellectuals started to propagate for a politically independent Armenia. According to his claims, the subject of one-tenth of every article, sermon, conference, or play was to liberate the Armenian provinces from the “barbarous and bloodthirsty” Turk, and to establish an independent Armenia. Just before the First World War *all classes, or groups of Armenians agreed* that at least an autonomous Armenia consisting of the East Anatolian provinces had to be created.¹³⁸

These kinds of judgments are still generally agreed with, and repeated also today in Turkish historiography. It is usually accepted that Ottomanism failed because the non-Muslim or non-Turkish groups did not show enough enthusiasm or

¹³⁵ Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998, p. 22.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 29. Italics and parenthesis are mine.

¹³⁷ Ahmet Rüstem, born in 1862, was an Ottoman diplomat. He was the son of Sadeddin Nihat Pasha, who had been originally a Christian Pole, and later became an Ottoman state official by becoming Muslim. Ahmet Rüstem had some diplomatic missions among which was ambassadorship to Washington in 1914.

¹³⁸ Ahmet Rüstem, *Cihan Harbi ve Türk Ermeni Meselesi* İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2001, pp. 36,39,40,46.

commitment to it. Besides, some argue that these groups used Ottomanism as an opportunity and a cover for their separatist nationalism. Writing years after Akçura, Tarık Zafer Tunaya also makes the *(over)generalization* that various and heterogeneous communities of the Empire had different national, separatist ideals to become independent states. He also says that, without making any exception or giving contextual details, non-Turk groups provoked foreign intervention, and encouraged the international pressure on Turkey.¹³⁹ “The aim of the efforts after 1908 was to found an Armenia through independence.”¹⁴⁰ As a very recent example, Kemal Karpat exactly presents the same position. He says that by the end of 1870 *the Christians* had already rejected Ottomanism while most Muslims had embraced it until the First World War.¹⁴¹ He repeats the same story by saying that the 1908 Revolution failed because the non-Turk, non-Muslim groups wanted to exploit Ottomanism as a cover for their separatist aims.¹⁴² Again there is no elaboration or distinction, as if all Christians of the Empire (Greeks, Serbs, Armenians, Bulgarians etc...) were a monolithic entity.

Was this really so? Did no non-Muslim individuals or groups support Ottomanism as a common identity? Did all want nothing but independence? Did they not have any idea or project embracing all elements of the Empire? Were they, at least some of them, willing to accept the Ottoman identity, or did they reject it without exception? These are the questions that I will try to answer in this chapter by focusing on the Armenians as one of the non-Muslim and non-Turk communities of the Empire. I will try to detect what kind of reactions a group of provincial Armenian intellectuals gave to Ottomanism as an idea or project just after the 1908 Revolution.

¹³⁹ Tunaya, *Hürriyet'in İlanı*, p. 63. Its first edition was published in 1959.

¹⁴⁰ Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler: İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi 1908-1918*, p. 596.

¹⁴¹ Kemal Karpat, *The Politization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 317.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 326.

Although I will not handle Anatolian Armenians exclusively, my main focus will be on them mainly for two reasons. First, they constituted the overwhelming majority of the Ottoman Armenians. Second, the “Armenian Question” has mainly referred to the circumstances of the Anatolian Armenians. In other words, whenever the Armenian Question is debated it aims at the Armenians of the Anatolian provinces. Therefore, it is important to examine the situation of the Anatolian Armenians and their position just after the 1908 Revolution.

This revolution was a promise of a new democratic political and social life. Democracy as a regime has two prerequisites. One is the legal framework; the other is the existence of “peopleness” among the members of the nation. This “peopleness” is constituted of concrete social relationships, bonds of mutual commitment forged in shared action among individuals. In other words, a mass of people should become an entity in itself to govern itself democratically.¹⁴³ As for the 1908 Revolution, there was a legal framework, a constitution. What lacked for democracy was the “peopleness”. Ottomanism was the ideology and the policy that was supposed to create this “peopleness”. In this chapter, I will show how an Armenian intellectual, after the 1908 Revolution and long before famous scholars focused on the problems of public sphere, produced these kinds of ideas emphasizing the importance of public space and public life in becoming a nation governed by a democratic regime.

In the previous chapter I tried to depict the footprints of the bourgeois transformation in Anatolia just after the 1908 Revolution. One of the important constituents of this bourgeois transformation was the emergence of the public man with his opinion. Public opinion became a power which was supposed to give direction to the course of social and political events. Therefore, it became also

¹⁴³ Calhoun, "Imagining Solidarity: Cosmopolitanism, Constitutional Patriotism, and the Public Sphere," pp. 151-153, 165.

critical to have the ability to shape the public opinion. Every group, or fraction had been trying to shape public opinion in accordance with its ideology and aims. “The public sphere in this context may be best defined as a dynamic political realm where social and political groups pursued their particular interest.”¹⁴⁴ This made public opinion a sphere of contest in which power relations played an important role. In this struggle Ottomanism emerged as a new tie between the new educated modern local elite and the central government. Ottomanism caused the undermining of traditional elite, such as the Bosnian lords, the tribal leaders in the Taurus Mountains stretching from Adana to Mosul, the *şeyhs* of Arabia and Syria, who had helped the center in controlling the provinces. The new emerging modern elite (middle class), or intellectuals, whose status came from education or economic success rather than familial sources, replaced them especially throughout nineteenth century. “These new local leaders backed the government’s reformist efforts, not only neutralize the local traditional notables and discredit their allies but also to cultivate the loyalties of the people who would become their own supporting constituencies.”¹⁴⁵ This was also true for the Armenians, both in the capital and provinces. As a reflection of this situation, in this chapter I will try to show that how after the 1908 Revolution a group of provincial Armenian intellectuals made an effort to shape “the Armenian public opinion”¹⁴⁶ around Ottomanism and the idea of a common future with other elements of the Empire, so that, I also reveal that the Armenian community was not homogeneous or monolithic in the sense that all were separatist, contrary to some like Akçura and Rüstem claimed.

¹⁴⁴ Nadir Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876-1909," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37 (2005): p. 59.

¹⁴⁵ Karpas, *The Politization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, p. 317.

¹⁴⁶ Since the language of the articles they wrote was Armenian it might be said that they exclusively aim the Armenians. However, their ideas, projects, and suggestions did not cover only the Armenian community. On the contrary, as we shall see below, they produced ideas and projects for the whole country with its all communities.

However, beforehand it would be better to look briefly at the content and evolution of Ottomanism as an idea and a project.

A Brief Historical and Conceptual Account of Ottomanism

Historical Process

Generally, the ideology and policy that accepted *all* of the various religious and ethnic groups of the Empire as one Ottoman nation and tried to unite them within a common empire is called Ottomanism. In other words, it was an attempt to create a nation on the basis of the fraternity and harmony of religiously and ethnically diverse communities. However, its content, aim, and way of the application changed through time. Following the scheme drawn by Selçuk Akşin Somel, four stages in Ottomanist thinking can be traced.¹⁴⁷ The first stage was between 1830 and 1875, when Ottomanism was used as a tool of the authoritarian centralist policy of the Sublime Port. The second stage was between 1868 and 1878, when Ottomanism started to be used by the Young Ottoman opposition for their constitutional demands. In the third stage Ottomanism became a conceptual tool used by the Young Turk opposition against Abdulhamid II as a factor uniting all of his opponents; and the last stage was the approach seen after 1908.

Ottomanism was born as a policy of the central authority (the sultan) to hold its subjects firmly together. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the state bureaucrats became aware that the traditional organization of the Empire on the basis of communal religions was no longer sufficient to provide and maintain the loyalty of non-Muslim individuals to the state. In this traditional organization religious leaders (i.e. Armenian and Greek patriarchs) were accepted by the state (the sultan)

¹⁴⁷ Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi," in *Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet Birikimi*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan, *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 88.

responsible for the control of their communities. In other words, they were mediators between non-Muslim communities and the state. However, by the emergence and expansion of the enlightenment ideas of liberalism, freedom, and individualism these intermediary institutions and offices became functionless since the authority of religious leaders started to be challenged in non-Muslim communities by intellectuals and the new emerging classes.

So, the state officials started to look for an alternative way to maintain non-Muslim loyalty and attachment to the state. The policy of Ottomanism constituted this alternative way. In the first expressions of the Ottomanist policy in the 1840s, the sultan had a central position as a paternalistic figure. He was depicted as a father who treated all of his children (subjects) justly and equally, with an absolute authority over them. In a sense, it was an attempt to unite the different communities of the Empire in the personality of the sultan. He became a point of unification. However, in time this authoritative understanding of Ottomanism gave birth to constitutional Ottomanism. Until that time, Ottomanism had been used as a pragmatist tool in the hand of the state; afterwards, the Young Ottomans started to interpret Ottomanist ideology intellectually in terms of a constitutional regime.¹⁴⁸

Abdulhamid II also used paternalistic discourse time to time by depicting himself as the father of all Ottomans. For example, in a speech written for the ceremony organized for the distribution of Greek War Medals he “declared that his feelings for each Ottoman who had been wounded or killed were no different from what he would feel toward his own sons.” Thus, he tried to create “an imagined familial community.”¹⁴⁹ Just like during the reign of Mahmud II, who had also used paternalistic discourse, during the reign of Abdulhamid II the authoritative feature of

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 93, 94, 104.

¹⁴⁹ Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876-1909," p. 71.

the state became salient. Moreover, Abdulhamid II put emphasis on Islamism rather than Ottomanism.¹⁵⁰ More to the point, his Ottomanism was not Ottomanism in the sense of the definition that I made at the beginning of this section: accepting *all* of the various religious and ethnic groups as one Ottoman nation and tried to unite them within a common empire. However, this does not mean that he did not care about creating a unity among its subjects and a close link between them and the state (himself). As a matter of fact, as Özbek shows, he promoted Ottoman patriotism through empire-wide philanthropic campaigns, such as fund raising for war orphans and wounded soldiers. This kind of campaigns organized by the Hamidian regime gave several distinct segments of the society the chance of participating same collective action. Abdulhamid tried to strengthen both the feeling of “we” among Ottoman subjects and the unity between the state and society. Putting the same thing in Özbek’s words, “(T)he Hamidian state used this opportunity to promote the notions of a harmonious state-society relationship, of a patriotic Ottoman identity, and of the sultan symbolically embodying the unity of the Ottomans.”¹⁵¹

Then what was the deficiency of Abdulhamid’s policy or thinking that hinders us in qualifying it as ideal Ottomanism? Simply, the answer is the lack of equality. The unconditional equality of citizens (subjects), both in principal and practice, was a definitive condition of Ottomanism. Without it, Ottomanism was not ideal Ottomanism. In other words, trying to create a feeling of imagined “we” among Ottoman subjects was not enough for Ottomanism; it was also very critical how you

¹⁵⁰ However, at this point it should not be thought that Islamism and modernism were strictly mutually exclusive. As a matter of fact, Abdulhamid II made many modernist reforms in material sphere such as communication and transportation and education. For example see Karpas, *The Politization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, pp. 4, 155, 162.

¹⁵¹ Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876-1909," pp. 71, 72.

imagined the borders of this category of “we”. If one excluded some groups from this category of Ottomans by definition then, it became functionless.

According to the indicators at hand it is not possible to claim that Abdulhamid II was a proponent or believer of unconditional equality of the subjects. As Karpas says, he promoted religious (Islamic) populism.¹⁵² In Karpas’s words “to achieve unity among Ottoman Muslims, Sultan Abdulhamid adopted the ideology of Islamism after 1878. Regarding all the Muslims of the Empire as an *ümme* (from *ummah* or the universal religious community), the sultan tried to make them *the political foundation of his state*. Islamism thus supplied, perhaps inadvertently, an ideological content to Ottomanism, and the two became facets of a single *ideology that bound the Muslims together* for a while.”¹⁵³ “...(W)hile respecting the religious and cultural rights of the non-Muslims (already recognized by classical organization of the Ottoman Empire on some conditions)...the sultan defended the view that *the state’s dominant culture was Islamic*, for Muslims constituted an overwhelming majority of the population.”¹⁵⁴

As is also understood from these excerpts the sultan had a special vision of and privileged position for the Muslims in his head comparing to the non-Muslims. Since Ottomanism proposes a real and complete equality among citizens regardless of their religion it is difficult to label the thinking and policy of Abdulhamid II as Ottomanist. An ideology ignoring non-Muslims or giving them a secondary place cannot be qualified as ideal Ottomanism. The project to integrate *only* Muslims as a whole was (is) not Ottomanism. For example, as Özbek mentions, Abdulhamid II always hesitated to take radical measures for the sake of equality such as the

¹⁵² Karpas, *The Politization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, p. 9.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 12. Italics are mine.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 177. Italics and parentheses are mine

conscription of the non-Muslims into the army.¹⁵⁵ Karpas says that Abdulhamid blended the Ottomanism he inherited from the Tanzimatists with the cultural and psychological ingredients of Islamism.¹⁵⁶ It is arguable that these policies of Abdulhamid became a factor that alienated the non-Muslim masses from the state, and therefore degenerated Ottomanism. In other words, "two facets of the same coin" became contradictory, and maybe this was what made the coin useless and invalid.¹⁵⁷

In this atmosphere Ottomanism became an ideology around which the Young Turk opposition, composed of quite distinct groups, came together against Abdulhamid II. The Young Turks also took support from non-Muslim intellectuals, who were discontent with Abdulhamid's authoritative Islamist policies, and worked in a close cooperation with them. Finally, it seemed that the Ottomanist mentality, which proposed a real equality of all elements of the Empire regardless of the religion, came to power in 1908. However, that "dream" did not last long. The oppressive, centralist policies of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) created disappointment, especially among non-Muslims.¹⁵⁸ "Before the year 1908 was out, the agrarian groups, provincial notables, and most of the religious establishment, as well as Greek, Armenians, and Macedonians began to attack CUP's

¹⁵⁵ Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876-1909," p. 74.

¹⁵⁶ Karpas, *The Politization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, p. 320.

¹⁵⁷ Although it is not one of the direct concerns of this paper to discuss the reasons for the "failure" of Ottomanism, it can be speculated that one of the main reasons was the understanding of some contemporaries (including Abdulhamid) who regarded Ottomanism as one and the same thing as Islamism or Turkism and tried to keep the privileged position of the Muslims or Turks. Such a mentality could not realize the reforms that were supposed to bring equality before the law and the rule of law. On the other hand, surely it does not make sense to claim that the only reason for the failure of the Ottomanist ideology was the insufficiency or insincerity of the state. For also some of the Muslim/Turkish intellectuals such as Namık Kemal (he clearly reflects this position in his play, *Vatan yahut Silistre*) "Ottoman" was already synonymous with "Muslim" and "Turk", excluding non-Muslims. This kind of attitude among Muslim intellectuals was another determinant of the failure of Ottomanism.

¹⁵⁸ Somel, "Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi," pp. 107, 112. The example expressions reflecting disappointment are also mentioned in the coming pages of this chapter.

centralist policies.”¹⁵⁹ “Turkishness was gradually turned to Turkism.”¹⁶⁰ Thereafter, Ottomanism became a tool in the hand of the opponents of the CUP to protect pluralism, and promote decentralist policy. This opposition was first gathered around *Ahrar* (People) later around *İtilaf* (Liberal) parties.

The environment after the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 and later the First World War made it very difficult to discuss Ottomanism since the partition of the country seemed a very near and clear threat. The geographic and demographic changes that occurred during these wars were an additional factor making Ottomanism less relevant. However, Nesim Şeker shows that the discussion of Ottomanism did not end completely after the First World War. The two mediums of this discussion were the parliament, until its closure on 21 December 1918, and the press. The discussion in the press focused on the question of what would be the principal frame of the state in the future. Which elements would be included within the state? How was the state described? These were the main questions debated. In responses given to these questions two trends can be detected: “unity of Turks” emphasizing the unity of Turks and Muslims, and “new Ottomanism” defending a secular citizenship that was supposed to unite different religious and ethnic groups living in the same land.¹⁶¹ The new Ottomanism was started by the critics of the Turkification politics of the CUP during the war. Through these policies the Greeks and Armenians had been alienated from the state. Therefore, according to this understanding, Ottomanism should have been rebuilt under new conditions.¹⁶² Indeed, their Ottomanism discourse was not so different from the Ottomanist thinking before the war. For example, in an article

¹⁵⁹ Karpat, *The Politization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, p. 368.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.371.

¹⁶¹ Nesim Şeker, "Türklük ve Osmanlılık Arasında: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Sonrası Türkiye'de "Milliyet" Arayışları ya da "Anasır Meselesi," in *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Türkiye'de Etnik Çatışma*, ed. Erik Jan Zürcher (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınlar, 2005), p. 159.

¹⁶² For a sample of contemporary articles within this approach see *Ibid.*, p. 166, footnote 24.

published in *İkdam* newspaper in 1918, it is said that an individual living in the Ottoman land had two kinds of nationalities. The first one was public or official nationality (*milliyet-i amme* or *milliyet-i resmiye*), which was Ottoman, and the second one was private nationality (*milliyet-i hususiye*), which might have been Turk, Greek, Armenian, etc...These nationalities were not contradictory, and therefore could live together.¹⁶³ Similarly, Ahmet Emin (Yalman),¹⁶⁴ in his articles published in *Vakit* newspaper in November 1918, proposed to establish a secular and equal citizenship based on territory. According to him, all nationalities of the state should have been accepted as Ottoman. Being Ottomans should have meant the loyalty (*merbutiyet*) of everybody to the homeland and common interests among them.¹⁶⁵

Because of these articles, he was severely criticized by Turkist authors such as Hamdullah Suphi (Tanrıöver), Ahmet Ferit (Tek),¹⁶⁶ Ali Canip (Yöntem) writing in newspapers of *İfham* and *Türk Dünyası*. These authors defended an ethnic (Turkish) nationalism instead of a territorial nationality. They emphasized and gave priority to the unity of language, religion, and aim of the nation. They demanded a Turkish homeland in the land remained from the Ottoman Empire, which was “purely Turkish from one end to the other” after the war.¹⁶⁷ At a certain extent, this

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 167.

¹⁶⁴ The other two representative names supporting "new Ottomanism" in this period were Refi Cevat and Ali Kemal.

¹⁶⁵ Şeker, "Türklük ve Osmanlılık Arasında: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Sonrası Türkiye'de "Milliyet" Arayışları ya da "Anasır Meselesi," pp. 168-170.

¹⁶⁶ There is a clear contradiction between what Ahmet Ferit said and wrote in *Türk* newspaper in 1904 (Cairo) and in *İfham* newspaper in 1919. In 1904 he said that Ottomanism was the most powerful shield, the greatest defense policy and the most suitable goal for the Ottoman government. According to him, there was an Ottoman nation and they should have strived to preserve as much of it as possible. See Karpas, *The Politization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, p. 393. In 1919 he said that they wanted a Turkish homeland which was Turkish from one end to the other. He clearly excluded non-Muslims. See Şeker, "Türklük ve Osmanlılık Arasında: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Sonrası Türkiye'de "Milliyet" Arayışları ya da "Anasır Meselesi," p. 171. The course of the events between 1904 and 1919 must have changed his mind.

¹⁶⁷ Şeker, "Türklük ve Osmanlılık Arasında: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Sonrası Türkiye'de "Milliyet" Arayışları ya da "Anasır Meselesi," p. 171.

polemic was the discussion about the principal ideology of new republic: would it be an ethnic or territorial nationality. The course of events did not proceed in favor of territorial nationalism (Ottomanism). Towards the end of 1919 the Turkish nationalist approach dominated new Ottomanism. By the establishment of the Turkish Republic in October 1923 Ottomanism took its place in history as an “unsuccessful and futile” attempt at creating equality and fraternity between diverse peoples.

Conceptual Difference

In addition to this historical evolution it is necessary to talk about two main conceptual understandings of Ottomanism. The first one was cultural in the sense that this group of people considered Ottoman as an identity based on a similar life style and mentality that were supposed to be shared by all subjects of the Empire. Since it was not possible to unite such a heterogeneous population under a common cultural identity, these people, Akçura being one of them, thought that Ottomanism was not a realistic idea. They asked that how various nations that did not have any common point, such as Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, Kurds, and Albanians, could melt in the same pot and create a new nation. For them, this was a utopic idea. As a more recent example of this point of view, Tunaya says that beside its political infirmity, Ottomanism was also far from representing a socio-economic homogeneity.¹⁶⁸

The second approach understood Ottomanism in legal terms. For them, Ottoman referred to a category of citizenship on the basis of equal rights and obligations. Therefore, for the creation of an Ottoman nation it was not necessary to

¹⁶⁸ Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Gelişmeler (1876-1938): Kanun-i Esasi ve Meşrutiyet Dönemi*, 2 vols., vol. 1 İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003, p.136.

make people have similar lifestyles, speak the same language or believe in the same religion. In other words, each group of people could preserve its own culture, yet be a part of the Ottoman nation if each one had equal legal rights and obligations. In this understanding, other factors unifying people were the ideas of a common homeland and shared interests. It was expected that this idea of common homeland, and shared interests would hold distinct groups of people together. A common homeland is regarded as a unifying factor for all subjects. It is defined, for example, in some textbooks, as the whole land on which the Ottomans dwelt. It is the big home, and citizens are dwellers in that homeland who are brothers of each other.¹⁶⁹

Abdullah Cevdet, who was one of the prominent figures among the Young Turks, can be given as a representative example of this thought. His model of Ottomanism referred to an order in which various communities, while improving their own cultures, were united around equal rights and shared interests, so as to make popular sovereignty dominant.¹⁷⁰

Another important branch in Ottomanist thought was that of Prince Sabahaddin. In 1902, he published a document called "The Declaration to all Ottoman Citizens" (*Umum Osmanlı Vatandaşlarına Beyanname*), in which he called for the cooperation of all communities against the power of Abdulhamid II. The unification of all Ottomans would bring about a better future. By suggesting the principle that the "Ottoman state belongs to the Ottomans" he wanted to emphasize the equality and fraternity of all communities. Sabahaddin's thoughts did not consist of only this. He synthesized liberalism and Ottomanism.¹⁷¹ His two important and

¹⁶⁹ Füsün Üstel, "II. Meşrutiyet ve Vatandaşın "İcadı"," in *Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet Birikimi*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan, *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 177.

¹⁷⁰ Somel, "Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi," p. 108.

¹⁷¹ There are some opposite opinions about the ideology of Prince Sabahaddin. For example, Aykut Kansu does not agree that he was a liberal. Kansu claims that, apart from being liberal, Sabahaddin was a conservative. His entire ideological infrastructure was based on conservative French thinkers

well-known principles were decentralization (*adem-i merkeziyetçilik*) and individual initiative (*teşebbüs-i şahsi*). According to him, the reasons for the underdevelopment of the Ottoman Empire were the centralist way of governing and the restriction of the individual. Therefore, the recovery of the Empire was possible through the decentralization and improvement of the individual. In his scheme, local administrative bodies in political life and individuals in social and economic life should have had more autonomy.

The clearest, and inclusive expression of legalist Ottomanism exists in the 8th article of 1876 constitution: “Those all who are subjects of the Ottoman state, regardless of religion and sect, are called Ottoman without any exception.”¹⁷² In this statement, all individuals are handled as a single category of “Ottoman”. It is quite different from classical Ottoman political philosophy, which divided society into religious communities, perceived, and treated every individual within, and through his community. In 1876 constitution there was an effort to surpass the mediator institutions between individual and state, of traditional communal organization. In this sense, it was very close to the Ottomanist ideal as a written legal document.¹⁷³

The group of Armenian intellectuals handled in this work understood Ottomanism mostly on legal ground based on the equality of right and obligations, although they did not ignore the cultural aspect of the Ottoman identity. However, before passing to the examination of Ottomanism among these Armenians it is necessary and beneficial to repeat here the correction or reminder made by Karpas. The ideologies and policies of Ottomanism, Islamism, and Turkism were not

such as Demolins, and Le Play. For this discussion see, Aykut Kansu, "Prens Sabahaddin'in Düşünsel Kaynakları ve Aşırı-Muhafazakar Düşüncenin İthali," in *Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet Birikimi*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan, *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), pp. 156-165.

¹⁷² Somel, "Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi," p.105.

¹⁷³ The success of its practical implementation is a different subject. Like most of the legal documents promulgated in Turkey in the past and present there is an inconsistency between its wording and implementation. For example, the 1877 election of deputies was held still on the communal basis.

completely separate or independent from each other. They did not appear in a mutually exclusive sequence one by one. On the contrary, in some periods they existed together simultaneously and influenced each other. For example, it can be argued that Ottomanism prepared a suitable ground for nationalist Turkism by creating a sense of “we” among the people. Ottomanism diverted the loyalty of people from the sultan to the abstract notion of state which took its legitimacy from “Ottomans”. In other words, by creating the notion of territorial nationhood Ottomanism brought about a new sense of solidarity, allegiance, and loyalty to *vatan* (homeland) among the dwellers of that territory. So, they became connected to each other as an imaginative entity. Later, as a result of the course of the events and the efforts of Turkish intellectuals this sense of “we as Ottomans” transformed to “we as Turks”. “Ottomanism and Islamism nurtured Turkishness, were absorbed by it, and survive in it today.”¹⁷⁴

The question of how the unity between various communities of the Empire would be established was still one of the hottest debates following the 1908 Revolution. The Armenians, as a constituent community of the Empire, were trying to make their contribution to this discussion. Some Armenians produced concrete projects on the subject of how to create an Ottoman nation and they were ready, even enthusiastic, to accept their part of responsibilities and obligations, such as military service, or economic efforts for the sake of the Ottoman nation. Let’s look at these points through primary sources.

¹⁷⁴ Karpat, *The Politization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, p. 327.

How to Become a Nation: The Will and the Ideas Presented by Armenians
The Atmosphere after the Revolution

In the periodicals examined for this study, there are many articles about how the unity between the various communities of the Ottoman Empire should have been provided. But before focusing on the details of this point it is important to mention some general attitudes observed through the pages of these periodicals.

After the announcement of the constitution there were celebrations, excited meetings in every corner of the Empire, including Anatolia. In these meetings Muslim and non-Muslims greeted the constitution together with joy.¹⁷⁵ The Armenians who wrote in the periodicals examined in this study also saw the 1908 Revolution as a completely new beginning, a fresh start. They tried to make a clear and sharp distinction between the *ancien regime* and the new period beginning with 1908. For them the reign of Abdulhamid II was a period of “dark years”,¹⁷⁶ of persecution, massacre, and exile. Brains could not think, tongues could not speak, hands could not work.¹⁷⁷ Abdulhamid II himself was also a “diabolical” creature.¹⁷⁸ Sarcastic news in one of the issues of *Yeprad* exemplifies the general feeling of the Armenians toward Abdulhamid: “The most important news in the newspapers of 10th February is that Abdulhamid went insane (*cinnet*). If this is true this country would become a paradise (*cennet*)”.¹⁷⁹

It was thought that the Revolution would end these catastrophic years. “On the 10th of July, the bright rays of the sun tore the curtain of darkness, and a new plentiful, vivid life started”, writes the Armenian newspaper *Antranik* in Sivas. The same newspaper also praises of the heroes of freedom, among whose names they also

¹⁷⁵ For the description of these celebrations see Emiroğlu, *Anadolu'da Devrim Günleri*.

¹⁷⁶ *Yeprad*, Nov. 1, 1909, No: 1, p.8.

¹⁷⁷ *Antranik*, Jan. 24, 1909, No: 1, p.1.

¹⁷⁸ *Yeprad*, Nov. 1, 1909, No: 1, p.18.

¹⁷⁹ *Yeprad*, Feb. 15, 1910, No: 8, p.128.

mentioned Enver and Niyazi: “Long live the heroes of freedom, and committees that did not hold back their lives on the way to freedom. Through these freedom fighter soldiers today we have the chance to write about every kind of freedom openly, and demand our rights, justice and equality.”¹⁸⁰

Just after the Revolution, in August, meetings were held for the solidarity between the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (*Dashnaksutyun*) and the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*). On the 13th of the same month, a religious ceremony was held in the Istanbul Armenian Church of the Three Altars (*Surp Yerortutium*, Pera) in the memory of the Muslims who had sacrificed their lives for justice and freedom. The Deputy of the Armenian Patriarchate, Catholicos Tourian, made a patriotic speech, which was received with applauses.¹⁸¹ As another example of the atmosphere of inter-communal solidarity and cooperation we learn that after the Revolution in Sivas there was an attempt to merge the Muslim Public Hospital (*İslam Gureba Hastanesi*) and the Armenian Hospital of the city. For this purpose, the leaders of both parties applied to the Ministry of the Interior¹⁸².

Similarly, in Trabzon after the Revolution, an association called the “Society of Patriots” (*Vatanperverler Cemiyeti*) was established. The board, selected by notables, of the society was made up of six Muslims, three Greeks, two Armenians, and one Catholic.¹⁸³ Turks and Armenians collectively founded a similar society in Mezre (today *Elazığ*). The name of this society was National Support for Ottoman Navy (*Donanma-i Osman-i Muavenet-i Milliye Cemiyeti*). According to the news in

¹⁸⁰ Antranik, Jan. 24, 1909, No: 1.

¹⁸¹ Aykut Kansu, *1908 Devrimi* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001, p. 140.

¹⁸² Emiroğlu relays from contemporary newspapers, Emiroğlu, *Anadolu'da Devrim Günleri*, p. 147.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

Yeprad, 10,000 *kuruş* was gathered for the navy through the efforts of this society.¹⁸⁴

Another example of solidarity comes from Van, which is always mentioned as one of the places where there were severe clashes between Muslims and Armenians. An Armenian called Dr. Sarkis Ishman, apparently a prominent figure among local Armenians, sent a telegram to the center of the CUP, which was published in *İkdam* newspaper on 12 September 1908. In this telegram, he said:

“Through our efforts, and progress against the tyrant of discontent subjects and through the assistance of the patriotic democratic army today, the sweet love of freedom comes to our nation and homeland. By leaving our arms immediately, we promise that we will be with you against the enemy for the sake of democratic government and the equality of peoples, and regions; we dedicate ourselves to our homeland. Long live the Constitution! Long live all the peoples of Turkey!¹⁸⁵ Long live the Committee of Union and Progress! Long live the heroic army!”¹⁸⁶

In the first issue of the *Yeprad*, the editor of the paper, and at the same time one of the professors at the American college in Harput, Garabed Soghigian writes: “We want to hope that the dark and sad days of tyranny have passed. Each of those years brought us horror...”¹⁸⁷

These examples show how the Armenian intellectuals perceived the Revolution. They had great expectations and hopes from the new era, for both the Armenian community of Turkey and the whole country. They believed in the fraternity and harmony of communities. Moreover, they were ready to make a contribution to the realization of these aims. This intention is clearly mentioned in the editorials of the first issues of both *Antranik* and *Yeprad*:

¹⁸⁴ *Yeprad*, Jan. 30, 1911, No:2, p. 32.

¹⁸⁵ It is worth to noticing that these Armenians generally use the word "Turkey" rather than the Ottoman Empire to refer to their country.

¹⁸⁶ Emiroğlu, *Anadolu'da Devrim Günleri*, p.210.

¹⁸⁷ *Yeprad*, Nov. 1, 1909, No: 1, p.3.

“*Yeprad* will try to introduce people of the provinces to their rights and obligations through a language that they can understand...the conditions to live with their neighbors because misperception of these conditions means the sword for us”.¹⁸⁸

“The aim of our paper will be to echo the principle of fraternity between Turks and Armenians and other citizens, and to expose those who avoid making contribution to the beneficial (functional) implementation of this favorable principle...”¹⁸⁹

Even after 1908 elections, in which they faced some unfairness in the Anatolian provinces, they did not protest, or complain of either the CUP or the government. On the contrary, the Armenian political parties were regarded as the most progressive and politically most useful ally of the CUP in the elections.¹⁹⁰

The event which inhibited the excitement of the Revolution among Armenians to a certain extent was the incidents in Adana in April 1909 during which tens of thousands of Armenians were massacred.¹⁹¹ Moreover, we learn from the reports of Masterson, the American consul in Harput (Mezre), that at the end of April 1909, serious tension arose also in Harput. He reported that the grisly accounts of the bloodshed in Adana had been related to the local population of Harput by 150 natives of Harput, “who had come back, nearer dead than alive through flight and who had been detailing at great length the horrors of the massacres in Adana, Tarsus, and Marash.” The consul also claimed that he had learnt from a dependable source that the governor had received a telegram on April 23 ordering massacre in Harput. He credited the governor, Ali Nusret Pasha, for preventing similar violence in Harput. During the next four days, at the end of which the news reporting the deposition of

¹⁸⁸ *Yeprad*, Nov. 1, 1909, No: 1, p. 2.

¹⁸⁹ Antranik, Jan. 24, 1909, No: 1, p. 1.

¹⁹⁰ Kansu, *1908 Devrimi*, p. 298.

¹⁹¹ Taner Akçam, *İnsan Hakları ve Ermeni Sorunu* Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1999, pp. 121,122.

Abdulhamid II reached the town, “the suspense was terrible, the Christian community [remembering 1895 events] was expecting a massacre at any time and the greatest excitement and confusion prevailed.”¹⁹² Fortunately, nothing serious happened in Harput. However, these events and tension “modified” the outlook of the Armenians.

In an article of *Yeprad*, with headline “Where Are We?” the author says that they assumed that the country had been cleaned of “wolves and hyenas”; everybody would be master of his own, his income and dignity. People would enjoy the peace to the end. Exploitation and poverty would end forever. He asked, “Were the incidents in April necessary to awaken us from that dream?” However, through the pages of the periodicals it is clear that the authors did not lose their hopes entirely. Only, they became aware that it would take time for their “dreams” to come true. They had thought that the constitution would change everything immediately, like a miracle; exploitation and poverty would disappear within months. However after becoming aware of that time would be required, articles advising patience were written:

“Before, and more than everything, we expect the establishment of harmony and fraternity (of communities) on a stable and strong basis. These are not impossible, only time is required. Let’s wait until the parliament makes its program, and the government works to realize the expected reforms. Let’s not be impatient. The damage given in years cannot be cured in one day”.¹⁹³

“We are one and a half year old babies who have been walking further day by day. Our hopes have been extinguished many times in the past. Now we are hopeful again. We hope that this country will recover from the illness; and communities, in harmony, will show the aliens that they are the master of their own country, and have the right to remain so. We still hope that the officials of the government will become better gradually, and Turkish parties will not

¹⁹² Barbara J. Merguerian, "Kharpert: The View from the United States Consulate," in *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, *UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series. Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces*. (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2002), pp. 297, 298.

¹⁹³ *Yeprad*, Jan.1, 1910, No: 5, p.71.

attempt to take the constitution back from our hands. On the contrary, we expect them to improve it. Our hope is still strong”¹⁹⁴.

Khachatur Nahigian, another professor of the college, in an article about the geopolitical importance of Turkey says: “I wish *we all Ottomans* would grasp the value of this piece of land and remain attached to it our hearts and minds. I am sure that the future will make us the happiest nation of Asia.”¹⁹⁵ In this sentence there is a vision not only for Armenians, but also for all the peoples living in the country. Moreover, those Armenians writing in the periodicals of this study were not seeking revenge for all of the past massacres including the Hamidian ones since they assumed that a new era had begun, so there was no need to open “old accounts.”¹⁹⁶ They said, “What happened has happened. There is nothing we can do other than repeat our Turkish brothers’ saying ‘*sebebin gözü kör olsun.*’¹⁹⁷ They are aware of that “old accounts demand new blood, old hatred requires new victims.”¹⁹⁸ One of the authors argues that forgetting is one of the characteristics of Armenians; and he adds that to kiss and hold each other’s hand as brothers is necessary and it is everybody’s responsibility for the sake of peace. He continues by saying that it is not worth talking about the past: “Let’s talk about the new era into which we just entered. We forgot our weep and agony. *Being Ottoman more than Armenian* is our promise, and by this promise we walk at the front of all as an example.”¹⁹⁹ There are some signs that some Armenians were still optimistic, and maintained their hope on

¹⁹⁴ *Yeprad*, Jan.15, 1910, No: 6, p.103.

¹⁹⁵ *Yeprad*, Nov. 1, 1909, No: 1, p.11. Italics are mine.

¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, they expected the "removal of the roots of tyranny under the soil" (*Yeprad* Nov. 1, 1909, No: 1,p.5). This means that those people who had supported the Hamidian regime should have been discharged from office.

¹⁹⁷ *Yeprad*, Jan.15, 1910, No: 6, p. 97.

¹⁹⁸ *Yeprad*, Jan.15, 1910, No: 6, p. 99.

¹⁹⁹ *Yeprad*, Jan.15, 1910, No: 6, p. 101, 102. Italics are mine.

the eve of the 1912 parliament elections. In a dispatch of March 18, 1912, which was sent from Karahisar and published in *Hoghtar* of Sivas, the correspondent says:

“The Armenians wish to elect such deputies, who will be capable of developing Ottoman land, *regardless of nationality*. Undoubtedly, our Turkish and Greek brothers would also think so”.²⁰⁰

Here we see a quite strong will in favor of the Ottoman identity. If newspapers were the indicators of the atmosphere of their time all these articles and news show that there were many Armenians who were ready to put the Ottoman identity in front of the Armenian identity. Surely, it is not possible to claim that these Armenians constituted the numeric majority of the Ottoman Armenians. However, nobody can say that they were minority either. Moreover, if one considers that these people were provincial intellectuals, well educated college professors, professionals such as advocates, doctors, and how much this group of people were prestigious and influential in shaping public opinion especially in the provinces it can be easily said that their ideas must have been effective among the Armenian community.

In sum, although they had some worries and doubts, these Armenians were hopeful that the future would bring a more peaceful and prosperous life.²⁰¹ Their most important expectation was to receive a real equal treatment with Muslims. They said that they did not want to be treated like the “step-children” of the country.²⁰² Some even attributed the emergence of the revolutionary political parties among the Armenians to the unequal treatment they had faced for centuries.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ *Hoghtar*, March 31, 1912, No: 13, p. 50. Italics are mine.

²⁰¹ To know what happened to them only four-five years later is extremely saddening.

²⁰² *Yeprad*, Nov.1, 1909, No: 1, p. 4.

²⁰³ *Yeprad*, Jan.15, 1910, No: 6, p. 102.

Military Service: The Blood Cost of Citizenship

The articles in the periodicals examined for this study show that the authors realized that in the exchange of this expected equal treatment they would have some responsibilities which every community (and individual) should have equally taken and carried out in the process of nation building from a heterogeneous group of people. Military service was one of these responsibilities. In 1909 the exemption tax was abolished and military service became mandatory for all citizens of the Empire. Military service, with paying taxes, was regarded as one of the two most important prerequisites of being equal citizens. These Armenian authors also knew and accepted this. It does not seem that they were trying to avoid or circumvent it. On the contrary, the opinion leaders of the community were trying to encourage the Armenian youth to carry out the military service duty as “honored” members of the Ottoman army. Additionally, there are some anecdotes showing that there was a certain consciousness among people about the necessity of military service for citizenship. They considered military service as a sign of their equal treatment with Muslims, of equal citizenship. As an example reflecting this attitude, Kudret Emiroğlu reports the account of George E. White, who was one of the teachers at the American college of Marsovan. White describes an event happened while they were going to the public office to celebrate the Revolution. He says: “On the way when one of the teachers said that thereafter everybody, regardless of his religion, had to perform military service. You should have heard the cheerful shouts of the students there. This was not because they wanted to be soldiers in the Ottoman army or fight against each other. They were cheering because military service of Christians like Turks means that their citizenship and human rights are recognized.”²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ Emiroğlu, *Anadolu'da Devrim Günleri*, p.164.

An army that was made up of people from all different groups was seen as the assurance of the reforms. Therefore, as an author says in the pages of *Yeprad*, people signed up voluntarily.²⁰⁵ The 10th issue of *Yeprad* reports that the Armenian religious leader of the district, Vartan Aslanian, gave a lecture in the college building to an audience of both males and females, including the students of the college. The lecture was about the military service and how much the Armenians were inclined to it. The speaker tried to prove by historical examples that the Armenians had been good soldiers. Therefore, there was no reason to be afraid of it. He encouraged the students to take this distinguished responsibility heartily as *Ottomans*. Beside the students of *Yeprad* College, students and teachers from other schools (Hagopian School and Smpadian School), and also some notables of the town were present at the lecture. It was said that the words of the speaker were interrupted by applause many times.²⁰⁶ Almost nine months after this meeting another cleric, Bsak Vartabed, wrote in *Yeprad*:

“Now, hereafter, we (Armenians) have an additional, new patriotic duty. We will give our sons to serve the Ottoman fatherland; in other words, we will gift our sons to the nation. They will not belong to us anymore. Like Turkish mothers and fathers realize their obligation we will do ours... Patriotism requires victims and sacrifice, the time will come that we will fight in the field as one heart and soul instead of being only spectators. There, we will take our part of honor or blood, which is martyrdom...Martyrdom requires blood, let it be so without hesitation”.²⁰⁷

This attitude was not restricted to Harput. In *Hoghtar*, published in Sivas, there is also some news encouraging the Armenian people to military service. For example, in the issue bearing the date of March 17, 1912, there is a small interview made with an anonymous Armenian soldier. He says that in the beginning they, as

²⁰⁵ *Yeprad*, Jan.15, 1910, No: 6, p.105.

²⁰⁶ *Yeprad*, March 15, 1910, No: 10, p.178.

²⁰⁷ *Yeprad*, Jan. 1, 1911, No: 1, p. 9.

Armenian soldiers, were afraid of being in the army. However, within a few days seeing their officers' fair and humane attitude toward them, they became accustomed to them and admired them. This soldier talks about the benefits of military life in the barracks. He praises of the discipline, hygiene, and kindness he experienced in the army. He even says that the military training is so marvelous that they feel as if they have become stronger, and healthier. He concludes by saying that "there is nothing to be afraid of in this life, you can be sure."²⁰⁸ Clearly, this was a message for the Armenian youth to help them to overcome their hesitation and worry. Surely, there must have been some Armenians deserting the army or military service. However, these examples shows us that the Armenian community leaders, intellectuals, journalists, even some men of religion tried to encourage the ordinary Armenians for military service, which was an inseparable part of Ottoman citizenship.

Again, there is news in the 16th issue of *Hoghtar* about a naval accident in Çanakkale. During the maneuvers of steamboats guarding the strait, a mine had exploded accidentally. Twelve soldiers had died, two of whom were Armenian.²⁰⁹ Similar news exists in the 29th issues of *Hoghtar*: an Armenian from Sivas, Mr. Blejian, died in a maneuver in Erzincan.²¹⁰

As Füsün Üstel says, after the 1908 Revolution (until today) one of the main discourses of bureaucratic nationalism is the claim that "the fatherland is in danger"; therefore every citizen must be ready to protect it with his blood. In other words, the primary duty of citizens is to protect, and if necessary die for the fatherland.²¹¹ Through such news as mentioned above, they sought to prove that Armenians could also become real, equal children of the fatherland since they had started to die for it.

²⁰⁸ *Hoghtar*, Marc 17, 1912, No: 11, p. 44.

²⁰⁹ *Hoghtar*, April 21, 1912, No: 16, p. 63.

²¹⁰ *Hoghtar*, Aug. 25, 1912, No: 29, p. 115.

²¹¹ Üstel, "II. Meşrutiyet ve Vatandaşın "İcadı", " p. 179.

The editorial, which bears the headline “Armenian Soldiers”, in the 18th issue (Sept. 15, 1910) of *Yeprad* reflects the feelings and attitudes of the Armenian people of Harput toward military service. Although the Armenians of Harput were slightly anxious and worried about the conscription, since this was the first time that they had faced such a situation, the author of the article says that the Armenian officers from Harput showed “admirable” discipline and harmony in the exchange of the call made for them by the government. According to the account of the author, no Armenian from Harput attempted to oppose or escape; on the contrary, many rejected the opportunities presented to them through which they could have been exempted from the difficulties of military service. According to the editorial, it was expected that the military service would be difficult for the Armenians, who had been far from arms for centuries. However, the circumstances showed that “the blood of ancient Armenian heroes was still circulating in the veins of the contemporary Armenians.” As an example supporting this assessment, an incident was related in the article. While an old Armenian woman was sending her only son to the army, though everybody thought that she would weep, she said, “I wish I had one more son to send with you.”²¹² The author, Soghigian²¹³, argues that nobody was expecting such an attitude from Armenians:

“Some thought we are traitors, enemies of state and nation. Now we hope that they see those traitors are the most fervent ones in guarding the fatherland if they are sure that they are regarded as the genuine children of the country.

²¹² The similarity between these words expressed in 1910 by an Anatolian Armenian woman and the words said in 1980s and 90s by Turkish mothers who lost their son serving in the army is worth noting. *Yeprad*, Sep. 15, 1910, No: 18, p. 286.

²¹³ He was also arrested on May 1, 1915. He became sick in prison, was sent to the Red Crescent Hospital, and after paying large bribes became free, went into hiding. This information comes from the letter by Ernest Riggs, the principal of the college, in July 1915. What happened to Prof. Soghigian afterwards is not known by this paper. See James Bryce and Arnold Toynbee, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916*, ed. Ara Sarafian New Jersey: Gomidas Institute, 2000, p. 305.

If his family or fatherland demands the Armenian makes every sacrifice. Until now he was told that he has no fatherland...

The (Ottoman races) will live in the same land side by side, just like American where various races live together, around same principals with same patriotic feelings, and tied with same motive for profit".²¹⁴

In one of the next issues there is an article giving the number of conscripts from the region, which supports the statements above. These numbers also indicate that the effort of opinion leaders produced the expected result at a considerable extent. The news reports that on 24 and 25 of January 1911 in Mamuret-ül Aziz, the conscription lot of those born in 1306 (old calendar, it is 1890 in new one) was held in the meeting of the *Ahz-i Asker* (recruiting office). Representatives of the local communities (Protestant, Catholic, etc...) were also present at the meeting. This was the first conscription meeting at which Muslim and Christian soldiers had ever been treated together. The number of men who had reached the age of military service was 752, of which 290 were Christians. The duty of 355 men was postponed for various reasons such as marriage and illness. Lots were drawn for 397 men, two-thirds of whom were Christians. Among them were also students and graduates of *Yeprad* College. At the end of the article it is noted that the Armenian local religious leadership and Protestant community presidency would publish the special rules of conscription and distribute them to the Christian people; so that the community would learn the official requirements and obey the legal procedures.²¹⁵ So, it does not seem that the Armenian people as a whole or communal organizations made an effort to avoid military service. On the contrary, being aware of that military service was

²¹⁴ *Yeprad*, Sep. 15, 1910, No: 18, p.287, 288.

²¹⁵ *Yeprad*, Jan. 1, 1911, No: 1, p. 15, 16.

the assurance, and prerequisite of their equal citizenship based on freedom, they were eager to perform this duty.

Their eagerness for and performance of military service were not restricted to peacetime. We learn from the first hand accounts of Henry H. Riggs, one of the Americans at the college, that Armenians served as valuable personnel in the Ottoman army on the eve of the First World War. He reports his observations about the regiment in Harput. In his accounts of the fall 1914, the Armenians soon differentiated themselves from the rest of the men and were put in positions of subordinate responsibility. Many of the sergeants and corporals were Armenians. The higher officers also regarded the Armenians as talented, useful men. According to Riggs' judgment "the officers found other soldiers so inefficient and unfaithful that the line of least resistance led to the employment of Armenians and Syrians when they wished to get anything done."²¹⁶

Briefly speaking, contrary to the official Turkish historiography,²¹⁷ evidence shows that after the 1908 Revolution, Armenians as a whole community did not avoid becoming soldiers in the Ottoman army. Surely, there were Armenian soldiers who deserted. However, especially during the First World War, desertion was a frequent phenomenon in the Ottoman army as a whole and not peculiar to Armenians. Again, Riggs' accounts might be a representative example showing to what degree desertion was frequent. As a firsthand witness who was present in Harput between the beginning of the Great War and 1917, he says that the Turkish soldier was prone to desert whenever he got a chance because of bad treatment and the miserable conditions in the army. He reports that a large part of the duty of the officers was to keep the men from escaping, but in this they were only moderately

²¹⁶ Riggs, *Days of Tragedy in Armenia: Personal Experiences in Harput, 1915-1917*, p. 38.

²¹⁷ For example, one can pick up any work produced by the Turkish History Institute (Türk Tarih Kurumu) about the Ottoman Armenians.

successful. Through his personal close relations with some officers, Riggs could know their internal psychology and state of mind. He also gives some sample numbers: “It was not at all uncommon for the roll call in the morning to show a shortage of thirty or forty men. And one morning we learned that 130 men had deserted from our college building (confiscated by the army to use as a barrack) during a single night...Officers have repeatedly told me that they did not expect to get more than half of their men from the training camp to the front.”²¹⁸ So, although we do not have any concrete numbers there is no evidence showing that Armenians escaped military service more frequently than other ethnic groups. On the contrary, indicators at hand reflect that they joined the Ottoman army in sincerity.

The Armenian intellectuals of this study were completely aware that the essential prerequisite of a peaceful and wealthy life was the liberty, equality, and fraternity of communities. The realization of these principals would have been impossible unless the unity of diverse communities under the Ottoman identity had not been provided. In other words, an Ottoman nation had to be created, but how?

Projects for Becoming Nation: Developmentalist-Economic Functionalist Approach

One of the remarkable answers to this question of how an Ottoman nation was to be created comes from Garabed Soghigian, the editor of the *Yeprad* periodical and one of the teachers of the college. He says that the provinces were in deep poverty. The fields were empty, the roads and bridges were broken, the mines were idle. For internal peace a certain level of economic development was a must. Schools and workshops should be opened; financial and moral encouragement should be

²¹⁸ Riggs, *Days of Tragedy in Armenia: Personal Experiences in Harpoot, 1915-1917*, pp. 43, 44. Parentheses are mine.

given to craftsmen and farmers in the provinces. He proposes that fields be sown instead of left fallow. He argues that if landlords do not deign to sow the land they should let hungry people do it and feed their children. Roads and bridges should be built so that the obstacles preventing communication and transportation are cleaned up. The mines, at least those that have been opened years before, should be utilized. “So that,” he says, “we will not have to wait as a beggar at the door of Europe forever. We must be able to make at least the wire and button we need here in our country.” By the word “we” the author refers to the peoples of the Ottoman Empire.

In his statement there is an emphasis on economic independence vis-à-vis Europe, and the production capability of the country. However, Soghigian argues that there was a huge deficit of capital. The people were poor, so they needed foreign capital to make investment, but they could not wait European capitalists for too long. Instead, all of the communities of the Empire should combine their small capacities, and start working. “Weak fibers unite and become strong ropes.”²¹⁹ He thinks that the country had realizable potentialities. According to him, the country was so large and productive that it could have provided food and work for all of its inhabitants even if they had been much more numerous. The only things required were cooperation, solidarity, and abolishing discrimination. Soghigian claims that racial discrimination and nationalist ideas might be beneficial for some other countries, but these were not good for the people of the Ottoman Empire since they had to live together.

“At least we should understand that whenever we hit our heads we have wounds on both sides...Now the time has come to grasp that our improvement depends on our neighbor’s improvement. Our gain will increase if that of our neighbors increases. Armenian and Turk can stand up and advance if they give hand to hand; they can compete with

²¹⁹ *Yeprad*, Nov.15, 1910, No: 1, p.95.

Europeans if they support each other. Otherwise we cannot keep hope for a bright future.

This requirement should be repeated through speeches and journals so frequently that it spreads to every layer of society, and becomes entrenched in the minds of people”.²²⁰

Therefore, to achieve economic development all of the communities of the Empire had to cooperate and this cooperation would make them a nation. They needed each other. This was the only chance for peoples of the Empire because “if the hands of various races do not hold each other for business the hatred among them, and chauvinistic prejudices would not be vanished.”²²¹ In other words, for Soghigian, economic development, and cooperation is also the key which would bring about harmony, and the unity of communities. In this process companies, established as partnerships of people from different communities, would play a critical role. Soghigian believes that if the spirit of unity occurred, and business partnerships were established Ottoman society could do much work.

“When the Armenians, the Turks, the Greeks, and the Bulgarian become united by the ties of profit they, instead of killing each other, will understand how much it is important to assist each other; and this approach will lead to the expected harmony and peace among communities.”²²²

His outlook is economic functionalist. He thinks that economic interdependence, and cooperation between diverse communities could make them a nation. Once they unite for economic activities this also brings about political, and social unity.

Soghigian claims that civilian efforts play a critical role in both economic development and creation of harmony, and peace among communities. However, when he talks about civilian effort he does not refer to political parties. For him,

²²⁰ *Yeprad*, Feb.15, 1910, No: 8, p.126-128.

²²¹ *Yeprad*, Nov.1, 1909, No: 1, p.4, 5.

²²² *Yeprad*, Nov.15, 1910, No: 1, p. 96.

there were too many parties, and those parties, full of poor and ignorant individuals, had become a burden on the shoulders of the country and caused trouble for their people.²²³ He criticizes the inertia of the people even though freedom gave them new opportunities. In his opinion, roads had been opened only to make emigration abroad easier. Merchants sat incubating on their capital; they did not attempt to enlarge their businesses. Craftsmen did not even think about how they could put cheese on their children's bread. In Hamidian times every initiative coming from civilians was oppressed and crushed. This paralyzed society. Despotism was also an excuse for laziness; but now, after the Revolution, people could not escape from taking responsibility. He claims that the constitution unchained them but it could not give them food. If the fields were not watered by sweat, they would remain empty. If people did not control some offices that had executive power the constitution would become meaningless, and in such a situation nobody could utilize the reforms. He claims that despotism could not be abolished entirely as long as people expected all its affairs to be governed by some power holders.²²⁴ On the contrary, people should not wait for the government to do everything. Instead, they should take the initiative. Otherwise,

“(O)ur habit to expect everything from the government and its willingness to take the responsibility of our affairs would keep us in the incapable situation of featherless and open-mouth chicks. The government, busy with these details, would not be able to find time to realize that difficult task of reform, which is much more essential (compulsory)...

The country is ruined, needs are diversified, which of them shall the government meet?

I think the time has come for us to attempt to move.

Let's become the arms of the government instead of remaining its paralyzed children".²²⁵

²²³ *Yeprad*, Jan.15, 1910, No: 6, p. 96.

²²⁴ *Yeprad*, Jan.1, 1910, No: 5, p.72, 73.

²²⁵ *Yeprad*, Jan.15, 1910, No: 6, p. 94.

It is not known whether Soghigian was aware of Prince Sabahaddin's ideas, but his approach is similar to Sabahaddin's political and social thinking. Sabahaddin defines two kind of society. The first kind is based on communal life, and the second on the individual. Personal happiness and creativity, and social development can be realized in those societies in which individual entrepreneurship and decentralization are promoted.²²⁶ Anglo-Saxon societies are the best example of this. Moreover, specifically in the Ottoman case, these were the principles that would hold the Empire and the peoples of it united and together. According to him, the main reason for the underdevelopment is the ambiguity of the border between private and public life, and the sharing of the power in these spaces. If political power establishes hegemony over the people and restricts their liberty, the people cannot create those mechanisms which are supposed to protect them by restricting the power holders. Therefore, the individual should not be dependent on either the government nor on society to live, but seek his success in his own attempts. In other words, he should be more autonomous and free vis-à-vis the state in both political and economic life.²²⁷ Also, this is a prerequisite of Soghigian's expectations mentioned above because without such autonomy it was not possible for people to improve "their business", or solve local problems.²²⁸

²²⁶ Sabahaddin frequently mentioned that the decentralization in his thoughts did not mean giving political autonomy to ethnic groups. It only bore an administrative meaning.

²²⁷ Somel, "Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi," p. 108.; Cenk Reyhan, "Prens Sabahaddin," in *Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet Birikimi*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan, *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), pp. 149,150.

²²⁸ It is quite interesting to see that this same discussion of decentralization (adem-i merkeziyetçilik) still continues in the frame of "Draft for Public Administration Reform" (Kamu Yönetimi Reform Tasarısı). Some time earlier the president vetoed a law, which gave more autonomy to themunicipalities and local administrative bodies by the statement of the reasons that this might harm the unity of the country.

Projects For Becoming Nation: The Public Sphere Based Approach

The ideas produced by Armenians to create an Ottoman nation are not restricted to Soghigian's suggestions. Another author, called Hovhannes Boujikianian, who was also one of the teachers of the *Yeprad* College, emphasizes the importance of public life (*hanrain geank*)²²⁹ in becoming a nation. He complains that public life in the East was extremely limited. Everybody lived in his room a hermit-like life. Relations were restricted to family members, and close neighbors. This was an obstacle on the way of becoming a nation. Therefore, the peoples of the Empire should share public space, and attend public activities together more frequently in order to coalesce and so become a nation. He says that the regime of Abdulhamid had separated people from each other, isolated each one of them; so that their opposition against the tyranny could be easily overcome. Even weddings were under special control because the tyrant knew very well that every kind of meeting could cause problem for him. Boujikian argues that nothing could resist public opinion (*hanrain gartzik*). He expected that this deficiency of public life would be compensated by the constitutional regime since it permitted such things as the freedom of speech and press, and public meetings. Boujikianian hoped that the constitution would awaken public spirit (*hanrain voqee*) among the people. The common spirit (identity) of neighborhood would be followed by a village identity, village identity by a city, and city identity by a national identity, so that, a common national identity would be created.

He makes a comparison with Europe to explain how public life is critical for a society:

²²⁹ Interestingly, the author uses the exact Armenian counterparts of the terms such as public life, public opinion, public spirit or feeling, which are used very frequently today in social science terminology.

“...Public life and feelings are important in Europe...They are expressed in many European societies through various activities. Auditoriums, reading halls, museums, theaters, painting exhibitions, dancing halls, bars, playgrounds, concerts, and shows are some indicators of vivid public life. Through such a rich public life and high level of relations among people national spirit is extremely strong in Europe. Without this spirit society is a mixture of separate parts, a mass. It is this spirit that gives it a function, a solid existence. Through this spirit a nation lives its internal life consciously, and resist external assaults threatening the country.”²³⁰

So, following the example of European countries, if an Ottoman nation were to be created it was absolutely necessary to improve public life in which people from various religious and ethnic groups participated in activities together. The number of societies, associations, and theatres would have to be increased. Through these activities they would create an Ottoman spirit.

Boujikianian was aware of the importance of the public sphere in nation building and democracy quite early, in the 1910s. Some articles written by prominent academics years later made similar arguments. For example, Craig Calhoun says, in his critiques of Habermas, that the public sphere can be conceptualized not only as a setting for rational debate and decision making, but also as a setting for the development of social solidarity.²³¹ He disagrees with the statement that solidarity or integration is distinct or prior to the process of collective decision making. This statement implies that the collective subject is formed first, and activity in public sphere gives direction to it without any constituting effect. On the other hand, for Calhoun functional integration, concrete social networks, and mutual engagement in the public sphere, as suggested by Boujikianian, are also sources or dimensions of solidarity. The public sphere is also a form of social solidarity. It is one of the

²³⁰ *Yeprad*, March 15, 1910, No:10, p.170.

²³¹ Calhoun, "Imagining Solidarity: Cosmopolitanism, Constitutional Patriotism, and the Public Sphere," p. 148.

institutional forms in which members of a society may join together with one another. Engagement in public life establishes social solidarity partly through enhancing the significance of particular categorical identities (in our case it is Ottomanism) and partly through facilitating the creation of direct social relations.

Communication in public also informs the sharing of social imaginations, ways of understanding social life that are themselves constitutive of it. Culture and identity are created by public action.²³² Nevertheless, Calhoun brings a restriction to his arguments in the sense that, as Özbek argues, he “dismisses the possibility that there can be a unified public sphere within an imperial context.”²³³ According to Calhoun, public sphere can occur only within national context, only parts of empires can create public sphere(s). In other words, for him empires are not suitable grounds on which the public sphere can be built. However, Özbek’s work on “Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime” (and this work to a certain extent) shows that such a possibility should not be excluded just from the very beginning. As in the examples of empire-wide philanthropic campaigns in the Hamidian era, empires could also attempt to create a public space and achieve it at a certain level. In addition, as the quotations that I take from the Anatolian Armenian intellectuals in this study show, there might have been attempts on the side of society to create such an empire-wide public sphere. Therefore, “(t)he failure of imperial “imaginings” as alternatives of particular nationalisms was less a matter of lack of initiative in integrating dominions than of the administrative capacities of the states and the relative power of separatist nationalisms and interstate rivalries.”²³⁴

²³² Ibid.: pp. 156,158,159,162.

²³³ Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876-1909," p. 75, 76.

²³⁴ Ibid.: p. 76.

Özbek's second revision is related to the Habermasian definition of public sphere as a space from which the state completely retreats. He shows, by focusing the philanthropic campaigns by the hand of the Hamidian regime, "the possibility that in-place power structures can facilitate the evolution of a public sphere."²³⁵ He also questions the understanding in civil society discussion that draws a thick and impassable line between state and society. In this approach, the state is depicted distinct from and above of the society. However, Özbek proves in the late Ottoman context that the state itself might become an actor of public sphere. Moreover, even a monarchical and autocratic regime could seek legitimacy for itself in public sphere as Ahdulhamid did. Therefore, the "public sphere was contingent not only on social change in the so-called non-state arena, but also on the dynamics of high politics—that is, the strategy of power and legitimation needs of the ruling elite and the elite's vision of the kinds of concepts that would most usefully unify and lend identity to the populations within its jurisdiction."²³⁶

What Calhoun argues, partly relaying from Hannah Arendt, about the American Revolution and the United States might be also suggested for the 1908 Revolution and the Ottoman identity. He claims that the colonialists' main appeal was not to an ethnic identity. It was an appeal to an identity forged by public discourse itself. The American Revolution is a prime example of the capacity of public life for world-making. In this sense, the nation seems a common project, mediated by public discourse and the collective formation of culture. Additionally, after the revolution (both the American and the 1908 Ottoman; however the former as a successful, the latter as a failed one in this sense) "the notion of constitution as legal framework needs to be complemented by the notion of constitution as the

²³⁵ Ibid.: p. 68.

²³⁶ Ibid.: p. 75.

creation of concrete social relationships: of bonds of mutual commitment forged in shared action, of institutions, and of shared modalities of practical action". This is also a prerequisite of democracy because democratic states require a form and level of "peopleness" that is not required in other forms of government.²³⁷ In sum, Calhoun claims that the production of a flourishing public sphere along with a normatively sound constitution, might be a good answer to Habermas's question: "When does a collection of persons constituent an entity - "a people"- entitled to govern itself democratically?"²³⁸ Is it an exaggeration to claim that Boujikianian, an Armenian intellectual in Anatolia in the 1910s, suggested, though much more superficially, a similar answer to this Habermasian question in terms of Ottoman nation or identity?

When we think that the Ottoman identity was supposed to be created from an extremely heterogeneous group of people, and in a hopefully democratic state the importance of social solidarity can be clearly understood. In other words, it was almost impossible to unite all these people of the Empire, whose religion, language, traditions, even habits and daily practices were very different, around a common identity, i.e. Ottomanism, unless a common public space/sphere shared by, or at least open to, all of them was created. The excessive compartmentalization of the society at the communal level was an obstacle for Ottomanism. Boujikianian tries to call attention to this point. However, neither he nor any other author writing in these periodicals means assimilation or suggest a kind of "melting pot" theory. They do not say that everybody, including Armenians, would leave their primordial identities and be *only* Ottomans. On the contrary, every community would preserve its attributes such as religion, culture. For them this was not an impediment to being

²³⁷ Calhoun, "Imagining Solidarity: Cosmopolitanism, Constitutional Patriotism, and the Public Sphere," pp. 151-153.

²³⁸ Ibid.: p.165.

Ottoman. The program of Constitutionalist Democratic Armenian Party (*Meşrutiyet ve Hukuk-u Avam Taraftarı Ermeni Fırkası*) exemplifies this approach:

“...The Armenians inhabiting in the Ottoman land have two features. The first one, in terms of political nationality (*milliyet-i siyasiye*), is being “Ottoman”. The second one, in terms of ethnicity (*kavmiyet*) is being “Armenian”. It is indispensable to maintain and protect both of these features, which should be revealed openly and not harm each other...It is unnecessary to say that the protection of ethnicity does not prevent other duties, or mean racism or separatism. The aim is to provide that all ethnicities utilize their legal rights without any discrimination”.²³⁹

These words openly reveal that there were Armenians, especially among intellectuals and professionals, supporting an order on the basis of equality, political and cultural liberalism, and law within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. The political party, mentioned above, advocated that every community should be able to protect and keep its culture and law alive. This was also beneficial for the Ottoman state.

Conclusion

The questions at the beginning of this chapter ask:

“Were there no non-Muslim individuals or groups (i.e. Armenians) supporting Ottomanism as a common identity? Did all want nothing but independence? Did they not have any idea or project embracing all elements of the empire? Were they, at least some of them, willing to accept the Ottoman identity, or did they reject it without exception?”

This chapter sought to answer these questions by showing that there were some Armenian intellectuals who were the proponents of a common Ottoman

²³⁹ Anaide Ter Minassian, *Ermeni Devrimci Hareketinde Milliyetçilik ve Sosyalizm 1887-1912*, trans. Mete Tunçay İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992, pp. 89,90.

identity for all peoples of the Empire after the 1908 Revolution. Through the hundreds of pages that I read for this study there is not even a word about an “independent Armenia”. On the contrary, the authors writing in these periodicals produced ideas and made suggestions covering the whole population of the country to establish and strengthen Ottomanism. They proposed concrete political and economic projects for the development of the country.

The Turkish historiography has tended, both in the past and present, to see Armenians as a monolithic identity that was working to found an independent Armenia by “betraying” the Ottoman state and the Turkish people. Truly, there might have been some groups and organizations aiming to establish an independent Armenia. However, there is no evidence showing that they constituted the majority, even a substantial ratio, of the Armenians. The Armenians were far from being united. Even, from time to time this situation of disunity became a subject of complaints in the articles of *Yeprad*. For example, in the issue of May 15, 1910 Mugrditch S. Vorperian, complains of the skirmishes between Armenian political parties. He says that “...personalized parties hit each other, (and in this fight) all insanities, slanders, insults, murders...of rage are presented in the name of nation”.²⁴⁰ Similarly, Der Vartan Aslanian, the official religious leader of Harput district, bewailed that the three Armenian candidates of Harput in the (1908) elections from different parties quarreled with each other, and therefore the Armenians of Harput could not send a representative to the parliament “besides their Turkish brothers” to talk about the needs of their province. G. S. Barsamian from Sivas, who is the owner of *Hoghtar* newspaper, had same worry on the eve of 1912 elections. He asks “can we give an Armenian deputy to the parliament?” He was hopeless that those who

²⁴⁰ *Yeprad*, May 15, 1910, No:14, p. 225.

could not agree with each other even in neighborhood election can agree in deputy elections.²⁴¹ Moreover, as a sign of disunity and disagreement among the Armenians of Sivas, there is news about the resignation of some members from a communal administrative body in almost every issue of *Hoghtar*.

There was tension and disagreement between Armenian political parties and the rest of the community, especially traditional institutions and groups such as the church and urban bourgeoisie. The majority of the Armenian population was desirous of the reforms, but did not want to apply illegal methods. Most of those living comfortably were not willing to donate money or risk their lives and wealth for revolutionary²⁴² purposes. So, a considerable number of Armenians stood in the way of the separatists for various reasons such as disapproving of their methods, or ideology, or a mere lack of concern.²⁴³ Hovhannes Boujikianian, as a professor and Anatolian Armenian intellectual, made a prophetic warning on the pages of *Yeprad* in 1910:

“Let’s, at least hereafter, grasp that our (Armenians’) destiny is tied with the Ottoman constitution. Any separatist ideal or intention would be a horrible destruction for us, and undoubtedly cold-blooded profit seeking Europe would not weep for us. Setting fires or spilling blood in various places of the wounded fatherland to take the attention of Europe and begging pie from her is absolute foolishness. Our hotblooded young ones and maverick parties should learn this well”.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ *Hoghtar*, Jan. 28, 1912, No: 5, p. 17, 18.

²⁴² The meaning of the terms revolution and revolutionist is open to debate. There are different groups that have been categorized under the label of "revolutionist". Although some of the Armenian political parties of the time, especially the Hunchakian Party, had a socialistic flavor it is difficult to claim that their primary aim was to found a socialist regime in the all the Ottoman domains. Others understood by "revolution" merely the disposition of Abdulhamid and his tyranny. For some others, it referred to an autonomous or independent Armenia. Therefore, while using these terms, agencies and context should be considered carefully.

²⁴³ Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963, pp. 183,184.

²⁴⁴ *Yeprad*, Oct. 15, 1910, No: 19, p. 310. Parenthesis is mine.

Although he severely criticizes the groups who applied violence as a method the author of these words himself could not escape murder as a victim in 1915²⁴⁵ either, since the Unionist (*İttihatçı*) government did not prefer to make any distinction among Armenians and regarding some “maverick” groups as the only representative of all of the Armenians.

In sum, all Armenians of the Ottoman Empire were not separatists. On the contrary, after the 1908 Revolution a group of Armenian intellectuals produced an ideal Ottomanist discourse, which sought for a common future with the Turks (Muslims) and other constituent people of the country. They tried to shape public opinion in accordance with this discourse. Moreover, as the evidences in this study shows they achieved to create a certain level of resonance among the Armenian community. To ignore them while studying Ottoman history is a biased point of view.

Unfortunately, this Ottomanist discourse and attitude did not make any change in their tragic destiny with that of the other Armenians in 1915.

²⁴⁵ For what happened to the professors of the college, see Bryce and Toynbee, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916*, pp. 305, 306. This is a letter written by the principal, Ernest W. Riggs, and sent to Mr. W. W. Peet at Constantinople. He writes of Boujikianian: "Served College 16 years, studied at Edinburgh; Professor of Mental and Moral Science. Arrested with Prof. Tenekedjian and subjected to same tortures (the pulling of hair, moustache, and beard, starving and hanging by arms for a day and night, and severely beaten several times); also had three finger nails pulled out by the roots; killed in same massacre (on the road of Diyarbakır)".

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

As very frequently and rightly said, the First World War was a catastrophic breakpoint that changed the destinies and destinations of people and nations very dramatically and tragically. Ottoman Anatolia was no exception to this rule. The years between the 1908 Revolution and 1914 was a period in which a series of changes started to occur in the Ottoman Empire. These changes were supposed to make the country politically more democratic and peaceful and economically more wealthy. At the state level the change was more obvious in the sense that the constitution was declared valid, “free” elections were held, and a parliament was constituted. At the level of society the change might be regarded as an undercurrent. In other words, there was a gradual change in terms of values, norms, daily practices, tastes, and life style. Although it is not possible to say that this kind of changes started with the 1908 Revolution in the Ottoman Empire, the atmosphere of freedom and the psychology of people after the revolution made these changes more likely. In other words, a general spirit of and motivation for change occurred among people in this era.

The first main chapter of this thesis examines the underneath change at society level under the general name of “bourgeois transformation” among Anatolian Armenians in the mentioned period. In this examination the chapter takes David Blackbourn’s analysis of the nineteenth century German bourgeoisie as a conceptual guide and look for similar transformation in Anatolia in the beginning of the

twentieth century. The term bourgeois transformation does not absolutely mean that this transformation was realized by the individuals from only and directly the bourgeois class. What is critical is the establishment of new norms, values and practices. The status of action is more important than the group identity of agents. Therefore, the only agent of “bourgeois transformation” does not have to be the bourgeois class. On the contrary, whenever and wherever these changes were accepted and followed by other classes the transformation became more successful.

The main parameters of this bourgeois transformation are the advance in mechanical and scientific sphere, the expansion of Western style education, the emergence of voluntary associations and public life, the implementation of the rule of law and entrepreneurship. In other words, if these occur then one can talk about a bourgeois transformation. Thus, in order to be able to speak about a bourgeois transformation in Anatolia at the beginning of twentieth century this thesis tries to depict the situation of these parameters.

The first parameter is the mechanical and scientific advance. In the nineteenth century Europe mechanical (technological) and scientific advance and innovations became the most important, maybe the only, yardstick of civilization. Both European intellectuals and “laymen” admired these advances and praised them. The inventions such as telegram, railway, and steam engine were met with joy as the victory of the humanity over nature. The nations that did not possess these technological innovations could not be civilized in any way. Moreover, the flag-bearer of these mechanical innovations of nineteenth century was the bourgeoisie. Its needs and capabilities gave way the advance of technology.

Although it is not possible to say that such technological and scientific advances were frequent in Anatolia at the beginning of the twentieth century there

were some basic but valuable attempts. One of the major examples of these attempts was the installation of a seismograph at Euphrates College, Harput. This was a very important effort in such a region as Eastern Anatolia where is an earthquake region. Moreover, the faculty of the college maintained some international connections to understand and analyze the earthquakes. The academics of the college also made some meteorological measures. These instances show that they reached that technological capability to realize such works. Another example of scientific advance was the existence of a chemistry laboratory in which some analyses were made to find the best quality drinking water of the region.

Besides these concrete examples of technological advance one observes through the pages of *Yeprad*, the periodical published by the college, a strong discourse supporting and demanding the improvement of technology in the region. The authors writing in *Yeprad* reflect the same attitude that the nineteenth century European intellectuals and people showed towards technological and scientific advances. For example, they often emphasize the relation between the railway and civilization. They constantly demand that a railway should have been brought to Harput as soon as possible.

The second parameter of the bourgeois transformation is the expansion of Western style education. Education contributed to both the formation of the bourgeoisie and expending bourgeois values to the other segments of society. It is the main tool to change people's mentality and shape public opinion according to new values and norms, which is essential for the success of the transformation.

American colleges in Anatolia were a major step for the expansion of modern education. Most of the students attending these colleges were Armenians. Moreover, the web of communal Armenian schools was quite developed at the end of nineteenth

century. Many Armenians from American colleges and communal schools went abroad, mainly the United States, but also Europe, and obtained higher education. Most of these people returned and taught at American colleges and Armenian communal schools.

If it can be accepted as an indicator of the development of education the ratio of female students was quite high among Armenians. For example, the college section of the Yeprad (Euphrartes) College sometimes had more female students than males. According to statistics relayed by Zekiyan, at the end of nineteenth century the total number of students at Ottoman Armenian schools was more than 200,000. This number virtually 10 % of the whole Armenian population, and one third of these students were female.²⁴⁶

In sum, it can be said that there was a sufficient educational ground on which a bourgeois transformation could rise in Anatolia at the beginning of twentieth century. In other words, when one looks at the education of the time one can see the traces of the bourgeois transformation.

The third parameter of bourgeois transformation is the emergence of voluntary associations and public life. In the nineteenth century Europe the main medium of bourgeois domination was civil society. And voluntary associations were the main channels of activity in civil society. The number and variety of these associations increased sharply in Europe in the nineteenth century. A search through primary sources of this study shows that there was a similar situation in some Anatolian towns such as Harput, Sivas, and Marsovan after the 1908 Revolution. They were active in increasing life quality of local people through philanthropic activities, giving aid to students, opening libraries...Therefore, it is possible to

²⁴⁶ Zekiyan, *Ermeniler ve Modernite: Gelenek ve Yenileşme/ Özgüllük ve Evrensellik Arasında Ermeni Kimliği*, pp. 92, 105.

observe that some towns in Anatolia took at least preliminary steps of an associational life at the beginning of the twentieth century. And this fact can be recorded as another evidence of the bourgeois transformation in some centers of the time.

The fourth parameter of bourgeois transformation is the real implementation of the rule of law. The establishment of the rule of law in Anatolian provinces of the Ottoman Empire had been always a problem. As a matter of fact, the enforcement of the rule of law seems as the most unsuccessful part of the bourgeois transformation in Anatolia. The primary sources of this thesis display that the arbitrary and illegal acts of states officials and local lords, or the indifference of bureaucrats in the face of such deeds continued even after the 1908 Revolution. Searching through these sources news of murder, and property seizure by force or other illegal violence is common. There were many articles in the Armenian newspapers of the time complaining of such acts and demanding justice. Despite all, there is no evidence showing that statesmen provided the rule of law and the equality before law in Anatolian provinces.

The fifth and the last parameter of bourgeois transformation is entrepreneurship. In the examination of the primary sources one sees remarkable examples which show that there were the dynamics to realize economic change along bourgeois norms and values. For example, there were some industrial plants in Sivas, Gürün that made a considerable amount of production and export. Even, some Armenian entrepreneurs from Hüseyinik (today in Elazığ) went to the USA in order to learn how winnowing was done. At the end, they achieved to manufacture the necessary machinery in their hometown more cheaply.

In conclusion, there was a suitable ground for bourgeois transformation after the 1908 Revolution in Anatolia. In every aspect of such a transformation a considerable development was recorded except the enforcement of the rule of law. Arbitrary acts of local aghas and indifference and incapability of the state were the major obstacles on the way of the transformation. However, the First World War made all of this irrelevant.

The second main chapter of the thesis focuses on Ottomanism as the public discourse of the Anatolian Armenian intellectuals. One of the most important aspects of the bourgeois transformation is the emergence of public space and public opinion. Shaping public opinion and taking the support of people became a critical issue. It provided legitimacy for social and political purposes. Therefore, every group or fraction tried to direct public opinion. As a result of this public space emerged as a domain of power relations.

As a part of this struggle, the Anatolian Armenian intellectuals, as the opinion leaders, tried to establish Ottomanism among the Armenian people. These people saw the revolution as a new start. They made a sharp distinction between the Adhulhamid era, which were “dark years” for them, and the new period started by the 1908 Revolution. They were hopeful that the future would bring internal peace and harmony among different groups of the empire although after the Adana massacres of April 1909 they became aware of that this would require time. They strongly supported the Ottoman constitution, Ottoman citizenship with all its rights and obligations including military service, and they also projected a common future within the Ottoman Empire with all other ethnic and religious elements of the Empire. They produced projects of how an Ottoman nation could be created. For example, the editor of *Yeprad* and one of the professors of the college, Garabed

Soghigian, claimed that several different ethnic and religious groups of the empire could constitute a nation if they cooperated in business and became business partners. According to him, if different elements of the empire became united by ties of profit they would understand how much it was important to assist each other. Soghigian claimed that economic prosperity and business partnerships would bring the expected harmony and peace among communities, and so that they could become a nation.

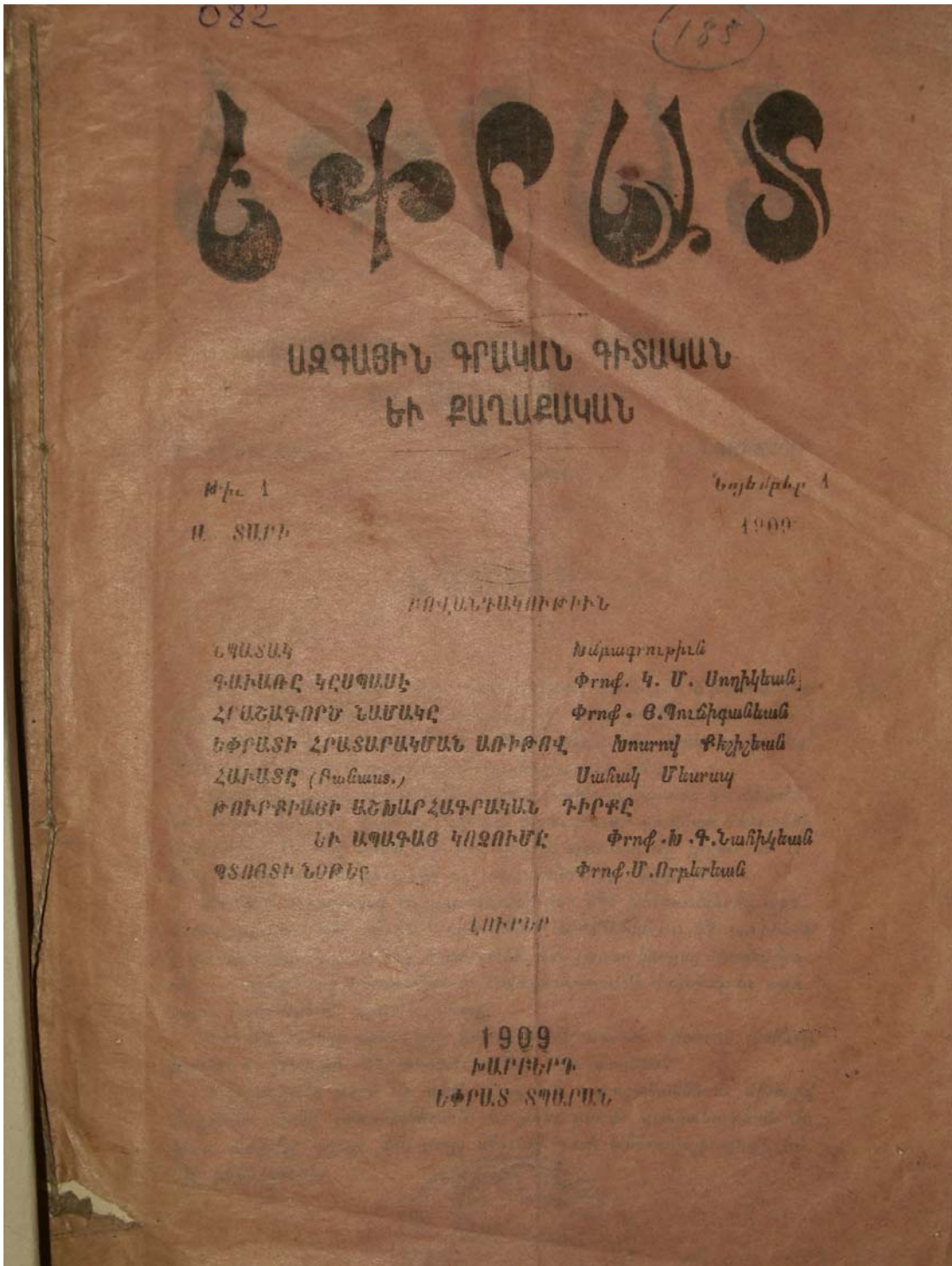
Another professor of the college, Hovhannes Boujikianian emphasizes the importance of a shared public space and public life in becoming a nation. He complains that public life in the East was extremely limited. Contrary to this, he says, the peoples of the empire should share public space, and attend public activities together more frequently in order to coalesce and so become a nation. He gives Europe as an example of a place with vivid public life. He says that through such a rich public life and high level of relations among people national spirit is extremely strong in Europe. For him, without this spirit society is a mixture of separate parts, a mass. It seems that he was aware of the identity constituting effect of the activities in public space.

Their imagination of Ottoman nation was similar to American nation. Time to time they made reference to the United States while they were explaining how an Ottoman nation should be. However, their model was not “a melting pot” in which different ethnic and religious groups were to leave their peculiar identities and adopt a new and common identity. Rather, their Ottomanism was a legalist one in which every group would protect its ethnic and religious identity and live it freely; but they would become united on the basis of same rights and responsibilities. Arguably, their

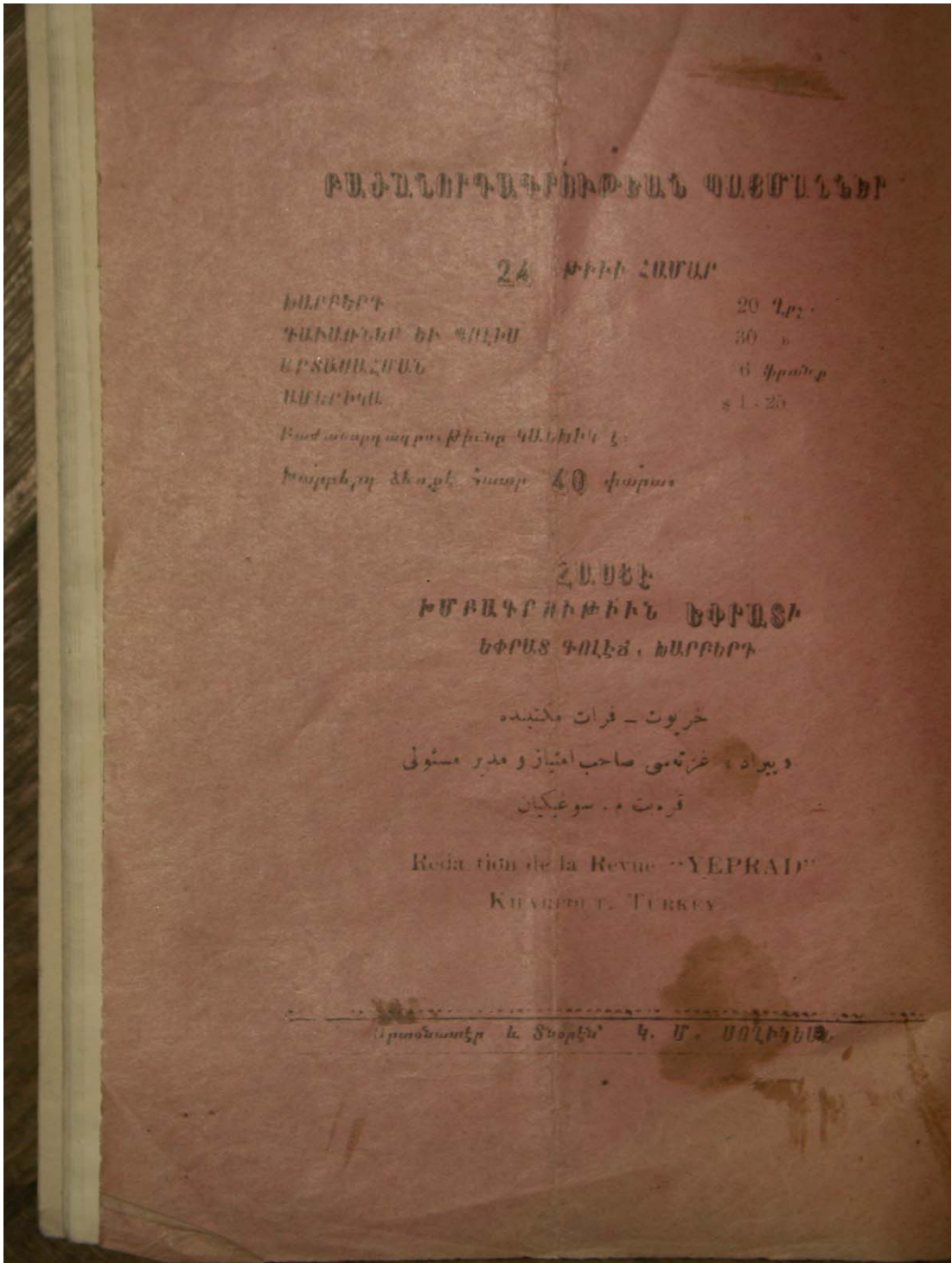
approach was similar to more recent understanding of multiculturalism which does not foresee a melting pot but “a salad pot”.

This chapter also proves that, contrary to the official Turkish historiography, all Ottoman Armenians were not separatist following the ideal of independent Armenia. On the contrary, some Armenian middle class people, professionals, and intellectuals had very powerful Ottomanist motives. However, 1915 crushed them all without making any distinction among Armenians.

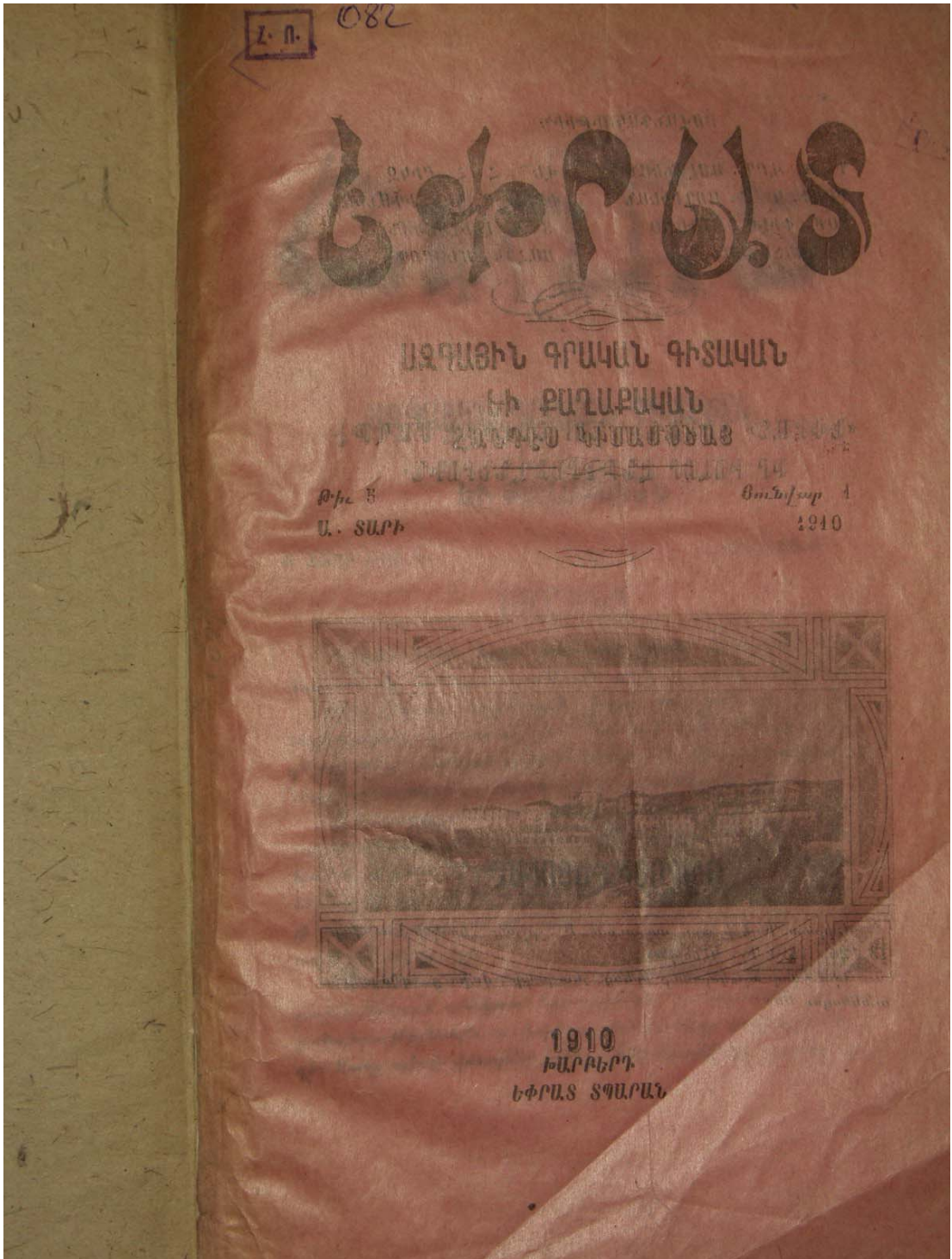
APPENDIX



The front cover of the first issue of *Yeprad* published on 1 November 1909

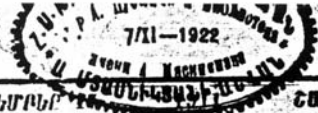


The back cover of the first issue of *Yeprad* on which appears the address of the journal in Armenian, Ottoman, and French



The front cover of the fifth issue of *Yeprad* on which appears the photograph of the college buildings

1911



Հ. ՏԱՐԻ ԴԵՆՏԵՐԱԿԱՆ ԳԱՐՈՒ ԹԻՒ 1

ՀՈՂՊՈՒՄ

20 Փ Ա Ր Ա Ս Ե Բ Ա Ս Տ Ի Ա 20 Փ Ա Ր Ա

ԳՐԵՑ ԴԱՆԻԷՆ ԿԱՐՈՒՋԱՆ

Սիրս է յոգնած, վիբուսք -
 Ո՛չ մեկ գարնան ծաղիկներուն կըրտակ -
 Կոյս մը ապուռ ճողոցում
 Զայն բրզկիսց, արդ սասը յոյս մասներէն
 Արիւններս են, որ շիրառիք կը կարեն
 հասիկներու պէս հուռի . . .
 Սիրս է յոգնած,
 Ու սերս իր մեզ վիբուսք .

Բնարս է սրբում, փրբում -
 Կը սպասե՛ս ո՛չ մեկ տոնական գինիի -
 Կոյս մ'անգի-ակ ոնիրով
 Անոր յարեն աշխներու պէս փնտսեց .
 Ու պոքին մեզ տալիս
 կրթից բոլներն իր ծիծերան ա լեզուին -
 Բնարս է սրբում,
 Ու երգս իր մեզ փրբում .

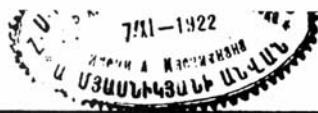
ԵՒԴՈՅԻԱ

ՀՈՂՊՈՒՄԻ ԹԻՒ 1/Ս ԱՌԻՔՈՎ
 հոսեր բարեկամներու
 — Չխտի չի մ'եծցնե՛ս ծառայը —
 կը հարցնեն ինձի բարեկամներս .

Ո՛չ առ տարի, բայց գալ տարի, մահ-
 վար-1 ին. ինչ որ ալ ըլլայ՝ Տ էլո՛ք
 պիտի հրատարակուի հողղարը:
 Փոխանակ շարաթաթերով .
 Եթէ ամառվելով ընեն, աւամբը՝

2294

The first page of the first issue (December 1911) of *Hoghtar* on which appears a poem by famous Armenian poet Taniel Varujan who was killed in 1915



ՀՈՂՏԱՐ

20 Փ Ա Ր Ա Ս Ե Ր Ա Ս Տ Ի Ա 20 Փ Ա Ր Ա

ԹՈՒՐԻ ԳՐԱԿԱՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ ԳՐԵՑ ՍԵՆԵԶ ՀԻՄՄԵԹ Հանգր

Ք Ե Տ Ի Մ

Զրկված.

Պիլիկի թրմուլառն . .
 Կեօրեճէքին, ուխանազ, արլանազ
 Հայրազ .
 — Պունա էթ զերոն պիր տանա «քէլիէն»
 Հէլէ սէն
 Սանա արզըզ թիրխո տա եօզ, նանքէօր.
 Հէմպու աղչամ սօուլտա թիթիէտէ կէօր . .
 ԱՏ. սիզ եօզ մի սիզ ֆէնա քէտիլէր
 Պանա էվէլճէ փէք կիւզէլ տէտիլէր
 — Պունու աթ .
 Հէյնաթ . . .

Պէնի թանրիրի կէօղլէրին օղէման
 Նա՞յլ արտաթար, անլամամ էլան . . .
 Օ կիւզէլ էլէլին
 Նա՞սրլ լաքին
 Կիլլէյօր սիւր ալուճ զէնիրի թիքէն .
 Պաղմա, ետրվարմա խթէմ սէնի պէն . .
 Պազ պէլէնտինմի՞ գան իշինաէ էլիմ . .
 Հիլ պարչամ զէքիլ . . պէնիմ կիւզէլիմ
 Շիմօի .
 էպէտի .
 Պ թիլիք գամունին եամուգ քիտիտի
 Սինսի . .

ԱՏ սիզ եօզմի, սիշ Ֆէնա քէտիլէր
 Պանա էվէլճէ փէք կիւզէլ տէտիլէր .
 — Պունու աթ
 Հէյնաթ (Կէնճ Գալէմիէր)

The first page of the second issue of Hoghtar (30 December 1911) on which appears a poem (Kedim-My Cat) by Seniha Hikmet written in Turkish with Armenian alphabet



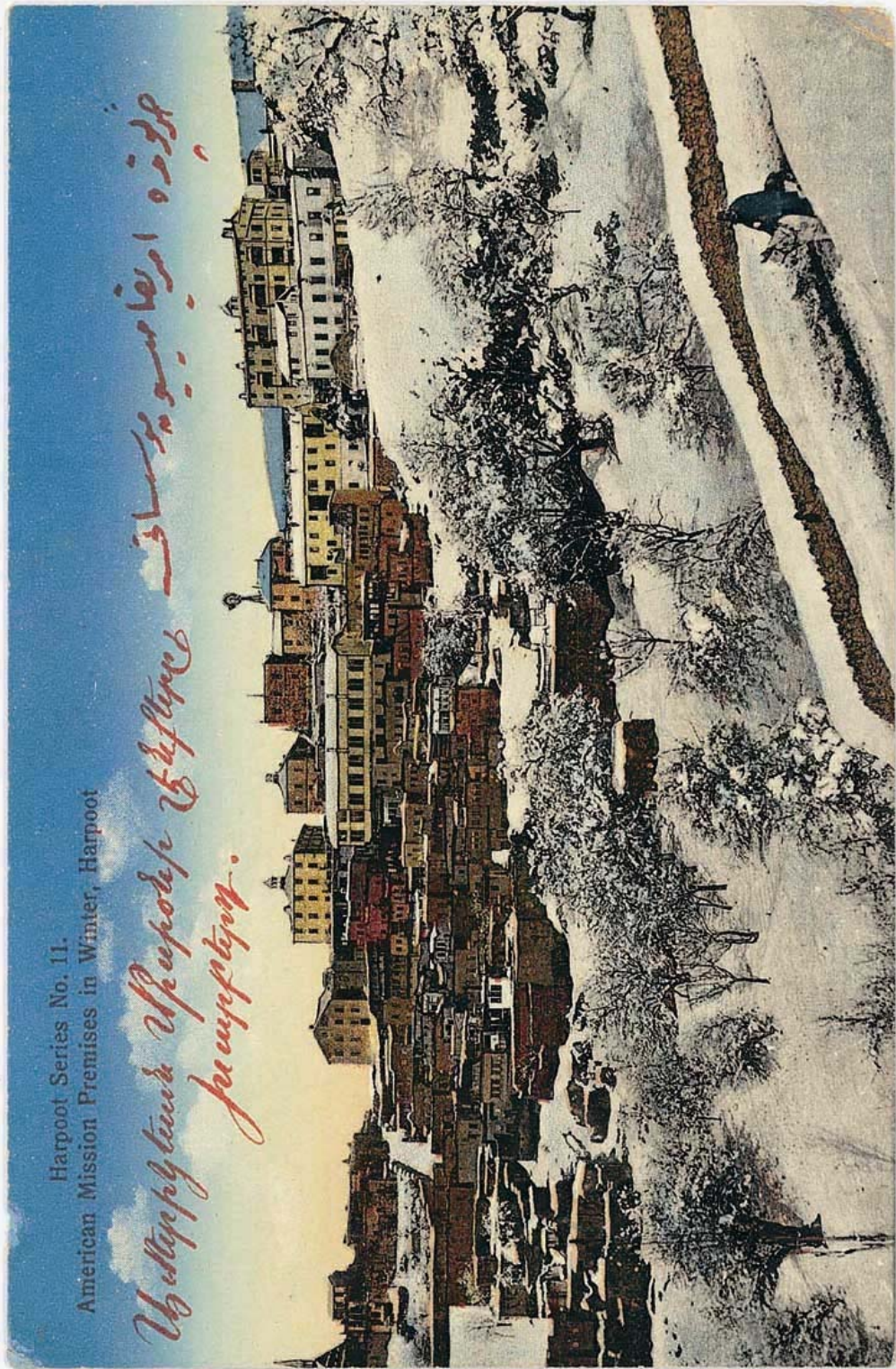
The faculty of the Yeprad College in June 1914

Outer circle from bottom left clockwise: Sarkis K. Köleian, Diran Tenekecian, Armenag H. Hovagimian, Hovhannes H. Dingilian, Aşod S. Yusuf, Vartan B. Amirianian, H. H. Riggs, C. P. Nap, Pastor Gabriel, F. Enlilbuc, Andreas B. Dergazarian, Setrag Zulumian, Hovhannes K. Tavutian, Armen K. Melkonian.

Inner circle from top clockwise: President Riggs, Khachadur K. Nahigian, Mıgırıdich S. Vormerian, Samuel Khachadurian, Donabed Lulecian, Hovhannes H. Boujikianian, Garabed M. Soghigian, Nigoghos Tenekecian.



Two faces of a postcard sent by Garabed M. Soghigian with his seal on it. Postcard depicts the college buildings.



The buildings of Yeprad College in winter

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