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AUSTRALIAN PRESS COVERAGE OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

1915-1923

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the  
requirements for the award of the degree

Masters of Arts

from

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

by

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GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

2003

# Thesis Certification

I, Vahe G. Kateb, declare that this thesis, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts, in the Graduate School of Journalism, University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institutions.

Vahe G. Kateb

9 May 2003

# Abstract

Under the cover of WWI, the Young Turk government of the Ottoman Empire deported and exterminated the Armenian population from historical Armenia (Eastern provinces of modern day Turkey) and surrounding regions. However, since then, successive Turkish governments have denied any wrongdoing and blamed Armenians for their fate. The Australian press, as the only mass medium of the period, covered extensively the extermination of the Armenians. However today's press often refers to the same events ambiguously, using the word "alleged" and giving equal coverage to the Turkish denial of the events. In addition, "young turk" has become a complimentary phrase.

This thesis examines the coverage of the Armenian Genocide in the Australian press of 1915-1923. The newspapers examined are: *Age* and *Argus* (Victoria), *Brisbane Courier* (Queensland), *Mercury* (Tasmania), *Register Adelaide* (South Australia) and *Sydney Morning Herald* (New South Wales).

The aim of the thesis is to determine if Australian journalists of the period had appropriately covered the Armenian Genocide and if the coverage corresponded with the modern definition of genocide as stated in the United Nation's Genocide Convention (UNCG). The study compares news reports published on the Armenian Genocide with the acts of UNCG and finds that they had indeed communicated to the Australian public that Armenians were subjected to genocide. In the absence of the word "genocide" Australian journalists of early 20<sup>th</sup> century described the meaning of the word as "destroying a nation", "race extermination", "policy of extermination", "wiping out the Armenian nation" and other similar expressions.

The study also looks at censorship in Britain and Australia during WWI. From the wide coverage of the press it concludes that there were no restrictions imposed on the reporting of the Armenian Genocide. Another aspect covered was the religious factor. Armenians were often identified as “Christians”. The word defined a common denominator between the Australian reader and Armenians. Australia and Armenia were almost entirely Christian nations while Turks were Muslims who were physically and spiritually destroying (churches, monasteries, manuscripts, desecrating religious sites) the Armenian people. Thus, Christian churches were heavily involved in the relief effort of Armenian survivors and orphans.

The thesis also examines where Australians were getting the reports on the Armenian Genocide; how the reports appeared in the papers, the headlines of the reports and comparison between headlines and articles on atrocities attributed to Germans, and the extermination of the Armenians at the hands of the Turks. In addition, in the context of war propaganda the study finds that overall the newspapers had given wider coverage to atrocities attributed to Germans, while Turkish atrocities against Armenians had received adequate coverage but less prominence.

The thesis reveals the previously unknown fact that Australians had responded passionately to the plight of the survivors by founding a friendship society (Friends of Armenia) and relief society (Armenian Relief Fund).

This pilot study focuses only on the Armenian case. Future research should be expanded to include the Australian press reports of ethnic cleansing and genocide of the Christian elements, Assyrian and Greek in Turkey. Hopefully this will raise Australian journalists’ awareness to the level of their predecessors of early 20<sup>th</sup> century so that they will be able to

counteract the increasing pressure and denial campaign actively pursued by the Turkish Embassy and members of the Australian Turkish community.

# Acknowledgments

I wish to acknowledge the resilience and sacrifices of my grandparents, who somehow survived the genocide and found the inner courage, despite their ordeal and heavy losses, to continue life and form a family. Their silent existence was an inspiration to me.

I like to thank my mother, Mary; and wife, Manush, who were patient, understanding and supportive while I was spending all my time studying and researching in the library neglecting them.

Special acknowledgement and appreciation to my supervisor, Dr Eric Loo, who has guided me through the maze of writing my first thesis.

Finally thanks to my friend Stavros Stavridis with whom I shared the passion of the events of WWI.

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# Abbreviations

<i>AAP</i>	<i>Australian Associated Press</i>
<i>AFP</i>	<i>Agence France Press</i>
AIF	Australian Imperial Force
Anzac	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
<i>ARG</i>	<i>The Argus</i>
<i>BC</i>	<i>The Brisbane Courier</i>
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
<i>HER</i>	<i>The Herald</i>
HQ	Headquarters
<i>MCY</i>	<i>The Mercury</i>
NAA	National Archives of Australia
POW	Prisoner of War
<i>REG</i>	<i>The Register-Adelaide</i>
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service
<i>SMH</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>
<i>TDN</i>	<i>Turkish Daily News</i>
UNCG	United Nations Convention on Genocide
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

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# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Background

On the eve of the Anzac landing at Gallipoli, 24 April 1915, the Turkish government was executing its planned extermination of Armenians in the Ottoman capital Constantinople. After the armistice of 1918, the extermination of Armenians continued unabated under Mustapha Kemal, also known as Ataturk.<sup>1</sup> By 1923, an estimated million and a half<sup>2</sup> Armenians, from Constantinople to the Syrian and Mesopotamian deserts, had fallen victims. Turkish authorities had successfully completed the mass extermination of a race of people in what was later described as “genocide”.

While the Australian government and public commemorate the sacrifice of the Anzac on April 25 with the slogan *Lest We Forget*, on April 24 of each year the commemoration of the Armenian Genocide is confined to the Armenian community. The tragedy of 1915-23 passes almost unnoticed from the public and is ignored by the Australian media. No other country has the date of the start of the Armenian Genocide been so close to a day of great national importance to the adopted country. Yet, few Australians know that the Anzacs fought a government, which had

systematically exterminated its Christian minorities, the Armenians, the Assyrians and the Greeks.

Public figures and the media cannot argue ignorance since the Armenian Genocide is widely studied with hundreds of books, articles, and archival documents on microfilm available for researchers and the public.<sup>3</sup> But the use of the word “genocide”, to the extermination of Armenians by the Australian and international community, is hindered by the growing denial campaign by the Turkish government. This campaign has global repercussions and its effects can also be seen in Australia when the media often refers to the Armenian Genocide as “alleged” genocide. Politicians and members of the Federal government also avoid the word “genocide”.<sup>4</sup>

Almost a century on, the Armenian Genocide is still the subject of impassioned discussions and political campaigns and manoeuvring. Every year, articles are still printed on the issue,<sup>5</sup> but only one or two of the reports that appear in overseas papers are reprinted in Australia, and many of these reports are factually incorrect. Usually the media gives equal space to the Turkish version of events, which besides denying any responsibility shifts the blame to the Armenians themselves. This confuses the reader and gives legitimacy to Turkish denial by giving the impression



that there is another side of the story, thus planting into the mind of the reader the seeds of doubt.

For example, an article published in the *AGE* finished with the paragraph:

“The Turkish version of what ensued was that about 300,000 Armenians and thousands of Turks were killed in internal fighting between 1915 and 1918. But Armenians say there was a campaign of genocide in which the number of dead reached at least 1.5 million. Many Armenians died or were killed during forced marches into exile in Syria. The Turks say in response that roaming bands of Armenian irregulars were responsible for atrocities”.<sup>6</sup>

This type of article misleads the public and is in total contrast to the news reports printed in the Australian press of early 20<sup>th</sup> century, as my content analysis will show in chapter V.

The above article was printed with another article,<sup>7</sup> which described Turkish government’s sanctions against France, the reactions from Turkish government officials and public, after the French National Assembly adopted a resolution on the Armenian Genocide.<sup>8</sup> The newspaper did not attempt to shed any light on historical facts. The reader of both articles would have the impression that France had unjustly offended the Turks and that it was questionable whether genocide had ever happened.

## 1.2 Scope of thesis

It would not be pretentious to assume that most Australian journalists, despite the available material, are not familiar with the historical issues surrounding the Armenian Genocide and in lesser degree to the fact that the Australian press of the period widely covered the Armenian Genocide. On a few occasions when I had discussed the issue with Australian journalists, they were surprised to learn that the Australian press from 1915-23 covered extensively the extermination of Armenians. The legacy left by Australian journalists and editors of early 20<sup>th</sup> century has been forgotten, and the wealth of archival material they left behind remains untouched. If modern day Australian journalists had recourse to a reference book on the Armenian Genocide with emphasis on reports printed in the Australian press of 1915-23, it would have helped to address the errors that keep appearing in today's papers. For example, with the emphasis on objectively reporting the Armenian Genocide by giving "equal" coverage to the victims (Armenians) and the perpetrators (Turkish authorities), the same "objectivity" is not applied to the reporting of other genocides, for instance Jewish, Cambodian or Rwandan.

The Australian media also continues to use the term "young turk" as a complimentary phrase.<sup>9</sup> For instance, "young turk politician", "young turk football player" and so forth are often

featured in papers or radio and television reports.<sup>10</sup> The use of the terms “alleged genocide” and “young turk” by the Australian media is not only offensive to the survivors and descendants of the Armenian Genocide but it also lends credence to the perpetrators and their attempts to revise history.

Most of my attempts to correct the mistakes that appeared in the media over the past years remain fruitless. Out of several letters to the editors (*Age*, 29 Jan. 2001, *Australian*, 30 Aug. 2001, *60 Minutes*, 26 April 2002, *Herald Sun*, 2 May 2002) only the one I sent to the *Financial Review* was published in March 2001<sup>11</sup> (I was praising the paper’s article on the Armenian Genocide that had appeared a week earlier).<sup>12</sup>

In challenging the Turkish government's revisionist attempts to distort historical facts and deny the Armenian Genocide, and the consequent media representation, I decided to retrace the events of WWI in the Ottoman Empire through the pages of the Australian press of that era.

The Australian newspapers were the primary source of information on the war for the Australian public then. Radio broadcast, television, cable or satellite news, access to vast resources from the Internet that we take so much for granted, were not available. The public did not have any access to secret

documents, cabinet papers and archival materials that were available decades later. Unlike the Balkan wars of 1990's, there were no TV news or current affairs programs bringing home the daily horrors of the war with coloured pictures in real time live coverage. The Australian public during and after WWI had to content mostly with short reports printed in the papers without any photographs.

Over the past few decades, historians, genocide scholars and journalists have published hundreds of books, research studies and journal articles about the Armenian Genocide. To my knowledge, only four books had reprinted the newspaper reports of the period on the Armenian Genocide.<sup>13</sup> However, none of these books critically analysed the print media of the period (1915-1923) nor studied the newspaper reports to see:

- What role they had played in informing the public about the extermination of Armenians?
- The comparison between media reports published in various countries.
- The accuracy of the reports.
- Other interesting facts (editorials, letters to the editor, fundraising activities), which can be found only in the press.

The aim of this research is to analyse the reports printed in the Australian press of 1915-23 to find out if they correspond to the modern understanding of genocide as defined in the UN Genocide Convention of 1948.

By analysing the contents of the Australian press, I intend to find:

- If Australian editors and journalists had any doubt that reports about the extermination of Armenians were true and not merely war propaganda.
- If they had a clear understanding that Turks were exterminating the Armenians as a race.
- How Australians viewed the extermination of Armenians in a religious context. That is, the majority Moslem Turks exterminating the minority Christian Armenians.
- How the Australian public reacted to news reports about the extermination of Armenians.

I will argue that Australian newspapers from 1915-1923 covered the fundamental aspects of the Armenian Genocide through reports received from overseas cables, and passed on to the Australian public an accurate description of the extermination of Armenians. As a consequence, concerned Australians formed a relief fund to aid the stricken Armenian survivors.

### **1.3 Methodology**

The five clauses of article 2 of UNCG are description of offences that if committed constitute genocide, thus the content analysis was done by matching the texts of the articles to the corresponding clauses of UNCG. The frequency of the words was not counted when analysing the contents of articles in chapter 5.

A number of news reports contained more than one of the elements of UNCG. Most of those reports were special reports from war correspondents or exclusive long reports published exclusively in only one newspaper.

It was not possible to accurately measure the length of the articles in column centimetres (or inches) since the research was done on microfilm and not on the actual newspapers. Thus, when making comparison between German and Turkish atrocities only the lines of the articles and the titles were counted.

#### **1.3.1 Source selection**

For my research, I chose the following newspapers:

- *The Age* (Victoria)
- *The Argus* (Victoria)
- *The Sydney Morning Herald* (NSW)
- *The Brisbane Courier* (Queensland)
- *The Mercury* (Tasmania)

- *The Register-Adelaide* (South Australia)

I chose two newspapers from Melbourne because at the time the city had an added significance as the federal capital of Australia. I did not consider The Northern Territory and Western Australia for their lack of newspapers relevant to my research. The State Library of Victoria, where I conducted my primary research, does not hold any newspaper microfilms from Western Australia covering the years 1915-1923. There was a newspaper from Northern Territory on microfilm but the newspaper was an unusual one- it did not have any headlines and all the different articles were compiled into one single lengthy article, which did not suit my research.

### **1.3.2 Selection of text for analysis**

A sample of 44 articles, from a variety of sources, was used for content analysis in chapter 5.<sup>14</sup> Articles were selected for their significance and content from the following categories:

- News reports, editorials and special reports from Australian war correspondents dedicated exclusively to the massacres of Armenians.
- Massacres of Armenians committed by Turkish troops inside and outside the borders of the Ottoman Empire (1915 and 1918).

- The extermination of Armenians carried out by the Young Turk government during WWI and massacres of Armenians at the hands of nationalist forces of Mustapha Kemal (Ataturk), after the armistice of 1918.

In addition to the newspapers, I have supplemented my thesis with research materials from the National Archives of Australia.

### **1.3.3 Exclusion**

The following articles were not selected for analysis:

- Articles that were not dedicated to the Armenian Genocide but made reference to the extermination of Armenians (See titles of articles with the symbol “REF”).
- Articles that related to the assassination of Young Turk leaders by Armenians and mentioned how Young Turk leaders had exterminated the Armenian population.
- Articles that were relevant to the Armenian Genocide but did not deal directly to the issue of the extermination of Armenians (See titles of articles in the Appendix with the symbol “REL”).
- Articles dedicated to the condition of the survivors of the genocide.
- After the war relief efforts to assist the refugees and orphans.



- Massacres of Armenians carried out by Tatars (modern day Azeris) in Baku.
- Most articles that identified the victims as Christians.
- Short articles where the extermination of Armenians was described as “murder” or “massacre” though these articles fall under article 2 (clause (a)) of UNCG.

The word “massacre” is a loose term used to describe the killing of few individuals to hundreds or thousands of people and was not suited for the purpose of classification. The definition of the word “massacre” according to the Macquarie dictionary is: (1) the unnecessary, indiscriminate killing of a number of human beings, as in barbarous warfare of persecution (2) a general slaughter of human beings. The newspapers of the period also used the word “massacre” to describe the killing of from a few dozen to thousands to the destruction of a nation. Similarly in the thesis the word “massacre” was used according the two definitions of the Macquarie dictionary. The indiscriminate killing of Armenians or Greeks numbered from dozens to dozens of thousands of individuals.

Most news reports after the armistice of 1918 described the killings of Armenians and Greeks by the nationalist troops of Mustapha Kemal, as “massacre”. For example, news reports of 19 February 1920 described the extermination of 8000 Armenians with the word “massacre”.<sup>15</sup> The same word was used in the brief

news reports of 3 March 1920 describing the killing of further 5,000 Armenians. While the *Herald*, the same day described the killing of the 19,000 Armenians of the city of Marash, in Cilicia, with the word “massacre”, without further details.<sup>16</sup>

#### **1.4 Definition and terms**

Most of the titles and articles printed in the Australian press of 1915-1923 blamed the Turks and the Turkish government for carrying out the extermination of Armenians. Most articles mentioned the name “Turk” or blamed the “Turkish government” for carrying out the extermination of Armenians. Thus in the thesis I used the word “Turk” to mean “Ottoman Turk” as Australian journalists of the period did.<sup>17</sup>

Other terms, “Young Turk<sup>18</sup> government” or “Ottoman Turkish government” are used to identify the government that ruled the Ottoman Empire.

Throughout the thesis, I only used the word "genocide" to describe the genocide of a people, including the genocide of the Jewish people. I avoid the use of the word "Holocaust" since the word genocide was invented specifically for this purpose and the 1948 UN Genocide Convention only uses the word "genocide". I also capitalized the word "genocide" when referring to specific genocides (Armenian Genocide, Greek Genocide, Jewish

Genocide or Rwandan Genocide). I use the term “Armenian Genocide” in the title, and the same term is used throughout the thesis because the extermination of Armenians corresponds to the UN definition of genocide.

The word “genocide” did not exist during WWI. Raphael Lemkin invented the word in 1943 and it received international acceptance a few years later. The alternative word in Armenian is “Mez Yeghern” meaning “big calamity” or “big disaster”. I had difficulty in finding the exact year when the term “Armenian Genocide” was first used in an article or a book as resources are very limited in Australia, but the 1115 page volume on the Armenian Genocide, published in Lebanon in 1965 on the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the events, alternatively uses the words “genocide” and “Mez Yeghern”.<sup>19</sup>

“Mez Yeghern” is the expression used by Pope John Paul II at the Yerevan memorial of the Armenian Genocide when he visited Armenia in 2001. He was under pressure from the Turkish government to not use the word “genocide” in Armenia, so he opted for the Armenian word instead to please both sides. However later he signed a joint declaration with the head of the Armenian Church, Karekin II, using the term “genocide” which drew sharp criticisms from the Turkish government and the media.<sup>20</sup>

In the thesis when inserting a quote from a newspaper, I kept the original spelling of the newspapers. For example I spelt the name Sassoon (phonetically) while in different newspapers the same name was spelt also as Sasun.

Although I will address the response of the Australian public to the Armenian Genocide and the creation of a friendship committee and a relief fund (Chapter 6), my research is not an attempt to fill that gap. The topic is quite extensive and it can be the subject of a separate research thesis of its own.

I will regularly refer to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which the UN General Assembly adopted in 1948, as UNCG.

While my research focuses on the Armenian case, references to the Assyrian and Greek genocides are made where appropriate.

Internet link to web pages were checked regularly and updated during the final draft of the thesis.

Chapter 2 discusses in detail the research problem emphasizing on the definition of genocide with reference to the UN Genocide Convention, historical revisionism and the Turkish government's denial of the Armenian Genocide, which is preventing the

Armenian and Turkish nations since 1915 to turn the page of the tragic events of WWI and establish good neighbourly relations. The chapter also discusses the current position of Armenians and Turks on the Armenian Genocide and the terms used by today's Australian journalists to describe the Armenian Genocide.

Chapter 3 provides the background information on Armenians, Armenia under the Ottoman Empire, the massacres of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, the coup that led the Young Turks to power and the genocide carried out against the Armenians. The chapter also provides a historical background on the Armenian community in Australia.

Chapter 4 provides a background report on the authors of the news reports, the Australian journalists of early 20<sup>th</sup> century, censorship in the context of WWI, and the reporters' loyalty to Britain. Working under difficult and often stressful circumstances the journalists deemed it necessary to include in the daily papers news reports of the extermination of Armenians. I will also discuss whether the Australian war correspondents had dispatched any first hand reports on the extermination of Armenians. This chapter provides also a section on war propaganda during WWI and will compare articles on the extermination of Armenians with other articles about cruelties attributed to Germans during the war.

Chapter 5 deals with the main theme of the thesis- the Armenian Genocide in the Australian press- taking as a guide four of the elements of UNCG. The chapter has four main sections each one corresponding to one of the definitions of UNCG. Each section analyses reports on the Armenian Genocide that corresponds to that definition. This chapter also has a section on rape as a war crime.

Chapter 6 briefly discusses the Australian response to the Armenian Genocide in the form of a friendship committee (Friends of Armenia) and a relief fund (Armenian Relief Fund). Activities of these organisations to raise funds and the main protagonists who were actively involved in the relief efforts are explained.

Chapter 7 includes the concluding arguments, answers to the research questions and remarks for further research on the topic.

## **1.5 Limitations**

It is a difficult task for one person to scan, in two years, every page of six newspapers on a microfilm that spans over a nine-year period and not to miss some articles. The print qualities of the newspapers of the turn of the century are not very good and the

microfilms of many newspapers are hardly legible. I have no doubt there are many reports that I have missed during my research, and some of them are original and historically valuable reports. For example, shortly before I finished the thesis while double-checking the *AGE* I found, by pure chance, the longest article on the Armenian Genocide by an Australian source. The *AGE* correspondent had written it from Cairo, but I did not use the article in my research because it was too late.

If similar research had been done overseas, primarily in England and USA, I would have included a section to find out:

- The percentage of news reports that appeared overseas and were reprinted in Australia.
- If there was a pattern between the content of news that were selected for publication in Australia and news that were discarded.
- If the reports were regularly edited before being published in Australia.
- If the original reports written by Australian correspondents also appeared in overseas papers.

Another problem encountered was the difficulty of locating news reports on the Armenian genocide with titles that did not indicate

the content of the articles. This is a problem researchers clearly would not encounter if researching articles on German atrocities.

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<sup>1</sup> (1) Marjorie Housepian Dobkin 1998, *Smyrna 1922, The Destruction of a City*, Newmark Press. (2) Horton G. 1926, *The Blight of Asia. An Account of the Systematic Extermination of Christian Populations by Mohammedans and of the Culpability of Certain Great Powers. With the True Story of the Burning of Smyrna*. Indianapolis.

<sup>2</sup> It is not possible to accurately state the exact number of victims of any genocide, but there are several methods to count the approximate number of victims. It includes the study of records kept by the perpetrator and population censuses done before and after the genocide. In the case of the Armenians, even if Ottoman Turkish authorities had kept accurate records, they are inaccessible to researchers because the Turkish government does not allow research in its archives on the events of WWI that relate to the Armenians, and most probably all incriminating documents have long been destroyed. Most genocide scholars, based on the approximate population census done by the Ottoman Turkish government before WWI and data from the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople before and after WWI, agree that around a million and a half Armenians fell victim to the extermination policies of the Young Turk government. As early as late 1915, Australian newspapers echoing overseas cables, reported the number of Armenians killed in millions:

“*The Armenian Massacres, Nearly 1,000,000 People Perish*”, *AGE*, 8 Oct. 1915.

“*Vile Turks, Treatment of Armenians, One Million Perish*”, *ARG*, 16 Dec. 1915.

“*Armenian Atrocities, Over a Million Victims*”, *MCY*, 17 Apr. 1916.

“*Armenians Two Millions Killed*”, *REG*, 23 June 1916.

It is a common theme in the Australian press to present the number of Armenian victims at over a million. In 1915, the *Church of England Messenger* in an article dedicated to the extermination of Armenians wrote: “From what we read in the cables, it would appear that nearly a million of helpless, unarmed, innocent men, women and children have been brutally done to death by every means that can be invented through the ingenuity of Satan’s dearest servants” (*Turkish Atrocities Among Armenians*. 22 October 1915). In 1922, an editorial of *MCY* discussing the situation in Turkey and the massacres of Mustapha Kemal wrote: “Lord Bryce’s Commission published appalling evidence that during the Great War more than a million Armenians were exterminated by their gory handed rulers” (*The Rule of the Near East*. 3 October 1922).

These reports were not intended to give the accurate number of the victims based on statistical data, which was impossible to obtain during the massacres, but merely show the enormity of the extermination. A report prepared during the Armistice and based on documents kept in the archives of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople, gave details of the Armenian population by regions, provinces, cities, villages. According to this report, the number of Armenians living in Ottoman Turkey before the war was 2,026,700, taking into account the survivors; the report puts the number of Armenian victims at around 1,000,000 (*Hushamadyan Mez Yegherni*, Beyrouth 1965). However this report, prepared shortly after the war (probably 1918), does not include the survivors who were still dying in their thousands in the deserts from epidemics and starvation, or further widespread massacres in Armenia, Cilicia and Smyrna carried out by the forces of Ataturk. The *Official History of Australia* (vol. VII, p.3) puts the number of Armenian victims over a million: “...the massacres of 1915 and 1916, when upwards of a million Armenian Christians suffered death with every form of outrage”.

<sup>3</sup> Internet sites with comprehensive bibliography on the Armenian Genocide:

[http://www.umd.umich.edu/dept/armenian/facts/gen\\_bib1.html](http://www.umd.umich.edu/dept/armenian/facts/gen_bib1.html)

[http://www.umd.umich.edu/dept/armenian/facts/gen\\_bib2.html](http://www.umd.umich.edu/dept/armenian/facts/gen_bib2.html)

[http://users.skynet.be/terrorism/html/turkey\\_armenians.htm](http://users.skynet.be/terrorism/html/turkey_armenians.htm)

<http://www.armenians.com/Genocide/bibliography.html>

<http://www.armenian-genocide.org/bibliographies/>

<http://www.armenian-genocide.org/suggested-reading.htm>

<http://www.teachgenocide.org/files/Suggested%20Bibliography%20for%20Teaching%20the%20Armenian%20Genocide.pdf>

[http://www.hyeetch.nareg.com.au/genocide/oppres\\_p4.html](http://www.hyeetch.nareg.com.au/genocide/oppres_p4.html)

[http://www.zoryaninstitute.org/Table\\_Of\\_Contents/genocide\\_bibliographies.htm](http://www.zoryaninstitute.org/Table_Of_Contents/genocide_bibliographies.htm)

[http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Educational\\_Resources/Curriculum/Teaching\\_Armenian\\_Genocide/teaching\\_armenian\\_genocide.html](http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Educational_Resources/Curriculum/Teaching_Armenian_Genocide/teaching_armenian_genocide.html)

<sup>4</sup> In 1996, responding to the invitation of the Armenian Genocide Commemorative Committee, the Foreign Minister Alexander Downer said it was “inappropriate” to participate in the annual April 24 commemoration in Sydney, citing “ethnic sensitivities”. While acknowledging the importance to “remember the lessons of the past”, Downer found it “more important to look to the future and the healing and uniting possibilities which are now available to us”. But on April 25 Downer would participate in Anzac commemorations with the slogan lest we forget.

In a reply to my letter, where I mentioned the Armenian Genocide, then Victorian state president of RSL, Bruce Ruxton, expressed regret that the “unsavourable incident” (Armenian Genocide) was “brought to Australia” and did not want to “get involved in things that had happened in a foreign country a long time ago” (See copy of the letter in Appendix). On April 25 Ruxton would decorate himself with his medals and “get involved” in a “thing” that had “happened in a foreign country a long time ago”.

<sup>5</sup> Armenians, non-Armenians individuals or organisations (US Congress, IMF, Bundestag, embassies, etc), interested in Armenian issues, since 1988 rely on Groong ([www.groong.org](http://www.groong.org)) news network to receive daily news on Armenians and Armenia. It is an email news list mailed every day free of charge to subscribers. It contains the latest news from news agencies, reports, articles that appeared in the papers around the world, about Armenia and Armenians. Any one can post articles on the network. If an article appears, for example in the Melbourne press on an Armenian issue, the article is posted on the network and subscribers to Groong can read the article. That is how Armenians get informed about articles that appear around the globe on the topic, for example, of the Armenian Genocide. Hundred or more are printed every year that directly addresses the issue of the Armenian Genocide or simply mention the Armenian Genocide (articles on war crimes tribunals, book reviews on the topic of genocide or the Cambodian, Jewish, Rwandan genocides that mention also Armenians etc.)

Since 2000, topics of articles of the Armenian Genocide that received widespread coverage in many countries and around the world, and hardly received any mention in the Australian media, included:

- The adoption by the French National Assembly of a resolution on the Armenian Genocide and its reaction in Turkey.

Endnotes continued on the next page



- The first Holocaust Memorial Day in Britain and the exclusion of the Armenian Genocide in January 2001.
- August 2000 Californian Senate Bill 1915 received unanimous approval of both houses. The Bill enabled victims and heirs of the Armenian Genocide to sue, in Californian courts, insurance companies who were refusing to pay life insurance claims dating back to WWI. The lawsuit was brought against New York Life insurance and AXA.
- The problems in the Dutch city of Assen, after an Armenian asked permission from the city council, to place a memorial to the victims of the Armenian Genocide. The reaction from the Turkish communities of Netherlands, other parts of Europe and even Turkey.
- International Armenian Genocide poster competition for April 2002.
- Denial of the Armenian Genocide by the Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres.
- Denial of the Armenian Genocide by the Israeli Ambassador in Armenia Rivka Cohen and the affirmation of the denial by the Israeli foreign ministry and the reaction from Armenian, Israeli and foreign media.
- The creation of the Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation Commission that almost split the Armenian communities around the world.
- The adoption of the south Caucasus report of the European Parliament that urged Turkey to recognize the Armenian Genocide, January 2002.
- The recognition of the Armenian Genocide by the Canadian Parliament in April 2004.

<sup>6</sup> Morris, Chris, *Facts, Figures and Phrases all in Dispute*, AGE, 26 Jan. 2001, p. World 12. The above article was an excerpt from the *Guardian* and the abrupt ending in the AGE accusing Armenians of self-genocide was totally misleading. My letter to the editor was not printed and months later I was informed that another person had written a letter to the editor that was not published either.

<sup>7</sup> Tisdall, Simon, *Turkish Fury over Genocide Claims*, AGE, 26 Jan. 2001, p. World 12.

<sup>8</sup> The bill was adopted January 18, 2000. The text of the bill states that "France publicly recognises the Armenian Genocide of 1915".

<sup>9</sup> According to Macquarie Dictionary "young turk" (lower case) means: "any person, especially an ambitious junior member of an organisation who agitates for reforms". *The Macquarie Dictionary, Federation Edition*, 2001, NSW.

<sup>10</sup> A sample of articles where "young turk" is used in a positive manner:

- Dennis Atkins, *The Outsider who Proved a Stayer over 30 Years*, *Courier Mail*, 18 May 2004, "Thirty years ago today one of the Liberal Party's most dedicated young turks...".
- *All you Need to Know. Victoria Cup. The Legends Race*, *Herald Sun*, 8 Feb 2003, "Bobby Birthisel may be the oldest licensed driver in the state, but the 78-year-old more than holds his own with the young turks".
- Ben English, *Young Turks Continue Dynasties*, *Daily Telegraph*, 26 May 2003, "Mr Brereton Sr has been a close associate of Mr Keating for more than 30 years, forging an alliance of young Labor Turks in the late 1960s...".
- *Saints Humble Prairiewood*, *Daily Telegraph*, 16 Sep 2003, "Last week's Waratah Shield knockout brought together St Edmunds College Canberra, the defending champions, and Prairiewood High School, the young Turks who defied all predictions by making the final...".
- Peter Frilingos, *Frilingos-Five for Argument's Sake*, *Daily Telegraph*, 15 Apr 2002, "Country has gone from a heart-felt attempt to give the game's Young Turks a lick of the representative lolly...".
- Darren Cartwright, *Lynch, Brown Suspended-Lions' Quest Hit Hard by Tribunal*, *Courier Mail*, 7 Aug. 2002, "Brisbane's forward line was decimated and its minor-premiership aspirations jolted after veteran Alastair Lynch and young turk Jonathan Brown were suspended last night".
- Michael Stevens, *Young Guns Five at Cycling Titles*, *Advertiser*, 20 Apr 2001, "Jobie Dajka and Ryan Bayley, the two young Turks of Australian sprinting...".
- Stephen Lunn, *Man Behaving Baddeley Leaves Australia Back in World Cup Pack*, *Australian*, "instead of carding an eight-under-par fourball score to put them equal sixth, Australia's young turks Baddeley and Adam Scott were penalised...".
- Peter Holder, Jo Casamento, *Sydney Confidential*, *Daily Telegraph*, 19 Apr 2000, "Waverley mayor Paul Pearce has expressed concern about the Young Turks making up part of the ALP".
- Ian Henderson, *PM Brings in Young Guns-The Howard Reshuffle*, *Australian* 20 DEC 2000, "John Howard promoted his young turks in yesterday's ministerial reshuffle...".
- Nick Richardson, *Can this Man Topple Kennett?* *Herald Sun*, 29 May 1999, "Wacka warned the young Turks their plans would come to no good".
- Damon Johnston, *Kennett's Young Turks Face Crush*, *Herald Sun*, 20 Jul 1999.
- John Barton, *Matter of Trust*, *Courier Mail*, 20 Sep 1999, "...when Bruce was a pioneering journo and anchorman on the original This Day Tonight, and I was a young turk in the ABC newsroom".

<sup>11</sup> *Australia's Testimony to Truth of Genocide*. *Australian Financial Review*, 2 March 2001, letters, p. 63.

<sup>12</sup> *The G-Word*, Mark Mazower on the *Armenian Massacres*. *Australian Financial Review*, 23 February 2001, Review, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Books that have as subject the newspaper articles of the Armenian Genocide:

- Kloian, D. Richard 1985, *The Armenian Genocide, News Accounts from the American Press: 1915-1922*, Anto Printing, Berkeley California.
- Armenian National Committee 1983, *The Armenian Genocide as Reported in the Australian press*, Sydney.
- ARF Youth Organization of Canada 1985, *Le Genocide Armenien dans la Presse Canadienne, The Armenian Genocide in the Canadian Press*, (French and English) vol. I-II, ANC Canada, Montreal.
- Peltekian, Minas Katia 2000, *Heralding of the Armenian Genocide: Reports in the Halifax Herald 1894-1922*. Halifax, Nova Scotia.

<sup>14</sup> See table 20

<sup>15</sup> 19 February 1920: AGE, *Massacre of Armenians, 8000 More Victims. Red Cross Appeals to Powers. ARG, Slaughtered Armenians. Ghastly Work of Turks. BC, Massacre of Armenians. MCY, Turkish Outrages, Eight Thousand Armenians Massacred. Protest From Geneva. REG, More Armenians Massacred. SMH, The Armenians, Destruction Threatened.*

<sup>16</sup> 3 March 1920: AGE, *Turks Slaughter Armenians, French Troops Driven Back. ARG, Turks Slay Armenians, French Relief Force Repulsed. MCY, Turkish Atrocities, Massacre of Armenians, Pitched Battle with the French. REG, The Terrible Turk, Five*

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*Thousand Armenians Massacred. SMH, The Ruthless Turk, Armenians Massacred. HER, Armenians Massacred, "Terrible Turk" at Marash, Nineteen Thousand Victims.*

<sup>17</sup> The timeframe of the thesis extends from the last years of the Ottoman Empire (1915) to the period after the Armistice marred by turmoil and the rise of Mustapha Kemal and the founding of the republic of Turkey (1923). The period was too short to make a clear concise distinction between "Ottoman Turks" and a "Turk" of a later period (example 1919-1923). Mustapha Kemal (Ataturk) was a member of the Young Turks, in Ottoman period, later he headed a rebel army in Anatolia and became the founder of the Turkish republic in 1923. He did not become a different "Turk" during those few years.

I have not called ordinary Turks as "Ottoman Turks" because the Australian newspapers of the period did not call them "Ottoman Turks" and did not make any distinction between a Turk who was a citizen of the Ottoman Empire and a Turk of a later period. If I had called a Turk "Ottoman Turk" because the person lived in the Ottoman Empire and was a citizen of the Ottoman Empire then I had to call also an Armenian who lived in the Ottoman Empire "Ottoman Armenian" or a Greek who lived in the Ottoman Empire an "Ottoman Greek".

In this thesis when I mentioned a Turk, I meant a person who belonged to the Turkish race and culture. Similarly when I mentioned an Armenian or Greek, I meant a person who belonged to the Armenian or Greek race and culture.

<sup>18</sup> Young Turk (capital letters) is used in the thesis as described in Macquarie Dictionary: "a member of a Turkish reformist and nationalist party founded in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which was the dominant party in Turkey from 1908-1918".

<sup>19</sup> *Hushamadian Mez Yegherni* (in Armenian), *Zartonk* (daily newspaper in Armenian), 1965 Lebanon.

<sup>20</sup> Reuters, September 26, 2001. *CIS: Pope remembers Armenian dead, avoids word genocide*. By Philip Püllella.

*AAP*, September 26, 2001. *EUR: John Paul laments Armenians' deaths under Ottoman rule*.

*AFP*, September 26, 2001. *Genocide debate overshadows pope's visit to Armenia*, by Christian Lowe.

*AFP*, September 26, 2001. *Pope courts controversy with visit to Armenia's "genocide" memorial*, by Christian Lowe.

*AFP*, September 27, 2001. *Pope John Paul II says Armenia massacres were "genocide"*.

*AFP*, September 26, 2001. *Armenian church thanks Pope for "recognising genocide by Turks"*.

# Chapter 2 Definition of Genocide

## 2.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 provided a background on the Armenian Genocide, the continuing campaign by successive Turkish governments to distort the events surrounding the genocide and often the misrepresentation of the same events in today's Australian media. Denial is the natural conclusion of the process of genocide when the perpetrator covers up and downgrades its crime to dispute the facts and figures, justifies its crime by accusing the victims for their fate and rewrites the history of the events by eradicating the memories of the victims.

What words or expressions did Australian journalists and editors during 1915-1923 use to best convey to their readers the meaning of the word "genocide"? Were there any signs of denial in the contemporary Australian press? What are the compelling factors for the Turkish government to deny the application of the word "genocide" to the massacre of Armenians from 1915 - 1923?

These are some of the questions and problems addressed in this chapter, starting with the all-important definition of genocide.

## 2.2 Definition

On 9 December 1948, the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide<sup>1</sup> that gives the international legal definition of genocide. The catalysts for the adoption of the Genocide Convention were the horrors of the Nazi genocide and the tireless efforts of the Jewish jurist from Poland, Raphael Lemkin.

Genocide is the ultimate expression of crime against humanity. Throughout human history a dominating power or ethnic group had tried to destroy a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, perpetrators used modern technology to destroy the targeted group, and genocides succeeded each other with frightening speed and devastating effect; for instance:

- Armenian, Assyrian and Greek 1915-1923
- Jewish 1939-1945
- Cambodian 1975-1979
- Rwandan 1994

A key reason for the large number of genocides, or “ethnic cleansing” as in Iraq and the Balkans, was the shocking indifference displayed by the international community, and the absence of a powerful deterrent for perpetrators, such as the

existence of a permanent war crimes tribunal. After the end of WWII, the International Military Tribunals in Nuremberg (20 November 1945 - 13 April 1949) and Tokyo (3 May 1946 - 12 November 1948) punished by hanging a small number of German (12) and Japanese (7) war criminals. Others were sentenced to prison terms. To counter the indifference of the international community Nazi hunters (Simon Wiesenthal)<sup>2</sup> and Israel took upon themselves to track down and bring to justice fugitive Nazi war criminals (Adolph Eichmann, John Demjanjuk and others).

Shortly after WWI, to counter international indifference, Armenians took upon themselves the punishment of Young Turk leaders responsible for the genocide. In 1918, Young Turk leaders had escaped from Constantinople to Germany by a German submarine. In 1919, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation<sup>3</sup> in its 9<sup>th</sup> general meeting in Yerevan<sup>4</sup> decided to bring to justice Turkish leaders who had organised and participated in the genocide. They had a list of 650 names of which 41 were classified as major perpetrators. Operation Nemesis<sup>5</sup>, as it was named, succeeded in tracking down a number of Young Turk leaders and Azerbaijani officials and eliminated them by special agents; they were:<sup>6</sup>

- 15 March 1921, Berlin; Talaat Pasha, ex Young Turk Interior Minister.

- 28 July 1921, Constantinople; Behboud Khan Jivanshir, Interior Minister of Azerbaijan.
- 5 December 1921, Rome; Said Halim, ex head of Young Turk cabinet.
- 17 April 1922, Berlin; Gemal Azmi, ex governor of Trebizond and Behaeddin Shakir, head of Special Organisation (Teshkilati Mahsusa) that carried out the extermination.
- 25 July 1922, Tiflis; Gemal Pasha, ex Young Turk Minister of Navy.

Raphael Lemkin (1900-1959) created the word “genocide” in 1943, and the term appeared for the first time in print in 1944.<sup>7</sup> “Genocide”, explained Lemkin, “is made from the ancient Greek word *genos* (race, tribe) and the Latin *cide* (killing)”.<sup>8</sup> Lemkin felt the need to invent a new word to describe the shocking crimes of Nazis during WWII. For Lemkin, genocide meant:

“The destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group. Genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation” but “a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves”.<sup>9</sup>

Shortly after WWII, the international community, through the newly established United Nations (1945) and relentless campaigning from Lemkin, adopted the Genocide Convention to avoid the recurrences of the horrors of the Second World War. On 11 December 1946, the UN General Assembly adopted the resolution 96 (1) recognizing genocide as “a crime under international law”. The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was approved by the General Assembly on 9 December 1948<sup>10</sup> and entered into force on 12 January 1951. It looked as though the international community was on the right track but without the will to prevent genocides, as was the case for Cambodia in 1970’s and Rwanda in 1994, or prosecute the perpetrators of genocide and other war crimes (until 1990’s) the Convention remained a well-intentioned symbolic gesture.

The UN Genocide Convention precludes the mass killings of political groups from the definition. At the time, the Soviet Union had opposed the draft, Stalin then had eliminated, during purges in 1930’s, millions of his political opponents and was not going to open the door to being charged for committing genocide.<sup>11</sup> After the ratification of the Convention, the UN did not create a body to clarify the definition of genocide. It did not even set up a mechanism to implement its decisions, which was to “prevent and punish” the perpetrators of genocide, until the

setting up of temporary war crimes tribunals in 1990's. For this purpose in 1998, UN delegates in Rome adopted a law for the creation of a permanent international criminal court, and on 12 April 2002, after receiving the required 60 ratifications, the court was established.<sup>12</sup>

Another aspect of genocide not included in the Genocide Convention is cultural genocide, which Lemkin referred to in his study.<sup>13</sup> For Armenians, cultural genocide continues until this day when the Turkish and Azerbaijani governments continue to destroy even the few remaining Armenian monuments on Turkish and Azerbaijani territories,<sup>14</sup> which have escaped the systematic destruction of 1915.

Despite its limitations, I chose as a guide for my thesis the definition of the UN Genocide Convention because it is the only legal definition. The war crimes tribunals are based on this definition. The UN has two temporary war crimes tribunals- one for Rwanda<sup>15</sup> and one for the former Yugoslavia.<sup>16</sup> The accused for the crime of genocide are charged according to the definition of the UN Genocide Convention. In addition, the newly created permanent International Criminal Court is based on the same principles.



### 2.3 Terms used by the Australian press

Back in 1915, Australian journalists did not have the word “genocide” which they could have used in their reports. However, the concept of genocide was easily detectable from the constant flow of reports coming from Ottoman Turkey on the fate of the Armenian population. Australian journalists then were left to their own devices, sometimes with help from overseas cables, to invent words and terms that would convey the same message to their readers as today’s journalists who appropriately apply the word “genocide”. I mentioned “appropriately” because very often the word “genocide” is used out of context in the media today.<sup>17</sup>

In the absence of the word genocide, Australian journalists used a number of terms to describe the genocide of the Armenians. The terms used were expressions, which best described the meaning of genocide.

By the end of 1915, it was becoming increasingly clear to the world that the massacre of Armenians was an attempt by the Turkish government of the time to exterminate Armenians altogether from Ottoman Turkey.

Newspaper reports used words such as: “*extermination*” (exterminating the Armenians), “*destruction*” (destroying a

nation), “*elimination*” (eliminating Armenians), “*wiping out*” (wiping out Armenians), which conveyed the meaning of genocide when used appropriately in a title or in an article dedicated to the systematic massacres of Armenians.

### **2.3.1 Extermination**

In the headlines and editorials, Australian journalists and editors most often used the word “extermination”, sometimes in conjunction with other words such as; “policy of extermination” or “race extermination” to describe the genocide of the Armenians. The Macquarie dictionary<sup>18</sup> defines “exterminate” as: “To get rid of by destroying; destroy totally; extirpate”.

The *AGE* was the first newspaper to use the word “extermination” in its headlines and the body of the text to describe the genocide of the Armenians.<sup>19</sup> The editorial of *REG* (23 Sep. 1915) raised its doubt that the Turkish Government could really protect the Armenians after tacitly approving a “policy of extermination”. Three days later *BC* with the headline *Armenian Massacres, Turks’ War of Extermination* (27 Sep. 1915) announced the killing of hundreds of thousands of Armenians. The next day the *AGE* in a lengthy article gave details of deportations and massacres with the title *Extermination of Armenians* (28 Sep. 1915). The same day the *MCY* in a long editorial headlined

*Exterminating Christians* detailed the extermination of Armenians (28 Sep. 1915). The last paragraph of news reports that appeared in the papers of 28 September 1915, read: “Evidently the government is determined to end the Armenian question once and for all by extermination”.<sup>20</sup>

Shortly after the war, *SMH* in its editorial used the word “extermination” to describe the genocide of the Armenians: “In the last few years two thirds of the Armenians have been killed by the Turks, butchered in cold blood, put to the sword by a policy of deliberate extermination” (*Turkey’s Victims*, 14 December 1918). In 1922, *SMH* in another editorial discussed the genocide of the Armenians, again using the word “extermination”: “During the war it seems as if the Turks had adopted a policy of deliberate extermination it is estimated on good authority, that not fewer than 2,000,000 Armenians have been done to death thus by the Turks” (*A Tragedy*, 12 August 1922). Both the editorials of *SMH* were written after the hostilities had ended with Turkey.

### **2.3.2 Destruction**

The two-line title of most of the newspapers in late September<sup>21</sup> included the words “destroying the Armenians” or “destroying a nation”. The Macquarie dictionary defines the word “destroy” thus: “To put an end to; extinguish; to kill, slay”.

Destroying a nation is unquestionably genocidal according to the UN definition of genocide, and it is a proper description of what happened to the Armenians in Turkey during WWI. The articles of that day echoed a “French official communication”, which confirmed that Turks taking advantage of the situation were completely destroying the Armenian nation.

The notion of destruction of a race was taken up by the *SMH* (25 September 1918). In an editorial, less than two months before the end of the war, the Armenian Genocide was discussed stating that the Young Turks’ objective was to “destroy a whole race”.

### **2.3.3 Wipe Out**

Sometimes newspapers used the words “wipe out” to describe the genocide of the Armenians. The Macquarie dictionary defines “wipe” thus: “To destroy or eradicate, as from existence or memory”.

The *MCY*, at the height of the deportations and massacres (8 Oct.1915), started its editorial on the massacre of Armenians with the paragraph: “There is no room for doubt that the Turks are making a determined effort to wipe the Armenian people off the face of the earth”. There cannot be any clearer description of

genocide than these words written only five months after the official starting date of the genocide by the editor of the *MCY*.

CEW Bean's dispatch from Gallipoli (*MCY* 21 Dec. 1915) opened thus: "The Turks are at present moment engaged in an endeavour to wipe out the Armenian nation". The opening paragraph from Bean did not leave any doubt about his convictions of the fate of the Armenians, and his words during the climax of the deportations and the massacres could not have better expressed the genocide of the Armenians. In addition, his closing sentence linking with his first paragraph re-emphasized the genocide of the Armenians. He wrote: "The Turks are trying to exterminate one of their subject races". Bean wrote this report on October 1915, barely six months after the official starting date of the genocide.

When discussing the extermination of the Armenians, the Australian press made extensive use of the word "systematic" which left the impression that the massacres were not acts of random violence, but the result of centrally organised and well planned acts of brutality against the Armenian population. The editorial of the *REG* titled *Murdering a People* (*REG* 12 Feb. 1916) clearly showed how Australian press were well aware that Turks were not carrying out their usual massacre of Armenians: "In all the dark pages of history there is no parallel to this cold blooded, systematic execution of a people".

One of the reasons I attempted this research was to find out if Australians really understood the gravity of the situation in Turkish Armenia, and if they believed that the Ottoman Turkish government was attempting to exterminate the Armenians. Based on the above mentioned accounts, it was conclusive that as early as mid-1915, people who were following the developments in Ottoman Turkey, had no doubt at all that the Turkish authorities were aiming at the total extermination of the Armenians.

## **2.4 Armenians and their struggle for recognition**

From the end of mass killings in 1923 until 1965 the survivors of the genocide, dispersed throughout the Middle East, Europe and Americas, concentrated their efforts on resettlement in their adopted countries, and replacing what they had lost, created new cultural, educational, political and religious institutions.

The newly formed Armenian communities commemorated the genocide mainly through requiem services. However, the Republic of Turkey, avoided the issue believing that it would fade away with time. Also an important factor that the extermination of the Armenians was not raised on the international political circles was the fact that since 1920 Armenia was under Soviet rule and did not have an independent foreign policy.

At the outbreak of WWII, the extermination of the Armenians had by then almost faded away from memory, hence the remark of Adolph Hitler “Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians”?<sup>22</sup>

Armenians around the world intensified their campaign for international recognition and demands for justice starting 24 April 1965, the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the start of the Armenian Genocide.

For many decades this was a difficult battle fought by the survivors and descendants of the Armenian Genocide against an influential government, who used its strategic geopolitical position and membership of international bodies to fight any attempt of recognition.

In the mid 1970's some young Armenians frustrated by the continued denial by the Turkish government and the indifference by the world community resorted to terrorism. The targets were mainly Turkish diplomats. The first organisation to launch terrorist attacks was ASALA (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia) followed by the JCAG (Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide).

In the 1980's Armenian terrorism reached Australia. In Sydney in 1980, the Turkish Consul General, Sarik Araiyaq, and his bodyguard were gunned down. Six years later, there was a failed attempt to blow up the Turkish Consulate in Melbourne. However, since the independence of Armenia in 1991, these terrorist acts have ceased completely and the fight has shifted to the political arena.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, and as a consequence the emergence of an independent Armenian republic, a new impetus was given to Armenian demands for recognition and justice. After Mr Robert Kocharian was elected to the presidency of the country in 1998, he made the recognition of the Armenian Genocide part of Armenia's foreign policy. Thus, Armenian views on the Armenian Genocide were raised on a state level in the UN, European Council, Organisation for the Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and other international bodies and institutions where only Turkish government's views were heard before.

The most important success achieved by Armenians in their campaign for recognition came on 18 January 2001 when the French National Assembly, ignoring warnings and threats from Turkey, adopted a bill recognizing the massacre of Armenians as genocide.<sup>23</sup> It was the end result of more than three decades of relentless campaigning by the French Armenian community. Just



before the vote, the Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit had warned France of a “serious crisis in relations” (*AFP*, 17 January 2001). Turkish president Sezer, Prime Minister Ecevit, Foreign Minister Ismail Cem and Defence Minister Sabahattin Cakmakoglu had all written, unsuccessfully, to their French counterparts to block the resolution in the French National Assembly.

In 1987, the European Parliament (EP) had adopted a resolution calling on Turkey to recognise the Armenian Genocide. In January 2002, the EP adopted a resolution on EU policy in the Caucasus in which it reaffirmed that: “Turkey cannot join the EU unless it ends its campaigns of denial of the Armenian Genocide and makes its peace with history”.<sup>24</sup>

So far thirty-four US states have passed resolutions recognising the Armenian Genocide. The parliaments of a number of countries have passed resolutions recognising the mass killings of Armenians in the Ottoman Turkey as genocide.<sup>25</sup>

In Australia, through the efforts of the Armenian community in Sydney, the New South Wales Parliament on 17 April 1997 unanimously passed a motion commemorating and condemning the 1915 Genocide of the Armenians by the Ottoman Turkish government. Two years later on 5 March 1999, Premier Bob Carr

unveiled a permanent memorial to the victims of the Armenian Genocide within the grounds of the New South Wales Parliament.

## **2.5 Denial**

Denial of the crime of genocide is a growing concern for scholars and victims of genocides. Revisionist historic sites are abundant on the World Wide Web. David Irving and Frederick Tobin are some of the well-known revisionist historians. The deniers of the Jewish Genocide are individuals, right wing, neo-nazi groups or organisations, and anti-Semites. However, in the case of the Armenian Genocide, it is the Turkish government, a member of NATO, which uses every resource available to it to deny the genocide of the Armenians.

Since WWII, the European political scene has undergone dramatic changes. Turkey is a member of NATO and has used extensively its alliances with Western and also Muslim countries for its own national interests, which includes the denial of the Armenian Genocide. Armenia, on the other hand, from 1922–1991 was the smallest republic of the former Soviet Union, a voiceless state ruled by Moscow.

Most Western countries, which fought against Ottoman Turkey during the Great War, are now Turkey's allies in NATO. They

avoid alienating their ally by recognising the Armenian Genocide. The British government, for example, condemned vehemently the extermination of Armenians during WWI, and demanded the trial of Turkish war criminals soon after the war ended. Winston Churchill used the word “holocaust” to characterise the genocide of the Armenians. Today, as a NATO member, British government’s attitude has also undergone dramatic changes regarding the Armenian Genocide. This was highlighted in January 2001 when the British government decided to mark its first Holocaust Memorial Day on January 27 to remember the victims of the Jewish, Rwandan and other modern genocides. However, the Foreign Office instructed the Home Office, which had the responsibility to plan the events, not to mention the Armenian Genocide.<sup>26</sup>

In January 2001, I sent a letter to the British High Commissioner in Canberra, Sir Alastair Goodlad, to remind him that the British government of the day had vigorously condemned the extermination of Armenians, while the current Blair government was commemorating every genocide of the twentieth century except the first one, effectively denying the Armenian Genocide. I received a vague and unconvincing reply from the British High Commission that avoided the issue I was raising, and concentrated on the main aims of the Holocaust Memorial Day.<sup>27</sup>

The denial of episodes of one's history is not unique to the Turks. Japanese refusal to acknowledge past atrocities prior or during WWII is an example of national denial of crimes against humanity. In Nanking in 1937, the Japanese army slaughtered thousands of civilians. Rape and beheading contests was a common pastime. It was only recently, that the Japanese government felt the necessity to acknowledge past war crimes and atrocities committed by the Japanese Imperial Army, but did not feel any necessity to apologize. Only recently, in September 2002, on an official two-day visit to North Korea, Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro, apologized for past Japanese atrocities.<sup>28</sup> A month later visiting China he laid a wreath at the memorial hall of the war of resistance where the Japanese army had launched eight years of war in 1937. His carefully worded apologies were similar to statements made by his predecessors. However, he was the first Prime Minister to lay a wreath at the memorial.

### **2.5.1 Turkish denial**

Cover-ups of the crime of genocide still continue in Turkey on an official level. Since WWI simultaneous to its campaign of extermination, the Turkish government had launched a denial campaign, which continues uninterrupted until this day. Turkish position of denial was strengthened as far back as 1923 with the treaty of Lausanne, which convinced Turkish authorities that the

international community had effectively washed their hands, and would not seek justice for the genocide of Christian minorities in Ottoman Turkey.

To effectively deny the Armenian Genocide the Turkish government uses different methods:<sup>29</sup>

- Re-writes the history of the events of 1915.
- To justify the genocide, continues to vilify the Armenians.
- Uses threats to discourage foreign governments and parliaments to acknowledge the Armenian Genocide.
- Discourages open debate in Turkey about the Armenian Genocide. Anyone not supporting the government's position and views risks prosecution and imprisonment.
- Hires PR firms to polish their country's image and uses them for denial and misinformation campaign about the Armenian Genocide.
- Continues to infiltrate US universities in the guise of establishing Turkish studies chairs, with the aim of influencing US academic circles and impose Turkish government's version of history.
- Uses pressure against world known encyclopaedias not to mention the Armenian Genocide and also to include its version of denial, as was highlighted in the latest Turkish attempt to censor Encarta in 2000.

- In 2001, it established the Armenian Research Institute and started publishing the *Armenian Studies* quarterly journal to give credentials to Turkish denial. The same year the Turkish Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of state Mr Devlet Bahçeli established a council to strengthen Turkish version of events and to challenge Armenian campaigns for the recognition of their genocide.

The Turkish government is vigorously involved in genocide denial on two separate fronts, internal and external. The internal denial involves:

- Forced education of a Turkish history invented by the Turkish government.
- Prevention of healthy discussions on the Armenian Genocide in Turkey.
- Prevention of publication of material on the Armenian Genocide, which contradicts official government views.

The external denial is more dangerous and has wider repercussions. The Turkish justification of the Armenian Genocide, its falsification of historical events, which includes vilification of Armenians, is presented as the only truth to a worldwide audience. Denial is spread through various means- Internet, TV, radio and press, universities, libraries, Turkish

communities in various countries, the hiring of PR firms, diplomatic pressure directed from Ankara or through diplomatic representations overseas.

To deny its genocide against the Armenians the Turkish government since 1915 has established its own industry of denial, producing pamphlets, articles, documentaries and CD's. Many of these materials are available on the World Wide Web from official Turkish government websites and Turkish organisations.<sup>30</sup> After reading the material the reader gets the impression that Armenians were born thugs, assassins, killers, and rebels and constantly guilty of plotting against the tolerant, just, peace loving Ottoman Turkey and finally self destructed and committed self-genocide during WWI.

The Turkish Foreign Ministry and Culture Ministry websites contain thousands of pages that might look impressive to the person unfamiliar with the history of Armenians and the Ottoman Turkey but lack credibility and are pure inventions. They contain deliberate misinformation about Armenian and Ottoman Turkish history.

These sites reveal the same hatred by the modern Turkish government towards the Armenians as the Ottoman Turkish government displayed towards the Armenian population before,

during and shortly after WWI. The Turkish government also publishes many books in many languages in its universal efforts to deny the Armenian Genocide. These books are distributed around the world to universities and libraries, including Australian universities and libraries, in an attempt to influence future academics.

For decades the Turkish government has advocated academic research to shed light on what happened to the Armenians during WWI, with the routine “let the historians decide” slogan. Yet, the same government since 1915 has forbidden free academic research on its own territory and obstructed research outside its borders. It has ignored all historical research that affirms the truth of the Armenian Genocide and has presented itself as the only insurmountable obstacle towards the recognition of an undeniable historical truth.

An example of Turkish pressure on academics is a letter (2 October 1990) written by the Turkish Ambassador in Washington, Nuzhet Kandemir, to Robert J. Lifton, professor of Psychiatry and Psychology, complaining that his book (*The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide*) mentioned in seven places the Armenian Genocide. This letter made the headlines because the Turkish Embassy mistakenly sent the letter with two other documents- a memorandum to the Ambassador



written by Heath Lowry<sup>31</sup> and a draft letter to Lifton to be signed by the Ambassador. This incident highlighted the Turkish government's use of historians (Heath Lowry) to serve its interests, to discredit and intimidate genuine genocide scholars.<sup>32</sup>

Since 1980's, the Turkish government has made determined efforts to infiltrate US universities, to give its denial of the Armenian Genocide academic credentials, and influence future scholars. The controversy surrounding Heath Lowry is a vivid example of this strategy. In 1993, Lowry was appointed to the Ataturk chair of Turkish Studies at Princeton University.

The Chair was funded with a \$750,000 grant from the Turkish government. According to Princeton, Lowry was selected taking into account his scholarship and denied being manipulated by the Turkish government. After a few years of controversy about his appointment, Lowry stepped down from his position in June 1997.

Encyclopaedias too have not escaped the Turkish government's denial drive. In 2000 Turkish attempts to influence Encarta Encyclopaedia gained widespread coverage. On 15 August 2000, the chronicle of Higher Education reported that the editors of Encarta, under pressure from Ankara and the Turkish Embassy, had asked Helen Fein<sup>33</sup> and Ronald Sunny to revise their entries on the Armenian Genocide. After the two scholars refused to bow

to the pressure, and Encarta's attempts to censure the Armenian genocide made the headlines and was featured on radio and CNN, Encarta editors revised their decision. The new 2002 version does not reflect the revision the Turkish government had attempted to force on Encarta.

However, denial has also a side effect for the Turkish government. It keeps the issue of the Armenian Genocide alive as a current, historical, political and academic issue. This thesis is the product of the Turkish government's denial. I would not have attempted to do any research on this topic if Turkey had not kept reminding me constantly of the genocide of my ancestors by constantly denying any guilt.

After the French National Assembly adopted the resolution on the Armenian Genocide in January 2001, the reactions by the Turkish government and the cancellation of contracts received widespread coverage inside and outside Turkish borders. Similarly, each time a parliament adopts a resolution on the Armenian Genocide, the reaction from Turkey assures that the Armenian Genocide received the outmost coverage without any publicity efforts by Armenians.

## 2.5.2 Reactions by the Israeli government

In this chapter dedicated to government's denial of the Armenian Genocide, I could not pass without mentioning the reactions of the Israeli government. Spurred by political reasons, the Israeli government has interfered and blocked various resolutions on the Armenian Genocide before the US Congress<sup>34</sup> and continues to make bold statements denying the event. At the heart of the Israeli government's ambivalent reading of the Armenian Genocide lies the close military and strategic alliance Israel enjoys with Turkey.

At first it seems unjustified to include the state of Israel, alongside Turkey, in the list of deniers because Israel was only established as a state in 1948. Secondly, sections of the Jewish population and academics have stood by the Armenians. The Israeli government's denial differs from the Turkish government's denial in several ways:

- It does not teach the denial of the Armenian Genocide in schools and universities.
- It does not spend millions of dollars every year to publish distorted historical material to deny the Armenian Genocide or actively campaigns against the Armenians.

- It does not force Jewish scholars to deny the Armenian Genocide.

Nevertheless, I cited the Israeli government primarily because it is morally unjustifiable for a nation which was a victim of mass extermination during the Second World War to treat the genocide of another nation in anyway less severe than the Holocaust.

In 2001, on the eve of his visit to Turkey, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, in an interview with the Anatolian news agency, rejected any attempts to “create a similarity between the Holocaust and the Armenian allegations” affirming that “it is a tragedy what the Armenians went through but not a genocide” (*TDN, Peres: Armenian Allegations are Meaningless*. 10 April 2001, Internet edition). Israel Charny, editor of *Encyclopaedia of Genocide and executive director of the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide in Jerusalem*, accused Peres of going “beyond a moral boundary that no Jew should allow himself to trespass”. When I enquired about the correctness of Peres’ statement from the Israeli Embassy in Canberra the reply was affirmative.<sup>35</sup> Peres’ denial, on the eve of April 24, deeply offended Armenians and his remarks received widespread coverage and condemnation.

In February 2002, almost simultaneously with the European Parliament’s urging Turkey to recognise the Armenian Genocide,

the Israeli ambassador to Armenia, Rivka Cohen, talking to reporters stated that it was unacceptable to compare the Armenian “tragedy” with the Jewish Holocaust. Armenian foreign ministry protested to the Israeli government. The response from the Israeli foreign ministry restated the ambassador’s statement: “Israel recognises the tragedy of the Armenians and the massacre of the Armenian people, but at the same time believes that this should not be described as genocide, which in turn does not diminish the scale of the tragedy”.

In a protest letter to the Israeli Foreign Ministry, Prof Israel Charny<sup>36</sup> wrote that the Israeli denial of the Armenian Genocide “is the equivalent of denials of the Holocaust of our people”.<sup>37</sup> The Israeli ambassador’s denial was the first on Armenian territory and there was strong pressure on the Armenian government to declare her persona non grata.

Meanwhile some political groups started a move in the Armenian Parliament to adopt a law, similar to a law passed in Israel, making it illegal to deny the Armenian Genocide on Armenian territory.

The most recent official denial came in May 2003 when, the Israeli government intervened and destroyed brochures printed for Israel's 55th Independence Day Ceremony. An Armenian-

Israeli citizen, Naomi Nalbandian, selected as a torchbearer had stated that she is a third generation survivor of the Armenian holocaust. New brochures were printed without any reference to the Armenian Genocide.

Thomas O'Dwier in referring to the Naomi's incident wrote: "If the victims of genocides cannot depend on the support of the descendants of the Holocaust - where on earth will anyone ever find truth and justice? (*Haarez*, May 9, 2003, *Nothing Personal Among the Deniers*).

The strategic alliance between Israel and Turkey is used by Turkey to pressure the Israeli government against any recognition of the Armenian Genocide. It also includes the use of Jewish-American lobbies to fight against recognition of the Armenian Genocide by US authorities and the Congress. The *Jerusalem Post* (*Armenian Genocide*, 4 May 2000) informed how the Israeli Embassy in Washington together with the American Jewish community had prevented Washington from officially recognizing the Armenian Genocide as was done to the Jewish Genocide.

In 1982, the Israeli government gave in to Turkish pressure and cancelled an international conference on genocide in Jerusalem because the Armenian Genocide was featured in the conference. The conference went ahead in another venue with much reduced

participation, through the efforts of Prof. Israel Charny. In 1980's, Turkey had warned Israel it would block the escape road of Iranian Jews through its territory if Israel recognised the Armenian Genocide.<sup>38</sup> In 1997, Turkey refused to accept the appointment of the new Israeli Ambassador, Middle East expert Ehud Toledano, because decades earlier, in 1984, he had made references to the Armenian Genocide.

Despite the Israeli government's denial of the Armenian Genocide, many passionate defenders of the Armenian Genocide have been Jewish scholars and Jews. In 1915, the first person that made public the plight of the Armenians was the US Ambassador of the time Henri Morgenthau, who was of Jewish heritage. In 1933, Franz Werfel<sup>39</sup> (1890-1945) published his novel *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, based on the successful attempt by the Armenian population along the coast of the Mediterranean to resist the deportations until the French Navy saved them.

Not all members of Israeli government are deniers of the Armenian Genocide. In 1995 then Israeli Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin had used the words "Armenian Genocide" in the Knesset. On 24 April 2000, Israeli Minister of Education Yossi Sarid, while attending the Armenian Genocide commemoration in Jerusalem, promised to teach about Armenian Genocide in Israeli schools. Turkish government's response was swift. The Turkish

Foreign Ministry summoned Israel's Charge d'affaires in Ankara, Moshe Kamhi, and expressed their reaction to Sarid's statements. A few weeks later on May 10, at the Independence Day reception at the Israeli Embassy in Ankara, Turkish officials stayed away from the reception in protest. Deputy Prime Minister Husamettin Ozkan had signed a decree recommending that government ministers do not attend the function.

In June 2000, 126 Jewish Genocide scholars and survivors, in a half page advertisement in the *New York Times*, urged Western democracies to recognize the Armenian Genocide.<sup>40</sup>

These facts illustrate that despite the best efforts of many Jewish genocide scholars, the Israeli government has actively been involved in genocide denial. In some way, Israel has to come to terms with the recognition of the Armenian Genocide and separate its political and military strategic interests with Turkey from the moral and ethical issue of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide.

### **2.5.3 Denial in Australia**

In Australia as elsewhere, the Turkish Embassy is the driving force behind efforts to deny the Armenian Genocide with eager participation of the Turkish community. In a letter to *The*



*Australian* the Turkish ambassador in Canberra, Orhan Aka, complaining about the content of an article that had appeared in the paper, qualified the Armenian Genocide as “a piece of Armenian propaganda”.<sup>41</sup>

Prof Colin Tatz, while heading the Comparative Genocide Studies Centre in Macquarie University, was the subject of Turkish diplomatic pressure. In an interview with SBS Melbourne Radio in 1996, Prof. Tatz said:

"When I first started teaching a course called The Politics of Genocide in 1986, the Turkish government arrived on my doorstep through the form of the Ambassador who wanted an urgent appointment. He made all sorts of threatening noises like, is there any reason why he should not tell the world that Macquarie University was a propaganda institution? He took serious objection to a newspaper report that I was going to teach about the Holocaust and the Armenian Genocide.

“I persuaded him, since he felt so strongly about the matter, he should send us a Turkish scholar who spoke English and who had been given access to the Ottoman Empire archives, which the government claimed had been opened, to come into my class in front of my students and present the Turkish point of view. They sent somebody who was not really a serious scholar of this period, the guy made really an idiot of himself and finally admitted that as far as he knew may be 600,000 Armenians died at the hands of the Turks but he said this was in a civil war”.<sup>42</sup>

Turkish organisations also participated in the denial of the Armenian Genocide. In a letter to the *Financial Review*, the president of the Union of Australian Friends of Turkey, Harry Blackley, complained about an article in the paper, thus: "In no way can it be considered genocide to attempt to quell a rebellion led by militant opponents of a sovereign state".<sup>43</sup>

In 2000, SBS Radio celebrated its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary. As part of the celebrations, a commemorative booklet was printed the following year with information on each language group. A brief history of the community and information about the particular language program was also included. Similar information was also placed on SBS Radio's website.

The Turkish community took offence to the text of the Armenian language program which I wrote, and started a frantic and orchestrated campaign to destroy the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary booklet, and change the wording of the Armenian entry on SBS Radio's website. The offending entry is reproduced in brackets in section 3.2.1 (Armenians in Australia).

For months the SBS switchboard received calls from the Turkish community, letters were sent to the SBS Board and management. Articles were written in a Turkish language newspaper in Sydney

accusing SBS of backing “Armenian allegations” and accusing SBS of “irresponsibility” (*Yorum*, 12 March 2001).

The articles also claimed that the accusations against Turks were “politically motivated” and they were against SBS’s Code of Practice. Although nowhere in SBS’s Code of Practice is censorship or historical revisionism condoned.

The articles in the Turkish paper claimed that the Armenian entry was baseless, fabricated and hurtful to the Turkish community and society. Both articles mentioned that the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary booklet has not been distributed yet, which means that the news was leaked from inside SBS. I also heard that my Turkish colleagues at SBS had accused me of spreading Armenian propaganda. Since that incident, they have avoided me like plague. I guess I am a constant reminder to them of a dark page of their history that they want to cover-up and forget at all cost.<sup>44</sup>

The above examples indicate the active campaign by the Turkish Embassy and community in using the media for their agenda of denial in Australia. Any article written in a newspaper on the Armenian Genocide draws immediate reactions from the Turkish Embassy and Turkish organisations or individuals. Thus journalists have opted for the safe practice of including Turkish version of events or using the word “alleged”. As long as the seed

of doubt is included in the article, Turks are pleased and will not complain. This was not always the case especially in the late 19<sup>th</sup> early 20<sup>th</sup> century Australian press. The massacres and the genocide of Armenians were reported without ambiguous terms to minimise or justify the crimes committed by Turkish authorities.

#### **2.5.4 Denial reports during WWI**

There are two types of denial articles in the Australian press of WWI. The first one concerns articles on the massacres, which were directly denied by Turkish or German government officials and reprinted without much conviction by the Australian journalists. The second ones were those denials from stories that originated from Turkey; Australian journalists reprinted them unconsciously using the same terminology the Turkish government was using to justify its extermination of Armenians. In these reports, Armenians were mainly portrayed as rebels and some self defence incidents as rebellions.

The first case of direct denial appeared on 29 September 1915. The German ambassador in Washington, Count von Bernstorff, had declared that: “All the reports of Armenian atrocities are pure inventions”.

**Table 1** Titles of articles that appeared in the newspapers on 29 September 1915

Title of Articles	Newspaper
<i>Armenian Atrocities. German Diplomat's Denial</i>	<i>Age</i>
<i>Armenian Massacres. Denied by Bernstorff.</i>	<i>Argus</i>
<i>The Armenian Horrors. Count Bernstorff's Denial</i>	<i>Brisbane Courier</i>
<i>Whitewashing the Turks</i>	<i>Register</i>
<i>Armenian Atrocities</i>	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>

*SMH* and *BC* reported Count Bernstorff's denial in a short paragraph. The *Register* on the other hand did not hide its disgust of Count Bernstorff's statement. It had the shortest paragraph, only four lines with a title that revealed exactly what they thought about the denial of Turkish massacres. It appeared that Count Bernstorff's denial had really touched some nerves at the *Register's* editorial desk since at the end of the editorial of the same day, the subject of Count Bernstorff's denial was discussed. The editorial said: "The irrepressible Ambassador now gives a point-blank denial to the reports of Armenian atrocities! No brazen lies, however, can refute the circumstantial accounts of horrors unsurpassed even by the apostles of 'kultur' in Belgium"<sup>45</sup> The *Register's* reaction and editorial was evidence of Australian press' hostile reaction to reports of denial.

In addition, from the titles of those articles it was obvious that the papers were reporting the news without any conviction of the veracity of the German Ambassador's declaration. Germany, the archenemy of the Allies accused of committing war crimes, was not in a moral position to deny its ally's crimes. Denying the undeniable was unbelievable.

Count Bernstorff's denial first appeared in the *New York Times* on two consecutive days 28 and 29 September 1915. From *New York Times* it was clear the German Ambassador had made his statement in a letter replying to Miran Sevasly of Boston. According to the *New York Times*, Sevasly was the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Defense Union of America. Probably he was an Armenian since Mihran is a name used by Armenians and Sevasly indicated that probably he originated from the city of Sivas.

The indirect denial mainly appeared when Armenians were called rebels or when cases of self-defence were described as rebellions. Turkish authorities until today justify the genocide by accusing Armenians of being rebels. These articles did not have an Australian content and were reprints of overseas cables. Obvious examples were the reports that appeared in the Australian papers on 21 June 1915. Six days earlier, 15 June 1915, Turkish authorities had hanged 20 Armenians in Constantinople, in front of the Ministry of War.

**Table 2** Titles of articles that appeared in the newspapers on 21 June 1915

Title of Article	Newspaper
<i>Armenian Plotters Executed</i>	<i>Age</i>
<i>Armenian Independence, Alleged Intriguers Shot by Turks</i>	<i>Argus</i>
<i>Independent Armenia, 20 Armenians Executed</i>	<i>Brisbane Courier</i>
<i>Trouble in Constantinople, Alleged American (sic) intrigue</i>	<i>Mercury</i>
<i>Armenians Executed</i>	<i>Register Adelaide</i>
<i>Constantinople, Armenians Executed</i>	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>

Australian newspapers reported the story of the hangings citing as their source *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Germany as an ally of Turkey, would not have given a factual account of the events, however this was not unusual since the Australian press often reported the official communiqués of their enemies on the conduct of war, which contradicted official British reports. The execution was part of the “Turkish method” to exterminate the Armenians, and happened in the initial phase of the genocide when the Turkish government made a concerted effort to prevent any danger of resistance by eliminating the Armenian leadership first.

Another attention grabbing denial appeared in the papers on 23 October 1915. Regardless of their headlines, the newspapers first reported the statement of the Turkish Embassy in Washington, accusing the Russians of committing atrocities against the Turks, they also accused Armenians of “torturing Turks whenever possible”.

“Armenians” according to the Turkish Embassy “pierce the cheeks of Turkish babies so that they will starve to death”. While the genocide against the Armenians was in full motion, the Turkish Embassy was not even able to come up with a credible excuse for the extermination of Armenians.

**Table 3** Titles of articles that appeared in the newspapers on 23 October 1915

Title of Article	Newspaper
<i>Massacre of Armenians, Counter Allegations by Turks</i>	<i>AGE</i>
<i>Million Armenians Exiled, Turks Make Counter Charges</i>	<i>ARG</i>
<i>Over 1,000,000 Armenians Exiled, Three-Quarters killed or enslaved by Turks</i>	<i>BC</i>
<i>Armenian Atrocities, Over 1,000,000 Exiled, Three-fourths Massacred</i>	<i>MCY</i>
<i>Turkish Accusations</i>	<i>REG</i>
<i>Armenians. Over a Million Exiled</i>	<i>SMH</i>

All of the newspapers reported at the end of their story that: “Unofficial reports reaching Washington indicate that over 1,000,000 Armenians have been exiled, of which three-quarters were killed or enslaved by the Turks”. The titles of most of the articles, also the end of the paragraph reminded readers of the enormity of the crimes against the Armenians, which indicated that Australian journalists did not believe the denial from the Turkish Embassy. The title of the *MCY* was quite eloquent and did not leave any doubt of who was committing the atrocities.

If there were many official statements of denial from Turkish or German governmental sources, only the above-mentioned three appeared in the Australian press. One obvious reason for this reluctance might have been that editors and journalists did not believe the stories of denial from Turkish and German sources. In the flood of reports of Turkish atrocities, the few denials probably had the opposite effect and somehow strengthened the veracity of the news reports on the extermination of Armenians. During or after WWI the extermination of Armenians was so evident that the denial campaign was fruitless. In fact, there is no



evidence that Australian press or the public accepted Turkish government's denial or its version of events regarding the Armenian Genocide. Regardless of the denial campaign, articles continued to appear in the papers regarding the extermination of Armenians and the plight of refugees.

As expected, there were no reports of denial coming from Australia, no articles or letters to the editor denying the veracity of the printed reports, no "alleged" tag attached to the reports as it often happens today. With Australia at war with Turkey, there was no Turkish representation in Australia and the small number of Turks living in Australia was considered as enemy subjects and would not have dared to justify the actions of the Young Turk government. Another strong reason was the impossibility of denial of a crime on such a massive scale while it was happening. As stated before, denial of the Armenian Genocide in Australia is a new trend and is related to the strengthening of the Turkish community since 1960's.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

For Armenians, the events of WWI are a clear case of genocide, and correspond to the definition of UN Genocide Convention. Strikingly the words used to describe the genocide of Armenians in the Australian press of 1915-1923 are as meaningful as the word genocide itself. They conveyed perfectly to the reader the

meaning of the word genocide with powerful expressions such as “extermination of the Armenian race”, “wiping out Armenians from the face of the earth”, and other similar terms. Perhaps in the future another term will be in use to describe genocide, but the principle will remain the same, which is the planned extermination of the targeted group.

Almost a century from the events, Armenians continue to remember the events of WWI as genocide, and demand for recognition and justice. The Turkish government continues to deny any wrongdoing and justifies the actions taken by the Young Turk government of the time. It is this explicit and deliberate denial of the Turkish government that stands at the core of the Armenian Turkish enmity since 1915. As long as the denial continues the process of genocide will continue, pitting descendants of the perpetrators and victims against each other.

To effectively deny the Armenian Genocide, the Turkish government not only denies the events of WWI, but also actively revises the history of the Armenian people starting from its origins thousands of years ago.

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<sup>1</sup> [www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/p\\_genoci.htm](http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/p_genoci.htm)

<sup>2</sup> [www.wiesenthal.com](http://www.wiesenthal.com)

<sup>3</sup> Leading Armenian political party.

<sup>4</sup> Capital of Armenia.

<sup>5</sup> According to *Macquarie Dictionary* (Federation Edition, 2001, NSW), “Nemesis” is an agent of retribution or punishment. In Classical Greek Mythology, Nemesis was the goddess of retribution or vengeance.

<sup>6</sup> Future war criminals and people accused of genocide will now receive prison sentences and fines from the newly established International Criminal Court ([www.un.org/law/icc/statute/rome.htm](http://www.un.org/law/icc/statute/rome.htm)).

Endnotes continued on the next page

<sup>7</sup> Lemkin, Raphael 1944, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation-Analysis of government-Proposals for Redress*, Washington, p.79.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid

<sup>9</sup> Ibid

<sup>10</sup> [www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/treaty1gen.htm](http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/treaty1gen.htm) (to see the updated list of countries that ratified the UNCG).

<sup>11</sup> *The Genocide Convention at Fifty* by William Schabas, <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr990107.html>

- Amnesty International, *The International Criminal Court, Fact sheet 3, Prosecuting the crime of genocide.* [http://www.amnestyusa.org/icc/factsheet\\_3.pdf](http://www.amnestyusa.org/icc/factsheet_3.pdf)
- *Analysis: Defining genocide.* BBC News, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/1701562.stm>

O'Brien Richard, "Ideological Cleansing": Less Noticed than Ethnic Cleansing, But Just as Dangerous", [http://www.genocideprevention.org/v1i1\\_4a.html](http://www.genocideprevention.org/v1i1_4a.html).

<sup>12</sup> The United States government opposes the International Criminal Court ([www.un.org/law/icc/index.html](http://www.un.org/law/icc/index.html)) and has threatened to withdraw from UN peacekeeping operations unless the UN guarantees the immunity of US military personnel and officials from prosecution.

<sup>13</sup> Lemkin, *Axis Rule of Europe*, p.84.

<sup>14</sup> For information about the latest destruction of Armenian monuments in Nakhichevan see:

<http://www.armeniadiaspora.com/gallery/jughha>.

<sup>15</sup> The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) established in late 1994, [www.ictj.org](http://www.ictj.org).

<sup>16</sup> The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) established in 1993, [www.un.org/icty/index.html](http://www.un.org/icty/index.html).

<sup>17</sup> During an interview with Prof. Colin Tatz for my radio program, describing the misuse of the word, he brought as an example an article of the *AGE* where the duck season was described as duck genocide.

<sup>18</sup> *The Macquarie Dictionary* (Federation Edition) 2001, NSW.

<sup>19</sup> *AGE*, 4 July 1915. *ARG*, *MCY*, *BC* and *REG* reprinted the same article 20 days later.

An article with the same story but with more details and with the name of the eyewitness who reported the story appeared in *SMH* two months later the 18 September 1915.

<sup>20</sup> 28 Sep.1915: *AGE*, *The Unspeakable Turk, Extermination of Armenians.* *ARG*, *Atrocities in Armenia, Wholesale Massacres.* *BC*, *The Unspeakable Turk, Exterminating the Armenians.* *REG*, *Barbaric Turks, Wiping Out Armenians.* *SMH*, *The Armenians, Dreadful Massacres by Turks.*

<sup>21</sup> 24 Sep. 1915: *AGE*, *Destroying the Armenians, Turks Confiscate Property.* *BC*, *Destroying a Nation. Turks Eliminating Armenians.* *MCY*, *The Massacre of Armenians, Destroying the Nation.* *SMH*, *Armenian Massacres, Destroying a Nation.*

<sup>22</sup> For Hitler's statement see articles: <http://www.armenian-genocide.org/statements/hitler.htm>

<http://www.teachgenocide.org/files/Resource%20Guide/Resource%20Guide%20Oct%202000%20update.pdf>

<http://www.teachgenocide.org/bkgrnd/hitler.htm>

[http://www.zoryaninstitute.org/Books/book\\_hitler\\_and\\_armenian.htm](http://www.zoryaninstitute.org/Books/book_hitler_and_armenian.htm)

<sup>23</sup> The one line French bill simply states: "France publicly recognizes the Armenian Genocide of 1915".

<sup>24</sup>

[http://www2.europarl.eu.int/omk/sipade2?SORT\\_ORDER=DDD&S\\_REF\\_A\\_TYPE=%25&S\\_REF\\_A\\_YEAR=%25&S\\_REF\\_A\\_NUM=%25&PROG=REPORT&L=EN&MI\\_TITLE=caucasus%25&F\\_MI\\_TITLE=caucasus\\*&MI\\_TEXT=&F\\_MI\\_TEXT=&NAV=S&LEG\\_ID=5&I\\_TYPE\\_SEARCH=TITLE&I\\_WORDS=caucasus\\*&LEVEL=2](http://www2.europarl.eu.int/omk/sipade2?SORT_ORDER=DDD&S_REF_A_TYPE=%25&S_REF_A_YEAR=%25&S_REF_A_NUM=%25&PROG=REPORT&L=EN&MI_TITLE=caucasus%25&F_MI_TITLE=caucasus*&MI_TEXT=&F_MI_TEXT=&NAV=S&LEG_ID=5&I_TYPE_SEARCH=TITLE&I_WORDS=caucasus*&LEVEL=2)

<sup>25</sup> For the list of parliaments that adopted resolutions recognizing the Armenian Genocide, see Armenian National Institute's website: [www.armenian-genocide.org](http://www.armenian-genocide.org).

<sup>26</sup> Related articles on the Internet: <http://www.perceptions.couk.com/race4.txt>,

<http://www.atour.com/~aahgn/news/20001128a.html>, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/events/newsnight/1136757.stm>,

<http://groong.usc.edu/fisk.html>.

<sup>27</sup> See copies of the letters in the Appendix.

<sup>28</sup> [http://www.korea-np.co.jp/pk/184th\\_issue/2002092801.htm](http://www.korea-np.co.jp/pk/184th_issue/2002092801.htm)

<sup>29</sup> A visit to Turkish websites that deny the Armenian Genocide will give ample evidence of the above points.

<sup>30</sup> Turkish websites where the visitor can find material on the denial of the Armenian Genocide:

- Ministry of Culture: [www.kultur.gov.tr](http://www.kultur.gov.tr) (Armenian allegations and the facts)
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs: [www.mfa.gov.tr](http://www.mfa.gov.tr) (Armenian allegations)
- Assembly of Turkish American Associations: [www.ataa.org](http://www.ataa.org)
- Institute for Armenian Research: <http://www.eraren.org>
- Armenian Issue allegations – facts: <http://www.ermenisorunu.gen.tr/english/index.html>
- Turkish Embassy Washington, Armenian Allegations: <http://www.turkishembassy.org/start.html>
- Turkish Embassy Canberra, Armenian Allegations of Genocide the Issues and Facts: <http://www.turkishembassy.org.au/>
- Australian Turkish Media Group, Armenian question: <http://www.atmg.org/>

<sup>31</sup> Heath Lowry was, at the time, the executive director of the Institute for Turkish Studies in Washington. The Institute was established in 1982, with funds donated by the Turkish government.

<sup>32</sup> See article in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 9, number 1, spring 1995, pages 1-22, *Professional Ethics and the denial of the Armenian Genocide*, also Hovannisian, G. Richard 1998, *Remembrance and Denial*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, pp. 271-290. Internet edition at: <http://users.ids.net/~gregan/ethics.html>.

<sup>33</sup> Fein, Helen, *Changing Minds at Microsoft: Armenian Genocide denial checked.*

<http://www.isg-ags.org/newsletters/25/microsoft.html>.

<sup>34</sup> Some of the articles that mention how the Israeli government or members of the Jewish community in the US have undermined Armenian efforts in the US congress for the recognition of the Armenian Genocide:

- *Ties That Blind* by Vera Beaudin Saeedpour, Director of Research. [http://www.xs4all.nl/~tank/kurdish/htdocs/a\\_month.html](http://www.xs4all.nl/~tank/kurdish/htdocs/a_month.html)
- *Israel says support will continue against Armenian allegations* and *NYT: With a word, Israeli-Turkish strain surfaces*, *Turkish Daily News*, April 11, 2002: [http://www.turkishdailynews.com/old\\_editions/04\\_11\\_02/for.htm](http://www.turkishdailynews.com/old_editions/04_11_02/for.htm)

Endnotes continued on the next page

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- *Ismail Cem: In the United States the Jewish lobby has always supported Turkey:* [http://www.hri.org/news/cyprus/tcpr/2002/02-04-12\\_tcpr.html](http://www.hri.org/news/cyprus/tcpr/2002/02-04-12_tcpr.html)
  - *Turkish-Jewish Relations, What a Difference a War Makes In Turkish-Jewish Relations.* Harout Sassounian, May 6, 2002: [http://adl.hayway.org/default\\_zone/gb/html/page2894.html](http://adl.hayway.org/default_zone/gb/html/page2894.html)
  - *Columnist Says Turkey Wrong To Thank Jewish Lobby by Voting for Israel at UN, by Sedat Serdoglu,* October 23, 2000: <http://www.atour.com/~aahgn/news/20001103b.html>
  - *The Turkish-Israeli Alliance and Genocide Denial.* [http://www.haïas.net/historie/turk-israel\\_e.html](http://www.haïas.net/historie/turk-israel_e.html)

<sup>35</sup> See copy of the reply with my original message in the Appendix.

<sup>36</sup> <http://www.jpost.com/Editions/2001/04/29/Features/Features.25270.html>.

<sup>37</sup> See copy of the letter in the Appendix.

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.atour.com/~aahgn/news/20010425af.html>

<sup>39</sup> Auron, Yair, *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh. It's Impact on Jewish Youth in Palestine and Europe.* Hovannisian, *Remembrance and Denial*, pp. 147-162. Also, <http://gariwo.net/armenia/werfel.htm>.

<sup>40</sup> [http://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.21/current\\_category.3/affirmation\\_detail.html](http://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.21/current_category.3/affirmation_detail.html)

<sup>41</sup> *Turkey Justifies Armenian Record, The Australian*, 30 May 1994, letters to the editor.

<sup>42</sup> Telephone interview of Prof. Colin Tatz with SBS Melbourne Radio in 1996.

<sup>43</sup> *Standing up for a Western Scapegoat. The Australian Financial Review*, 30 March 2001, Review, p.11.

<sup>44</sup> Listen also to my interview with Dateline's correspondent from Lebanon, Matthew Carney, about his documentary on the Armenian Genocide and Turkish attempts to force SBS to cancel the scheduled broadcast of the documentary in October 2002. [http://www.sbs.com.au/radio\\_new/index.html](http://www.sbs.com.au/radio_new/index.html) and choose the Armenian program.

<sup>45</sup> *The War*, editorial, *REG*, 29 September 1915, p. 6.

## Chapter 3 Armenians under Ottoman Rule

### 3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed at length the Turkish government's justification of the Armenian Genocide in the form of denial and historical revisionism. In this chapter, I will briefly introduce the history of Armenian settlement in Australia, Armenians under Ottoman rule, the Armenian Question, the massacres of 19<sup>th</sup> century, seizure of power by Young Turks and the outbreak of WWI.

In its efforts of denial, the Turkish government has not only assaulted the veracity of the events of WWI, but has also gone as far back into the origins of Armenians to prove that Armenians were also foreigners to the land having migrated from elsewhere 3000 years ago.<sup>1</sup> The Turkish government's Web pages dedicated to ancient Armenian history testify to their obsession of extirpating even the name "Armenian" from the history books.

### 3.2 Armenia and Armenians

The history of the Armenian people written by Armenian and foreign historians began approximately 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Geographically, historical Armenia extended over what is now the eastern part of Turkey, the Republic of Armenia, part of the Republic of Azerbaijan and southern part of the Republic of Georgia and northern part of Iran. Armenians call themselves Hye, and the country, Hayasdan.

According to modern scholars, the origins of Armenians can be traced back between 1000 – 600 BC with the process of amalgamation and unification of various tribes living on the Armenian highlands. The name Armenia was mentioned for the first time, early in sixth century BC in the Behistun cuneiforms of King Darius I (522-486 BC). The greatest expansion of Armenia came under the rule of Dikran II the Great (99-55BC) who, for a short period, ruled from the Caspian to the Mediterranean seas.

According to legend, the Apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew who were martyred there introduced Christianity to Armenia. However, it is only in 301AD that the efforts of San Gregory the Illuminator became fruitful, and the Armenian King Drtad III (286-336AD) converted to Christianity and adopted Christianity as a state religion. Thus making Armenia the first nation to adopt Christianity as state religion. In 2001, Armenians celebrated the 1700th anniversary of this event. To strengthen the newly adopted religion, Armenian state and clergy joined forces to

create the Armenian alphabet. After a few attempts in 405AD, Saint Mesrop Mashtots is credited to have invented the Armenian alphabet. Between 422AD and 432AD, Armenian clergy translated the Bible and other religious works into Armenian.<sup>2</sup>

In 640AD, Arabs invaded Armenia. Between 10-11 centuries, Seljuk Turks from Central Asia invaded Armenia followed by the Ottoman Turks. Escaping the invaders, many Armenians established in Cilicia and in 1080 formed a kingdom called Little Armenia that lasted some three centuries until it fell to the invading Mameluks in 1373.

Centuries of occupation and hardship resulted in mass migration and the forming of Armenian communities even in the remote parts of the world including Far East Asia and Australia.

### **3.2.1 Armenians in Australia**

“The first Armenians migrated to Australia in the 1850s during the gold rush.<sup>3</sup> Armenians began to migrate to Australia from their homeland due to political upheaval and other tragic events such as the 1896 massacres, the 1915 Armenian Genocide and the Second World War. However, the majority came to Australia in the 1960s, starting with the Armenians of Egypt after Nasser came to power then, in the early 1970s, from Cyprus after the

Turkish occupation of the northern section of the island, and from 1975 until 1992, a period of civil unrest in Lebanon”.<sup>4</sup>

According to the 2001 Australian census, 14,369 people from 52 countries indicated they have Armenian ancestry.<sup>5</sup> The majority have settled in Sydney where they have three daily schools, a weekly newspaper and churches, and in Melbourne two Sunday schools and two churches.

The 1911 Australian census mentioned only three Armenians, two males and one female. One male from Victoria, a male and a female from WA. These three individuals were mentioned in the census as Armenians, probably because they mentioned Armenia as their birthplace, even though Armenia did not exist at the time as an independent country. The number of Armenians must have been much higher but they were holding passports of different countries of origin- Ottoman Turkey, Persia, Russia and other countries. In documents kept in the National Archives: there are names of at least two Armenian males from Melbourne. Under the title *List of Alien Enemy Subjects on Parole – Turks*<sup>6</sup> were listed the names of Haroutiun Balakian, the most noted Armenian in Australia at the time, and in the list of *Turkish Subjects in Victoria*, there was Mehran Pezikian, another Armenian.



Rev. Aramais Mirzaian estimated that the number of Armenians in Australia during the Great War did not “exceed 30 or 40 in each of Sydney and Melbourne, with a few others scattered here and there in other places”.<sup>7</sup> Numerically Armenians were not strong enough to form organised communities in Melbourne and Sydney and lobby for help for the survivors of the genocide. That humanitarian effort was left to caring Australians.

### **3.3 Ottoman Turkey and the Armenians**

Under Ottoman rule Armenians had to endure officially sanctioned discrimination. An important aspect of submission of Armenian and other Christian populations was the heavy taxes, including the tax on the exemption of military service. Christians, as *raya*'s (slaves) and non-believers, were not allowed to bear arms or serve in the army and had to pay special taxes.

Killings, forced conversions, kidnappings of women, looting of property in Western Armenia was a common occurrence, as Mr Henri Morgenthau, the US Ambassador in Constantinople (1913-1916) wrote in his memoirs: “The Turk had the right to test the sharpness of his sword upon the neck of any Christian”.<sup>8</sup> One of the methods of destroying Armenian, Greek and other Christian races in the Ottoman Empire of 15-18th centuries was “Devshirme” which means “collection of children”. By direct

orders from the Sultan thousands of Armenian, Greek and other Christian children were forcibly collected every year and sent to Constantinople, the capital of the empire, where they were brought up as Turks and Muslims to swell the ranks of the dreaded Yeni Cheri, a special military unit.

Whatever the excesses, submission to them was the only way of survival for Armenians, and up until 1915, the Armenian population had survived and was still a majority in the Armenian provinces.

The Ottoman Empire started its rapid decline in early 19<sup>th</sup> century that would at a later stage make it the “sick man of Europe”. The government failed to make payments to its soldiers, police and government employees, which in turn led to bribe taking, robbery and excesses during tax collections. At the weakest and the lowest strata of the social hierarchy stood the Christian Armenians, Assyrians and Greeks. With no means of protecting themselves, they were at the total mercy of corrupt functionaries and officials. The time of heavy oppression had arrived. In remote villages, murders, rape and plunder became a norm and the central government was unwilling to protect the Christian population.

Since 1639, Armenia was divided in two parts- Western Armenia under Ottoman rule and Eastern Armenia under Persian rule.

Parallel to the deterioration of the situation for Armenians in Western Armenia, new developments in Eastern Armenia would soon change the geopolitical situation in the region and with drastic impact on the Armenian population under Ottoman rule.

For decades, Armenian leaders in Eastern Armenia undertook political activities in some countries of Europe, mainly Russia, to save them from Persian rule. Early 19<sup>th</sup> century a successful campaign by Russia against Persia was rewarded with the Treaty of Turkmenchai in 1828. Persia handed over to Russia the provinces of Yerevan and Nakhichevan, two parcels of historical Armenia. Armenians saw tsarist Russia as a saviour and preferred to live under a Christian ruler. Meanwhile the Armenian population in Western Armenia hoped that the day would come when they would be freed from Ottoman oppression and be ruled by Christian Russia.

### **3.3.1 The Armenian Question**

The excesses of the Ottoman Empire against the Armenians prompted the European powers to intervene thus creating the Armenian Question. In mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Armenian Question became internationalised as the defence of an oppressed minority and as a human rights issue. Over the next thirty years, the Great

Powers (Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia) used the Armenian Question in their negotiations with the Ottoman Empire. However, it was not out of real concern for the fate of Armenians but mainly for a bargaining chip for their national interests in the region.

During the 1877-1878 Russo-Turkish war, Russian troops under the command of Armenian general, Loris Melikov, occupied large parts of Western Armenia, and in the ensuing treaty of San Stefano (February 1878) for the first time in an international treaty Armenian grievances were mentioned in Article 16. It was the first instance when Armenians publicly denounced their treatment at the hands of Turkish rulers, and chose the Russian protection. The Berlin treaty (June-July 1878), which replaced the San Stefano the article related to Armenia, was pushed down to number 61.

After the Russo-Turkish War and the signing of the San Stefano and Berlin treaties, Armenians saw an alternative of protection outside the Turkish state. The Turkish leadership saw in the political orientation of Armenians an attempt to break free from Turkish rule. However, five centuries after losing its last kingdom, Armenians did not struggle for an independent state, but administrative reforms. Through reforms, Armenians wanted basic rights- safety of property and life, ceasing of all sorts of

abuses, kidnappings, banditry, heavy taxes, wanton killings and persecutions. To achieve these reforms Armenian leaders, who saw themselves as loyal Ottoman citizens but did not have any confidence in Turkish leadership, appealed to outside powers, Russia for instance which was an enemy and rival of Turkey, and Christian European powers, mainly France and England, to put pressure on the Ottoman government for reforms. Armenian intentions to appeal to outside powers, in turn, raised Turkish suspicions of possible Armenian treachery.

### **3.3.2 Abdul Hamid II and the massacres of Armenians**

The internationalisation of Armenian grievances did not alleviate the plight of the Armenians. On the contrary the persecutions increased. The sporadic killings of Armenians became state sponsored large-scale massacres under Abdul Hamid II (1842-1918). In 1891, he created the “Hamidie” special units in his name, composed of Kurds and other criminals to spearhead the massacres of Armenians. Between 1894 and 1896, it was estimated that 200,000-250,000 Armenians lost their lives in these massacres. The international and Australian media largely reported the bloody events happening in Armenia.

Turkish revised history refers to the massacres of the 1890’s as acts of revolts, describing the victims as terrorists. “The first revolt” states the section dedicated to the 1890’s massacres in the

Turkish Foreign Ministry's website "came at Erzerum in 1890. It was followed by the Kumkapi riots in Istanbul the same year, and then risings in Kayseri, Yozgat, Corum and Merzifon in 1892-1893, in Sasun in 1894, the Zeytun revolt and the Armenian raid on the Sublime Porte in 1896, the Second Sasun revolt in 1903, the attempted assassination of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1905, and the Adana revolt in 1909".<sup>9</sup> The above-mentioned localities were the scenes of widespread massacres of Armenians.

At the outbreak of WWI, the massacres of Abdul Hamid II (1894-1896) were still fresh in the minds of Australian editors, who regularly made references to episodes of these early massacres. The editorial of the *REG*<sup>10</sup> discussed the current massacres, made reference to the previous massacres and stated that: "In 1895, by the deliberate orders of the Sultan, 100,000 Armenians of both sexes were slain in cold blood because Abdul Hamid feared that the little nationality was becoming disaffected towards his despotic authority".

Two weeks later the *AGE* in a long article dedicated to the massacre of Armenians stated that the town of Hadjin "reports 1895 (the year of the infamous massacre) conditions as prevailing there".<sup>11</sup>

A week later, the *REG* after reporting the massacres of Sassoon, in a separate paragraph gave details of the massacres of 1894:

“The district of Sassoon, in Asia Minor, was the scene of fearful massacres in 1894, when Turkish regular soldiers in one village destroyed 300 Armenian houses, leaving only 25 standing. When the afflicted people retaliated a wholesale butchery and rapine followed, in which hundreds of the Armenians were killed, while many more were subjected to the most cruel atrocities, and their women were impressed into the vilest slavery”.<sup>12</sup>

The *ARG* in November of the same year, at the end of a long article referring to the massacre of Armenians stated:

“There is no excuse whatever upon any political ground for the Turkish government’s action. It was simply an attempt to carry out the maxim once enunciated by the Sultan Abdul Hamid that “the way to get rid of the Armenian question was to get rid of the Armenians”. It has been carried out far more thoroughly and with far more bloodthirsty completeness by the present heads of the Turkish government than ever it was in the time of Abdul Hamid”.<sup>13</sup>

In February of the following year, while giving information of two towns in Turkish Armenia, Mush and Sivas *MCY* stated:

“Mush has a population of 20,000, partly Mohammedans and partly Armenian Christians. The surrounding country was the scene of a Turkish massacre of Armenians by Kurds and Turks in

1894, and during the present war there have been similar massacres in the mountains of Sasun, about 20 miles south of Mush, and elsewhere in this region". Writing about Sivas the paper stated: "It was the scene of a massacre of Armenians in 1895".<sup>14</sup>

After the Russian victory at Erzerum, which was considered the main city in Turkish Armenia and hailed by the Australian press as deliverance of Armenians from Turkish misrule and oppression, the editorial of the *Argus* stated: "The history of Armenia is a long tragedy. For centuries have its people been oppressed. Many millions of its inhabitants have been massacred in circumstances of extraordinary cruelty by the Turks. For the last half-century no year has passed without wholesale massacres....It was the awful and organised cruelties perpetrated under Abdul Hamid which at last aroused Europe".<sup>15</sup>

The Young Turks, who gained power with promises of equality and fraternity, deposed Abdul Hamid in 1908.

### **3.3.3 Young Turks and the Armenian Genocide**

The Young Turk movement started in the Ottoman army. In 1909 after crushing the anti revolution movement, they deposed Sultan Abdul Hamid II and took control of the empire. Young Turks



transformed their organisation into a political party called “Committee of Union and Progress”.

The Young Turk coup did not bring about any real changes. The promised freedoms and reforms remained as just promises, and Greeks, Armenians, and Arabs remained enslaved as before. The euphoria of Young Turk “revolution” was short-lived. During the spring of 1909 Turkish regular and irregular troops, police and mobs attacked the city of Adana in Cilicia. In the ensuing slaughter, 30,000 Armenians lost their lives.

The rise of Turkish nationalism and Pan-Turkism<sup>16</sup> coincided with the defeat of Ottoman armies in the Balkan War of 1912-1913 and the fading of Ottoman dreams. It became the ideological foundation of Young Turks’ internal and external political orientation.

To materialise their Pan-Turkish ideology Young Turk leaders envisaged a homogenous Turkey, which meant the Turkification of non-Turkish nationalities. The main obstacle of Pan-Turkism was the Armenian population still living on their homeland, and not inclined to bow to pressures from the Central government to voluntarily assimilate.<sup>17</sup> WWI gave the Young Turk government, ruled by the triumvirate of Mehmed Talaat Minister of Interior, Ismail Enver Minister of War and Ahmed Djemal Minister of

Navy, the perfect opportunity to undertake the realisation of Pan-Turkish dreams with the extermination of the entire Armenian population.

The Ottoman Empire entered the war at the end of October 1914 when German warships, flying the Turkish flag, bombed Sebastopol and other Russian Black Sea coastal installations and ports, destroying Russian ships. As consequence, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire on November 2 and with England and France on November 5, 1914. Later, Enver Pasha the Minister of War, at the head of the Third Army advanced towards Sarekamish - Batumi. His advance towards the Caucasus was halted and crushed by the Russian army who counterattacked and advanced deep inside Turkish Armenia (or Western Armenia).

In 1914, Armenia was still divided between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. Armenians were densely populating both sides of the frontier and it was quite clear that any military campaign between the two countries would have a devastating effect on the Armenian population. Armenians were a defenceless minority in the Ottoman Empire with no international power to protect them. While the world's attention was directed to the ongoing war, the time was opportune to apply the final solution to the Armenian Question. The experience had taught the Turkish leadership that partial slaughter and any other excesses were not enough to

completely exterminate Armenians from their ancestral homeland. The logic was simple- without Armenians in the Armenian Provinces there would not be any Armenian Question and no meddling of its internal affairs by European powers. At the same time, an obstacle removed from the realisation of Pan-Turkish ideology.

For Armenians the situation changed drastically for the worse when in 1914 the Central government declared general mobilisation and the situation in the Armenian provinces became extremely tense. Around 200,000-250,000 Armenian fighting men were drafted into the Ottoman army. On the other side of the front, there were some 120,000 Armenian conscripted soldiers in the Russian army. There were also volunteers in the Russian army from Western Armenia who had escaped to Russia fleeing persecution by the Ottoman government.

The alarm about a pending disaster started from Constantinople. On the night of April 24 1915, hundreds of Armenian intellectuals were arrested. Few days later, the number of arrests had reached 600. They were deported to the interior where an agonising death awaited them. In a very short time the Armenian population had lost its able bodied men and its intellectual leaders with no means to efficiently resist the Young Turk government's plan of deportation and extermination.

The Australian press, in reports and editorials, accused the Young Turk leaders, mainly Enver and Talaat, of responsibility in organising and directing the extermination of the Armenians. In 1916, an editorial of *REG* dedicated to the Armenians wrote:

“Young Turks released the most fanatical and ruffianly elements of the population upon the helpless Armenians in their midst. In all dark pages of history there is no parallel to this cold-blooded, systematic execution of a people. The Unspeakable Turk, the bloodthirsty assassin of Europe, reproduced on the Armenians the worst crimes upon subject peoples for which he is infamous, but upon a scale for which even his sanguinary record furnished no precedent. Enver Pasha and his criminal confederates at Constantinople determined to solve the Armenian problem by the simple process of blotting out the race”.<sup>18</sup>

Shortly before the end of the war, an editorial of *SMH*, blamed the Young Turk leaders for the extermination of Armenians:

“The massacres were directed by the gang of ruffians known as the Committee of Union and Progress,<sup>19</sup> of whom the leaders were Enver and Talaat Bey...they set out to destroy a whole race...the massacres were carried out by the direction of the Central Government”.<sup>20</sup>

### **3.4 Conclusion**

The brief historical introduction of this chapter highlighted the main political and military events that shaped the history of the Armenian people from earliest times to WWI with particular emphasis on the Armenian Question and the massacres under Abdul Hamid II in late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The entire history of Armenians in historical Armenia (Western Turkey) is the target of Turkish revision to justify the total annihilation of Armenians physically and culturally, from their ancestral homeland.

However, during WWI Australian journalists and editors had no reservations regarding Armenian history and the veracity of Turkish massacres of mid 1890's and early 1900's. It was impossible to engage in historical revisionism while the Armenian population was still living (or in the process of being deported) in the historical land that the world called "Armenia" or "Turkish Armenia", and Armenian towns, cities, villages, monuments, churches, monasteries were still standing (or in the process of being destroyed). There were no references in the Australian papers about historical revisionism. In many editorials, it was mentioned that Armenians were an ancient people living in their historical homeland.

The doubletalk often observed in today's papers and media was absent in the press of WWI. The war trenches dividing the two

nations, no doubt, played a part in keeping Turkish justification of its actions out of Australian papers. It is easier for today's Turkish government to engage in historical revisionism when Turkish Armenia is cleansed from the Armenian population, and any trace of existence of Armenians destroyed. It is also easy for modern day Australian media to fall victim to Turkish revisionism when covering the events of WWI.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the men who helped forge the Anzac legend and simultaneously informed the Australian public about the plight of the Armenian population during WWI.

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<sup>1</sup> Turkish Foreign Ministry Website, [www.mfa.gov.tr](http://www.mfa.gov.tr) (*The Armenian file*, By Kamuran Gurun).

<sup>2</sup> Every year in October Armenians still celebrate the festivity of Saint Translators, in memory of the monks who translated the Old and New Testament and a host of Holy Scriptures to Armenian. It is considered the golden era of Armenian literature.

<sup>3</sup> Krikor Galstian was the first Armenian who had actively encouraged migration to Australia through his bi-monthly magazine *Usumnaser* published in Singapore (July 1849-May 1853), praising the opportunities created by the gold rush of 1850's. In 1853, Galstian and few others arrived from Singapore with the intention of establishing an Armenian community in Melbourne and seek their fortunes in the goldfields. Unfortunately, shortly after his arrival he fell ill and died, with it ended also the dreams of establishing a community in Melbourne. He is the first known Armenian to have died in Australia.

In the events leading to the Eureka Stockade, another Armenian unwittingly became part of Australian history. In October 1854, Constable Lord assaulted, wrongfully arrested and charged Johannes Gregorius for not carrying a Miner's licence. Gregorius was the Armenian servant of the Roman Catholic priest, Patrick Smyth. This assault on the Armenian servant, who barely spoke English, raised the tensions between the Catholics and authorities.

<sup>4</sup> This is an excerpt from SBS Radio's Armenian web page ([www.sbs.com.au](http://www.sbs.com.au)).

<sup>5</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001, *Ancestry Multi Response by Birthplace of Parents, Census of Population and Housing*.

<sup>6</sup> Australian Archives (Vic), Series MP16/1, Item 16/891.

<sup>7</sup> Mirzaian, Aramais 1980, *The Wandering Armenians*, Sydney, p. 32.

<sup>8</sup> Morgenthau, Henri 1918, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, New York.

<sup>9</sup> Turkish Foreign Ministry Website, [www.mfa.gov.tr](http://www.mfa.gov.tr) (*The Armenian Issue in Ten Questions and Answers-Question 4*).

<sup>10</sup> *Armenian Massacres*, *REG*, 23 Sep. 1915.

<sup>11</sup> *Armenian Atrocities*, *AGE*, 8 Oct. 1915.

<sup>12</sup> *Armenian Atrocities*, *REG*, 16 Oct. 1915.

<sup>13</sup> *Armenians, Half a Million Killed. Blood Curdling Horrors*. *ARG*, 29 Nov. 1915.

<sup>14</sup> *The Armenian Atrocities, America Threatens Turkey, Mush and Sivas*, *MCY*, 21 Feb. 1916.

<sup>15</sup> *ARG*, 23 February 1916, editorial (without a title, see Appendix).

<sup>16</sup> An extreme nationalistic utopia of the unification of all Turkish-speaking countries under Turkey's leadership.

<sup>17</sup> David Marshall Lang 1980, *Armenia Cradle of Civilisation*, George Allen & Unwin, London.

*Armenian Question*, Encyclopedia (in Armenian), *Pan-Turkism* p. 375.

<sup>18</sup> *Murdering a People*, *REG*, 12 February 1916.

<sup>19</sup> The political wing of Young Turks.

<sup>20</sup> *Turkey and Germany*, *SMH*, 25 September 1918.

# Chapter 4 Australian press during WWI

## 4.1 Introduction

For nine years, 1915-1923, the Australian press informed the public about the extermination of Armenians and on the relief efforts at home. Who were these men and women who worked tirelessly to report the developments of the ongoing world war and the extermination of a people living in a faraway land? They worked in adverse wartime conditions and under the prying eyes of the censors. How might this have affected journalists' reporting on the massacres of Armenians?

During the war years and parallel to the censorship, another battle fought mainly on the home front and not in trenches was war propaganda. Atrocity and war propaganda against the Germans were prevalent in the Australian papers; it was as visible as the news from the battlefield. But what about Ottoman Turkey, a junior partner of Central Powers? Were there any indications that war and atrocity propaganda had played any part in the reporting of the extermination of Armenians? As an enemy of Turkey, Australians did not have correspondents in Ottoman Turkey. So where did they get their reports on the extermination of Armenians? In addition, did Australian war correspondents in

the region contribute original reports, exclusive only to the Australian press?

These are some of the questions explored in this chapter. Also, a general evaluation of the period is essential to understand the views of Australian editors and journalists who reported on the extermination of Armenians.

## **4.2 Australia and the press during WWI**

The Federal elections of 5 September 1914 saw the Labor Party winning the elections with a majority in both Houses of the Federal Parliament. Labor leader, Andrew Fisher, became Prime Minister until October 1915 when he resigned his office and took up the position of High Commissioner for Australia in London. William Morris Hughes took over the position of Prime Minister until 1923. Hughes had migrated to Australia from Britain in 1884. He was the Attorney General in the Fisher Cabinet.

At the outbreak of WWI in August 1914, Australia stood firmly behind British war efforts. During the election campaign, the Labor party had promised to support Britain in its war efforts. The response from the Australian public to the call for arms from Britain was “as near to unanimity as was humanly attainable”.<sup>1</sup>



The day that war broke out *SMH* wrote: “Differences between parties or interests have ceased to exist. The whole of the people of this continent are united in their determination to support to the utmost limit of their resources the Empire within which they have grown and prospered for so many years”.<sup>2</sup> A week later, the same paper was encouraging conscription: “It is the duty no less than the privilege of everyone to aid in combating the enemy”.<sup>3</sup>

The war had enormous impact on the Australian society.<sup>4</sup> Barely a month had passed since the start of the war when *SMH* wrote: “There is scarcely a family in the Commonwealth that is not being directly or indirectly hit by the war”.<sup>5</sup> But compared to many European and Middle Eastern countries, Australia was lucky that the devastations of WWI were far away from its territory. Nevertheless, it was a period most important to Australian nationhood, a period characterised by the sacrifice of so many thousands of young men who voluntarily responded to the calls of help of the Empire. A period when the overwhelming majority of the Australian population were from British descent, the ties that bound Australia to Britain were extremely strong and most Australians were proud of being part of the British Empire and unequivocally supported British foreign policy.

Discussing the Fairfax family T. Honey wrote: “Sir James Oswald Fairfax (1863-1928) and Geoffrey Evan Fairfax (1861-1930) had

a definite clear-cut policy it was an Empire policy. They were Englishmen, they wished to see English ideals prevail”.<sup>6</sup> This is not that surprising when we take into account the results of the 1911 census- out of the total 4,455,005 population of Australia, 598,182 were born in Great Britain, “approximately 13,5% of the population”.<sup>7</sup> The figure was much higher when taken into account second or third generation Britons.

The census did not give information of the percentage of nationalities working in the press, but it is not hard to guess the composition of journalists and editors of the main newspapers in white Australia during WWI. They were white Australians, mostly of British heritage, born in Britain or educated in Britain, and almost all were males. According to the 1911 census, 69.41 percent of the breadwinners were males compared to only 18.61 percent of women.<sup>8</sup>

In the census, 2,131 males had said they were “authors, editors or journalists” compared to only 244 women who said they were “authors, editors or journalists”. Clem Lloyd wrote: “Colonial journalism was overwhelmingly a male vocation. The first women did not appear on the staffs of daily newspapers until late in the century”.<sup>9</sup> Australian journalists of WWI and earlier periods were “born not made and nobody was educated with the specific view of becoming a journalists”.<sup>10</sup> It was not a lucrative job either but

hard work, “in the early years of the century many experienced journalists were paid as little as £3 or £4 per week. A week consisting of sixty, seventy and even ninety working hours”.<sup>11</sup>

#### **4.2.1 War correspondents**

The clash of major industrialized nations in Europe, and the participation of AIF in this historical event, inevitably catapulted war news to the centre of attention of a news-hungry public. But strict censorship meant that only a distorted picture of war was available to them.

The primary source of war news were war correspondents, but they were not welcomed at the front and even the ones allowed to the battlefields, had their reports censored before being allowed to be published. A few weeks after the start of the war, *ARG* reported that the British government had warned English correspondents at the front to “keep away or else return to England”.

The report indicated that “France, Russia and Belgium” had “agreed not to allow any correspondents to go to the front at present”. It informed the readers that the German military had “refused to allow war correspondents to accompany the army”.<sup>12</sup>

On the issue of war correspondents, it appears that the views of the warring parties had converged unanimously.

Soon after Great Britain entered the war, the British Army Council permitted only one war correspondent from each dominion. The Australian Minister of Defense asked the Australian Journalists' Association to organise a ballot. Charles Edwin Woodrow Bean (1897-1968), a journalist with *SMH*, won the ballot narrowly defeating Keith Murdoch. Bean departed from Melbourne to Egypt with the first group of AIF, and went ashore at Gallipoli on the first day of the landing. He stayed there and sent regular despatches that were "distributed free to the Australian press by the Australian government and also to the British press".<sup>13</sup>

Bean, besides sending reports of the campaign from the front, had also a different task to accomplish after the war had ended. The Australian government had hoped that the war correspondent would write the history of AIF.<sup>14</sup> When in June 1915 Bean received a letter from HQ ordering him to leave Gallipoli and establish in Imbros, where a War Correspondent's camp was being established, he replied stating the main two points of his duties as official war correspondent:

- Satisfy Australian public's "poignant anxiety" of news of Anzac soldiers, including "their daily life" and "behaviour in action"; and
- The "special instructions" he received "to write after the war the history of the Australian part in the war, as a permanent record for libraries, schools, and the nation generally".<sup>15</sup>

In 1917, it "became evident that the increasing duties were beyond the power of a single pressman".<sup>16</sup> Henry Gullett, a journalist and a gunner in the Australian artillery, was appointed war historian with the light horse and later as a war correspondent. Gullett later compiled the 7<sup>th</sup> volume of the Official History of Australia, which dealt with the AIF in Sinai and Palestine. On the Western Front, FM Cutlack, assisted CEW Bean in his duties as war correspondent. Besides these officially appointed correspondents, other journalists were permitted to visit the battlefields and report from the war front, like Peter Schuler, correspondent of the *AGE*.<sup>17</sup> Keith Murdoch had also visited Gallipoli for a brief period.<sup>18</sup>

### **4.3 Censorship during WWI**

The speed at which press censorship was introduced in Britain, Australia and other warring countries indicated that governments were as apprehensive from the enemy as from a free press. War

correspondents at the front reporting what was really happening would have turned public opinion against the war, as it happened with the USA during the war in Vietnam. In Australia the government, once committed the country to the war, had the added burden of conscription. On the other hand romantic accounts of war, with troops “gallantly” charging the enemy and patriotic expressions, it was easier to control public opinion and encourage conscription.

Military censorship was one of the most tangible signs of war in warring countries. It affected not only the publication of news but also the private mails and messages of individuals and businesses. Censorship of the press in Australia was implemented at the request of the British government.

During the Press Censorship Conference of 1918, a statement was read on behalf of Mr Joseph Cook, the Minister for the Navy, where it mentioned the reasons for press censorship during a conflict affecting Great Britain:

“On the 3d March, 1914 the Committee of Imperial Defence issued a statement regarding censorship of the Press of which the following sentences are most important: It is highly desirable that there should be some machinery for ensuring that in any war in which the British Empire may be involved no information that may be of value to an

enemy power will be published in any newspaper in any of His Majesty's overseas Dominions".<sup>19</sup>

During the Press Censorship Conference of 1918, the Minister of Defence, G F Pearce, stated the objects of Press Censorship in time of war were to:

- Prevent information of value reaching the enemy.
- Prevent the promulgation or advocacy of opinions prejudicial to Allied unity and to the Allied cause.
- Prevent the promulgation and propagation of opinions and ideas prejudicial to recruiting".<sup>20</sup>

The introduction of cable censorship in Australia on 3 August 1914 was not a surprise for the Australian press. A few days before Great Britain entered the war, *SMH* wrote in its editorial that: "One of the first things that would happen if war broke out would be that the news from the outside world would automatically censor itself by the cutting of the cables".

Regarding the wireless service, the prediction was similar: "If war were imminent the Commonwealth Government would not hesitate to use its power of censoring strictly any message that arrived at any wireless station in Australia. A strict censorship of all postal telegrams and cablegrams would also be maintained".<sup>21</sup>

Two days after the censorship was officially introduced to Australia, the editorial of the *ARG* agreed to the necessity of the censorship: “For the first time in history” wrote the editorial “we have an official censor at work in Melbourne. In the circumstances he is a necessary officer”.<sup>22</sup>

The Deputy Chief Censor for Australia, who was based in Melbourne, controlled the Cable Censorship. At the beginning, officials responsible for establishing the censorship had difficulty-recruiting people with experience in censorship, but within weeks: “Coded instructions were issued to all censors to obtain uniformity of practice and treatment of messages”.<sup>23</sup>

Nonetheless, one of the initial problems faced by the newspapers across Australia remained the lack of uniformity of censorship of press messages. The Censorship Regulations left many aspects of censorship to the “discretion” of “the local censors” and “the inevitable result was that practically identical telegrams were passed by one censor and refused by another”,<sup>24</sup> a report could have been published in one state and refused in another.<sup>25</sup>

To address this difficulty and other problems related to the press, a special group of censors was assigned the task to “deal with all press cables”<sup>26</sup> at the Central Telegraph Office. During the Censorship Conference, it was admitted that approximate



uniformity of censorship was “one of the most difficult problems” and that uniformity could be achieved only if all telegrams passed “through the hands of a very limited group of individuals”.<sup>27</sup>

During the Press Censorship Conference, newspaper editors from across Australia raised their apprehensions, frustrations and problems with censors and censorship in Australia. One of their concerns was that censors were not trained journalists and were hindering and hurting the press. Their concerns were summed up by the editor of the *AGE*:

“I think we are in a position of great responsibility and therefore we cannot calmly sit down and allow people from outside without any knowledge or skill in journalism to come in and teach us our business. They have no idea how public opinion has to be created or how it can be directed. That is a matter entirely for us”.<sup>28</sup>

The need for journalists to be involved in the censorship of news reports was acknowledged from the early days of censorship in Britain and Australia. Barely a week had passed since Great Britain had entered the war that the *ARG* reported how “several members of the House of Commons” had urged the British government that: “Trained journalists should be associated with the military censors to prevent friction and delay in the transmission of news”. The Home Secretary, Mr McKenna, had

“agreed that it was essential that there should be some journalistic commonsense in censorship, and that messages should not be stopped simply from ignorance on the censor’s part”.<sup>29</sup>

The next day another report from London had shed light on the confusion that had prevailed during the early days of censorship. In the House of Commons, Mr T.P. O’Connor (Nationalist) had “asserted that cable messages were censored three times in London, three times at Waterville (the cable station on the Irish coast) and three times on the other side of the Atlantic” and “he requested that the functions of the censor should be performed by trained journalists”.<sup>30</sup>

The confusion that reigned in the censor’s offices, in Britain and Australia, affected the newspapers in Australia. Twelve days after Great Britain entered the war, the editorial of the *ARG* wrote: “People are impatient for news of the war; but this will not hasten the arrival of news...meantime there is no need to manufacture it”.<sup>31</sup>

The absurdity of the double censorship first in Great Britain and later in Australia, and the cost involved to the newspapers was raised during the Censorship Conference of 1918. The editor of *REG* told the Conference:

“I say it with all respect to the Censor’s Department, that they hardly realise when they are handling telegrams that they are practically handling £5 or £10 notes and that every word or two words they cut out represents 1/- or 2/- to the newspaper...this matter (cable) is censored on receipt in London and also censored in despatch and then it is censored here again”.<sup>32</sup>

However, early that year the Defence Minister, George Pearce, had stated that:

“Not one line of war news that comes from Great Britain has ever been deleted by the censorship in Australia. Messages containing war news which have been passed by the censorship in London come before the censors as a matter of routine, as do all cables, but they are not, and never have been, interfered with here by the deletion of any portion of them”.<sup>33</sup>

Another concern raised during the Press Censorship Conference was the issue of political censorship. Newspapers had tamely accepted the military censorship during the war, but they were objecting to censorship that had nothing to do with the war. They strongly objected to the government’s attempts to use censorship to strengthen their position: “I do not think any paper in Australia objects to a military censorship but we do object to political censorship”<sup>34</sup> stated J. V. Macdonald, editor of the

Brisbane *Daily Standard*, during the Press Censorship Conference.

A few months later, when the Prime Minister, Mr Hughes, attempted to extend the censorship for a further six months after the signing of the Peace Treaty, it was strongly opposed by the press. The editorial of *REG* described it as an “after-war struggle”, the “battle by Australians for the recovery of the rights and liberties which they surrendered to the Federal Government for the duration of the war”. The editorial gave also the reasons for the government’s reluctance to give back the special powers:

“The fact is that the Executive has become so accustomed to governing the country without having the trouble too much about Parliament that it dreads the return of the time when it will have to limit its actions to the powers granted under the Constitution”.<sup>35</sup>

Two weeks after the end of the war, the editorial of *REG* conceded that the censorship in Australia, thousands of kilometres away from the war zone had been “more harsh and exacting than in Britain”.<sup>36</sup> The editorial also stated: “The censorship throughout Australia and other parts of the British Empire in the earlier stages of the war did more harm in blinding the people to the realities of the situation than good in withholding information from the foe”.<sup>37</sup> *The New York Tribune*

had also expressed its indignation about British censorship back in 1915:

“What irritates the readers no less than the editors and owners of newspapers is the senseless suppression of news on the pretence that it might be of service to the enemy, though in many instances it is quite certain that the news was known in Berlin days and sometimes weeks before it was published in London”.<sup>38</sup>

During the war, there was “complete cooperation between the Deputy Chief Censor, whose headquarters were in Melbourne and Chief Censor’s Department in London”,<sup>39</sup> because Australia was only following and implementing the British government’s instructions on censorship. From the abundance of press reports detailing the extermination of Armenians, it was apparent that in Great Britain and consequently in Australia, press censorship and restraints did not apply to news about the massacres of Armenians. News reports of the extermination of Armenians were permitted by the censors to be published in the Australian press without any obstructions because British foreign policy of the time was sympathetic towards the Armenians. Great Britain was at war with Ottoman Turkey and any reports publicizing and highlighting the enemies’ atrocities and barbaric nature, would have justified their war efforts against the “ruthless barbarians” (Turks) and their allies the “German Huns”.<sup>40</sup>

If Great Britain had decided to censor the massacre of Armenians, then similar censorship would have applied in Australia, seriously hampering relief efforts in Britain and Australia. We can only guess what would have happened if Ottoman Turkey was a friendly nation or even a neutral nation. My guess is that hardly any news would have slipped through from the prying eyes of British and Australian censors.

In a document kept in the Australian Archives and titled “*Confidential Instructions to the Press*” the Foreign Office instructed the “editors of the Australian press” to be friendly to Ottoman Turkey because “the preservation of the neutrality of Turkey is of course a paramount British interest”. It emphasized also “the diplomatic importance of allowing nothing to appear in the press which is likely to produce an unfavourable impression in Turkey”.<sup>41</sup> These “instructions” from the Foreign Office, shortly before Ottoman Turkey entered the war, left no doubt about British government’s desire not to print anything that would in any way offend Turkey. Reports of the extermination of Armenians certainly would have produced an “unfavourable impression in Turkey” and consequently barred from appearing in Great Britain and its dominions if Ottoman Turkey was a friendly nation or had remained neutral during the war.

#### 4.4 War propaganda

If truth is the first casualty of war, is it possible that reports of the extermination of Armenians were also a “casualty”? The editorial of the *REG* five years after the end of the war admitted that propaganda was widely used during the war.<sup>42</sup>

Even a casual glance at the Australian newspapers of WWI, leaves the firm impression on the reader that Australian newspapers, mirroring British press, were highly Germanophobic. Curiously, similar Turcophobic intentions were not visible.

The main Allied and also Australian propaganda was directed against Germans and the 30,000 strong German speaking community of Australia did not escape its effects. The “War Precautions regulation (No. 55) gave authority to intern any naturalised subject who was disaffected or disloyal”,<sup>43</sup> and as a consequence some 7000 members of the German community were interned during WWI.

Different treatment was reserved for Ottoman subjects. Under the Aliens Registration Regulations, Ottoman subjects were also registered. They were classified into two separate categories; Muslims (Albanians, Arabs, Kurds, Turks) and non-Muslims (Armenians, Jews, Greeks and Syrians).<sup>44</sup> These Christian subjects

of Ottoman Turkey were exempted from restrictions imposed on subjects of enemy countries. In January 1915, the Department of Defence issued directions exempting any “Greek, Armenian or Syrian” from “all or any” of paragraphs of Aliens Instructions of 1914.<sup>45</sup>

During the focus period of my research, 1915-1923, Armenians were portrayed positively in the Australian press. In some editorials, references were made to the character of Armenians. Often articles were dedicated to fund raising activities. In letters to the editors written by members of Friends of Armenia or appeals made by state government officials for funds for Armenian refugees, the positive characteristics of the Armenians were often mentioned. In many articles Armenia was likened to Belgium (*ARG* 24 Feb. 1916) as a small nation trampled upon by a brute and vicious power.

However, Armenians predominantly were portrayed as peaceful Christians, subjected to centuries of misrule, persecution and massacres.

One of the differences between stories of atrocities attributed to Germans and Turks was that atrocities attributed to Germans completely ceased with the end of the war in 1918, while reports of Turkish atrocities and massacres against the Armenians



continued unabated until the end of 1922. Reports in 1923 included the plight of Armenian orphans and refugees and in August of the same year the final report of deportation of Armenians from Turkish Armenia.

#### **4.4.1 Comparison between Turkish and German atrocities**

During the early stages of the war, reports of German atrocities against Belgian civilians were abundant in the newspapers, but later reports mainly related to excesses committed against individuals, like the execution of nurse Cavell,<sup>46</sup> the sinking of ships by submarines or atrocities committed against British, French and Russian prisoners of war. German names were accompanied by adjectives which showed them as being cruel barbarians like their ancestors, headlines like- *Hun Barbarity*, *Hun Horror*, *German Inhumanity*, *German Savagery*, *Brutal Germans*, *German Vandalism*, *Hungry Teutons*, *German Fiends*, *German Madness*, *German Beastliness*, *German Rapacity*, *Prussian Viper*, *German Infamy*, were common. Those headlines might have included the story of the bashing or maltreatment of some Allied prisoner(s), or the torpedoing of some Allied ship(s) (See partial list of atrocities attributed to Germans, printed in *SMH*, in the Appendix).

While every opportunity was used to highlight the inhumanity of the Germans and to portray them as a barbaric nation, many of the headlines related to the extermination of Armenians did not include the name “Turk”, “Turkey” or “Turkish” in bold letters to emphasize Turkish cruelty or inhumanity. Most headlines about the extermination of Armenians were descriptions of the suffering of Armenians- *Armenian Massacres, Horrors of Armenia, Armenia one Great Grave, Armenians Massacred, Armenians sold as Slaves, Wholesale Massacres, Armenian Atrocities, Armenians Half a Million Killed, Armenian Massacres "Greatest Crime in History"*. Only by reading the article would the reader know that the Ottoman Turkish government and Turks had committed those crimes. If Germans were in the process of exterminating another nation in Europe or elsewhere, they would have attracted much wider coverage in the press with a colourful litany of insults (See the list of titles of articles on the massacres of Armenians that do not include the name “Turk” in the Appendix).

The analysis of the Australian newspaper articles clearly indicated that there really was a vicious propaganda campaign against Germany and Germans. Articles on atrocities attributed to Germany not only rivalled but also surpassed articles dedicated to the atrocities committed by the Ottoman Turkish government. In general, Germany was portrayed as having committed the worse war crimes, overshadowing Ottoman Turkey’s genocidal campaign

against its Christian subjects. Even when reporting the extermination of Armenians, the papers used every opportunity to highlight German involvement in the process of extermination. The material is extensive. But here I will only compare a few articles to see how Australian newspapers did not miss an opportunity to vilify Germany, while the Ottoman Turkish government, which was committing the first genocide of the century, was treated much less harshly.

Here I will cite several articles to show how atrocities attributed to Germans were given more emphasis than the extermination of Armenians.

In May 1915, *MCY*<sup>47</sup> reported with three-line headlines the atrocities of Turkish troops in Persia against the Armenian civil population. In an adjacent column with four-line headlines and a longer report it printed an article dedicated to German atrocities against British prisoners.<sup>48</sup> The *AGE* printed the same story in similar fashion with more space given to the news of the killing of much smaller number of British soldiers with five-line headline,<sup>49</sup> while the news of the massacre of some 1000 Armenians was given again in three-line headline<sup>50</sup> (see copy in Appendix).

*BC* in its 19 May 1915 issue had a 14-line news report detailing atrocities committed by Germans, which included the massacre of British prisoners.<sup>51</sup> Immediately following that article, another 16-line news report had as its subject the crucifixion of a Canadian officer and the revenge by Canadian troops against the Germans.<sup>52</sup> In the adjacent column further down a three line article described the massacre of six thousand Armenians<sup>53</sup> (See copy of the articles in the Appendix).

In July of the same year, the *AGE*, in two separate titles and a 19-line article, reported German atrocities in Poland.<sup>54</sup> Following this report a two line title reported in 18 lines the killing of thousands of Armenians mainly women and children<sup>55</sup> (See copy of the articles in the Appendix).

In April 1916, *AGE* had again given more importance to British prisoners of war. A ten-line article reported the findings of a British commission on the conditions in a war camp and the reply from Germany to the British accusations.<sup>56</sup> Immediately it was followed by another thirteen-line article reporting on the same camp based on the letter of a British prisoner.<sup>57</sup> All up a 23-line article to describe the sanitary conditions in a POW camp. Immediately following these articles an eleven-line article reported the extermination of Armenians<sup>58</sup> (See copy of the articles in the Appendix).

In 1917, in a four-line article, *SMH* reported on the famine in Armenia and how Kurds were selling Armenian women and children.<sup>59</sup> In an adjacent column, a two-line title and fourteen-line report again concentrated on the ill treatment of French and British prisoners of war by Germans<sup>60</sup> (See copy of the articles in the Appendix).

Ten days after the Armistice, *SMH* dedicated half a column to “Hun atrocities”. With three-line headlines, five subheadings and 133 lines of text, the article decried German atrocities during the war.<sup>61</sup> Immediately following the article, a two-line headline reported what the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs had declared in the House of Commons on how the Allies would not permit further Turkish massacres of Armenians. The article had only 15 lines and the massacres were still continuing<sup>62</sup> (See copy of the articles in the Appendix).

Besides the wider coverage given to German atrocities, the hierarchy of importance is clearly visible. Western especially European, British, French, Belgian lives were given more prominence than the Armenian ones. The death of a Westerner received wider coverage with bolder headlines than the slaughter of hundreds, and in some cases, thousands of Armenians.

An example of this is an article printed in the *Argus*<sup>63</sup> about “several hundred Americans” that Turks were holding in Jaffa (Palestine) and would not let them go. The story was reported with three line headlines using big bold fonts. The headlines grabbed the reader’s attention to the plight of Americans who were not allowed to leave the Ottoman Empire. Their lives were not even in danger. Yet, the fourth line of the title, in smaller fonts, read *More Armenian Horrors* and referring to an American eyewitness, described the sufferings of Armenian refugees. The refusal of Turkey to let go several hundred Americans was more newsworthy than that of Armenians who “had lived a year hiding in caves and hunted like wild animals” (See copy of the articles in the Appendix).

A month after the Armistice, *SMH* in a two-line title and twenty-four-line article reported the ill treatment of a woman by the Germans. She had just returned to Liverpool from Germany.<sup>64</sup> In an adjacent column, one-line title and six-line article reported how Turkish agitators were stirring the populace to massacre Armenians and that a large number of them were already murdered, “churches robbed and graves desecrated”<sup>65</sup> (See copy of the articles in the Appendix).

*BC* in mid 1918 published a five-line article in the second column from left with bold letters announcing how Germans had “slowly

starved to death” 10 Belgians.<sup>66</sup> Three columns to the right with smaller fonts and a three-line article it reported the massacre of over 10,000 Armenians<sup>67</sup> (See copy of the article in the Appendix).

To emphasize Germany’s guilt and complicity with Ottoman Turkey, often the Kaiser’s name was included in the title of articles on the massacres of Armenians. Some of these articles did concern German officials who were serving in Ottoman Turkey and were involved in the extermination of Armenians. Some others, however, concerned only Turks but Germany or Kaiser’s name was also included in the title.

Most titles that included the Kaiser’s name were printed in *BC*. The newspaper was the first to use Kaiser’s name to denounce Turkish cruelty even though the article did not concern Germans.<sup>68</sup> The next day *BC* had likened Germans to Kurds. The article was based on the report of Lord Bryce on German atrocities in Belgium, and comparison was made between German atrocities in Belgium and Kurdish atrocities against Armenians.<sup>69</sup> Few months later, *BC* had an article with the name of the Kaiser in the title, the report again was not related to Germans.<sup>70</sup> In September, the paper had again a similar title blaming the Kaiser for having a bad ally.<sup>71</sup> Even the story of CEW Bean included in

the title Germany's name.<sup>72</sup> In 1917, another similar sarcastic title was printed by *BC*.<sup>73</sup>

In many aspects, Germany shared the responsibility in the extermination of Armenians. Not only did the German authorities not attempt to prevent the massacres but also in many instances German officials actively participated to the extermination of Armenians. Accusations against German government in the Australian press, no doubt mirroring British press, can be divided broadly into two main categories- German indifference to the extermination of Armenians, and direct participation in the massacres. The *Church of England Messenger* best summed up the feeling in Australia on why Germany was held responsible for the fate of Armenians: "One word from Germany could probably stop this awful carnage. That one word remains unspoken. Morally, therefore, Germany is as guilty as Turkey".<sup>74</sup>

The articles accusing Germany of indifference to the extermination of Armenians were abundant in the Australian press. In an editorial, *REG* mentioned Mr Asquith's speech where "he (Mr Asquith) held (Prussian militarists) largely responsible for the recent Turkish massacres of Armenians".<sup>75</sup> The same day *SMH* wrote: "Mr Asquith referred to the massacre of Armenians. Germany was master of Turkey and by lifting up a finger; she could have prevented an organised campaign of outrage and



massacre. But she looked on unmoved and acquiescent”.<sup>76</sup> The *Register*’s editorial of February 1916<sup>77</sup> posed again the question of German indifference: “It seems incredible that such things could be done to Christians in this twentieth century, and still more incredible that a professedly Christian nation like Germany should stand passively by while the massacre and outrage proceeded”. After repeating their conviction that “a word from the Kaiser to Enver would have prevented the awful series of crimes” the paper mentioned the indifference of German officials to the suffering of Armenians, “German consuls in the cities through which the caravans of misery passed looked on and washed their hands of the business”.

It concluded confirming Germany’s guilt: “A fearful responsibility rests upon their leaders, who began the war and unleashed the passions which made such iniquities possible” even though “they (the Germans) were not in this case the actual assassins...”

In an editorial *SMH* also accused Germany of indifference to the fate of the Armenians: “The Germans had stood by and incurred responsibility for the massacres by allowing them to go on”.<sup>78</sup> In many similar articles and editorials, German authorities were blamed for not using their influence to stop the extermination of Armenians.

Starting 1915, news reports and editorials accused Germany of conspiracy with the Ottoman government and direct participation of German officers in the massacres. Eighty-one years later, in 1996, Prof Vahakn Dadrian, a scholar of Armenian Genocide, using archival materials from German, Ottoman and Austrian sources published a book on the responsibility of the German government,<sup>79</sup> which was apparent also during WWI.

The first reports implicating Germany appeared in July 1915. According to the reports: “In some cases German officials had countenanced and encouraged the crimes”.<sup>80</sup>

In November, more reports appeared in the press accusing Germans of direct participation in the massacres. It was the story of the Armenians of the city of Mush who were resisting Turkish attempts to deport them but: “Turkish artillery manned by German officers broke down their positions”.<sup>81</sup>

The titles of newspapers of October 1915,<sup>82</sup> except *SMH*, accused Germany of encouraging the Armenian massacres. The reports were based on “the Cairo correspondent of the Times”. All newspapers, including *SMH*, mentioned the names of two German officials “Herr Rossler, German Consul at Aleppo” and “Baron Oppenheim” (only the *Mercury* mentioned the name as Appenheim).

Both men were also mentioned in Prof. Dadrian's book<sup>83</sup> confirming the newspaper reports that both men had indeed been involved with the massacre of Armenians. The newspapers first reported that: "Herr Rossler, German Consul at Aleppo, went to Aintab and superintended them (the atrocities against the Armenians) in person". However, Prof. Dadrian noted that Rossler could not have participated in the killing of Armenians as other German officials had done. He wrote:

"These people (German officials, consuls and others) often risked their positions, health and even lives in their efforts to obviate, if not prevent, the carnages occurring in the interior of Turkey.

They were not necessarily Armenophiles but decent and God fearing servants of German state who felt trapped in the vortex of a war generating conflicting emotions and loyalties. One of them, veteran Aleppo Consul Dr. Walter Rossler, was observed 'weeping bitterly' in face of the inferno of unspeakable atrocities that were being enacted in and around his consular district, one of the epicentres of the Armenian holocaust".<sup>84</sup>

According to Prof. Dadrian, Rossler was a man who abhorred the Turks' atrocities against the Armenians. It is possible that in the confusion of war, the Times' correspondent's source might have mistaken Dr Rossler's presence in Aintab where Turks were killing Armenians, as a presence to encourage or supervise the

massacres. Turks did not need any supervision in this matter since they were experts in conducting massacres and had centuries of experience. On the other hand, Prof Dadrian had dedicated quite few pages<sup>85</sup> to the “notorious Baron Oppenheim”<sup>86</sup> and his involvement in the massacres of Armenians. Oppenheim’s participation included many aspects, propaganda against the Armenians, vilification of Armenians, and justification of Turkish atrocities. Oppenheim was also mentioned in the *ARG*<sup>87</sup> as being bitter against the Armenians.

In 1919, newspapers reported how Turks had killed 500,000 Armenians. Their source was an article printed in the “*Petit Parisien*”. The report mentioned German direct participation in the killing: “German officers caused the massacre of 1,500 people at Keman”.<sup>88</sup> I could not find any reference to the place called “Keman”, but I found references to “Kamakh” where a large number of Armenians were massacred and “Kemakh” in Prof Dadrian’s book,<sup>89</sup> where Turks had killed 1,500 Armenians.

Prof Dadrian described how: “German authorities...showered a host of Turkish military and civilian officials ...with a variety of Prussian and German decorations...most of these officials were incriminated in the organization and implementation of the Armenian Genocide”.<sup>90</sup> One of these Turkish officials was Mehmud Memduh Governor of Erzingan. Prof Dadrian wrote:

“It is most significant that his candidacy for decoration came from Dr Colley, Red Cross German staff surgeon at Erzincan... among a litany of atrocities and mass murders, his (Mehmad Memduh’s) most fiendish act was the burying alive in July 1915 of some 1500 Armenian children at a location in Kemakh, 10 km south west of Erzincan, in a large pit which Armenian labourers were forced to dig”.<sup>91</sup>

It is possible that “Keman” and “Kemakh” was the same location<sup>92</sup> and the report in the *Argus* described the same incident as in Prof Dadrian’s book. The names of the two locations are very similar, the number of victims is the same and there is also German involvement, although not directly. The massacres at Kemakh happened in 1915 and the report in the *Argus* was printed in 1919 but was referring to atrocities committed during the war years. After the end of the war and the collapse of Young Turk government, more details of atrocities were emerging through survivors and eyewitnesses.

In 1918, headlines again accused Germany of responsibility in the massacres of Armenians based on a note from the Russian government to the German government blaming them for the recent massacre of Armenians.<sup>93</sup>

Count Wolf Von Wolfkel’s name was mentioned in the news reports as the person who ordered the bombardment of the

Armenian quarter of Urfa.<sup>94</sup> His name was also mentioned (with a slight spelling difference) in Prof. Dadrian's book:

“His (Count Wolffskeel) involvement in anti-Armenian activity in the April-October 1915 period is significant in two respects. First, it was active participation in military operations in which he played a leading role in obliterating the opposing Armenians....the reference is to the suppression of the defensive uprisings of the Armenians at Mussa Dagh....and Urfa, September-October 1915, at which he was a decisive participant on the side of the Turks”.<sup>95</sup>

There were also reports in the Australian press accusing Germans of involvement in the extermination of Armenians with the ulterior motive of settling Germans on Armenian territory. Thus, the editorial of the *Register* stated that in some cases German officials were actively inciting the Turks “to prepare for German immigrants a place in the sun by the elimination of the prosperous Armenians”.<sup>96</sup> The theory of German occupation of Armenia was taken up again by the *Argus* in its editorial of 23 February, 1916 when it said: “Very lately millions of Armenians have been massacred, apparently with the object of making ready for the expected German occupation”.

After the Armistice, the newspaper reports focused on the victorious Allies and how they were dealing with the continuing massacres of Armenians. If Germany during the war years was an

ally of Ottoman Turkey and had major influence over the country, after the defeat of Ottoman Turkey the Allies had more influence over that country as the victors than the Germans ever had. Yet, the massacre of remaining Armenians continued unabated.

From 1918 until 1922, the massacres spread from Cilicia to the newly created Armenian Republic to the city of Smyrna without any serious efforts from the Allies to stop the killings. The “civilised” Allied behaviour towards stopping the extermination of Armenians was no different from that of the “barbaric Hun”. In Smyrna for example in 1922, Allied fleet were moored in the harbour while Turkish soldiers were burning the city and massacring the Armenian and Greek population. Allied forces did not attempt to intervene and stop the massacres.

Many stories of atrocities attributed to the Germans during WWI were highly exaggerated. Any German action even minuscule ones were magnified and blown out of proportion. I have no doubt it was returned in kind by Germans, and German and Austrian press were filled with atrocity stories blamed on British and Allied soldiers. It is very peculiar that similar war propaganda, with constant attacks and insults, was not used against the Turks, and surprisingly, even during the height of the Gallipoli campaign there were no sentiments of ill feeling towards them. Thus, during the early stages of the Gallipoli campaign, letters appeared in newspapers, mainly written by Australian soldiers,

featuring Turkish atrocities, mutilation and killing of the wounded.

**Table 4** Reports of Turkish atrocities against the Anzac at Gallipoli

Newspaper	Title of Article	Date
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Reported Massacre of Australians</i>	12 May 1915
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Mutilation of the Dead</i>	22 May 1915
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Turks' Disregard of Rules of Warfare Letters From Soldiers</i>	11 June 1915
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Soldiers Letters. Turks are Savages</i>	11 June 1915
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Gross Turkish Cruelty</i>	17 June 1915
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Turkish Cruelties</i>	21 June 1915
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Turks Kill Our Wounded</i>	25 June 1915
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Turks Cut Bugler's Tongue Out</i>	26 June 1915
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Doctoring Under Difficulties Turks Shell Hospital</i>	18 August 1915
<i>REG</i>	<i>Turks Shell the Wounded</i>	27 September 1915

Table 4 shows some of the titles of articles based on soldiers' reports on Turkish atrocities against Australians in Gallipoli.

None of the articles in the above table received any wide coverage. They were printed mainly in the letters to the editor section, while reports of German atrocities against allied soldiers were printed on the main page with bold headlines.

There is no doubt that Turkish soldiers committed atrocities against Anzac prisoners and wounded and vice versa. Greg Kerr wrote:

“It was a commonly held belief among the Allies that the Turks were not inclined to take prisoners, and the events immediately after the defeat of Cpl Kerr's outfit suggested nothing to the contrary...one



wounded man, Priv. Calcutt was bayoneted to death, and when the wounded Priv. O'Connor yelled in protest, the same Turk walked over and proceeded to bash him over the head with a large rock until he became unconscious...the brutality continued as the battered men of C and D companies were indiscriminately bashed and struck with rifle butts...nearby, some Turkish soldiers were kicking several wounded men and preparing to roll them over a cliff".<sup>97</sup>

Not only were stories of these atrocities not exploited for a propaganda purpose like it was done to Germans, but articles were printed sympathetic to Turkish soldiers. Around six months after the landing at Gallipoli, the *AGE* (7 Oct.1915) printed a long article titled *Abduls Turk Characteristics, Influence of a Foreign Host, A Germanised Army*. The article written by "the special representative of the *Age*" from Gallipoli was subtitled *Abdul's Splendid Physique*. Similar articles in praise of German soldiers were absent in Australia, given the prejudice that prevailed in British and Australian societies, and the press towards anything and anyone German.

**Table 5** Articles sympathetic to Turks

Newspaper	Title of Article	Date
<i>REG</i>	<i>Humane Turks</i>	29 May 1915
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Gallipoli Turks Fair Fighters Atrocities Denied</i>	22 June 1915
<i>SMH</i>	<i>The Turks - Clean Fighters</i>	5 July 1915
<i>BC</i>	<i>The Turk a Gentleman</i>	5 June 1915
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Gallipoli Turks Fair Fighters Atrocities Denied</i>	22 June 1915

MCY	<i>The Australian Soldiers Deny Stories of Atrocities</i>	22 June 1915
ARG	<i>Turkish Atrocities Reports Not to be Believed</i>	30 June 1915
MCY	<i>The Australian Army The Reported Turkish Atrocities Warning to the Public</i>	30 June 1915
MCY	<i>Brave Turk</i>	3 July 1915
MCY	<i>The Turks as Fighters New Zealand Officers' Tribute</i>	5 July 1915
SMH	<i>The Turks - Clean Fighters</i>	5 July 1915
MCY	<i>The Dardanelles - The Brave Turks</i>	14 July 1915
MCY	<i>Courage and Weakness of the Turks</i>	16 July 1915
SMH	<i>Turks Good Fighters</i>	12 August 1915
MCY	<i>Bravery of the Turks</i>	6 September 1915
MCY	<i>Our Soldiers The Turks Fair Fighters</i>	9 October 1915
SMH	<i>No Turkish Atrocities</i>	16 November 1915
BC	<i>Playful Turks - Amiable Compliments</i>	1 January 1916

The above are only a small sample of articles, which denied Turkish atrocities or praised Turkish soldiers for their courage or fair fighting. However similar appraisals were never extended to the Germans. It is hard to explain the reasons for the unequal treatment between the two enemies of Australia. Praising Turkish soldiers who were actively participating in the extermination of Armenians, Assyrians and Greeks, and demonising Germans who were not involved in any genocidal campaign at that period.

A careful study of the articles printed in the Australian press indicated that there was no attempt from Australian journalists to use the Turkish atrocities against the Armenians to arouse hatred against the Turkish people. Reports, which reached the press, were reprinted without any embellishment. They represented real accounts from eyewitnesses. The occasional references to Turks

like “Unspeakable Turk”, “Atrocious Turk”, “Fiendish Turk” or “Barbarous Turk” were found only in articles reporting on the extermination of the Armenian population. No such references to Turks could be found during the Gallipoli campaign, even when newspapers were printing daily, in the roll of honour, the long list of fallen Anzac at the front. The difference was that at Gallipoli, two armies were fighting each other while in Turkish Armenia and surrounding regions, the Turkish government was carrying out the extermination of the unarmed Armenian civilian population.

While reading the articles repeatedly for my research, I particularly looked for a story or stories on the Armenian Genocide that would look suspicious or exaggerated, names of places in Armenia that didn’t exist, episodes of massacres that didn’t happen but were used as a propaganda tool against the Ottoman Turks. To the credit of Australian journalists, I could not find any reports on massacres that would be classified as suspicious or obviously manufactured and used for the sole purpose of propaganda.

#### **4.5 Sources of news reports**

During the Great War there were no independent reporters in the Ottoman Empire covering the deportations and massacres of Armenians. The Ottoman government had taken every

precautionary measure to prevent the news of the massacres from getting out of its borders. Australia, which was at war with Ottoman Turkey, could not have had reporters in that country. Thus the majority of the news printed in the Australian press on the extermination of Armenians were reprints from outside sources.

Considering the strong bonds that linked Australia to Great Britain, it was not surprising that Australian press received most of its news from the mother country. In fact the first cable message was sent from England to Australia in July 1872. But shortly before the completion of the submarine cable line from England to Australia, the manager of *ARG*, Hugh George, was sent to London to arrange for a “cabled service of British and foreign news”.<sup>98</sup> The service arranged with Reuters, at a cost of £8000 to £9000 per year,<sup>99</sup> was called *The Australian Associated Press (AAP)*. In 1895, *AAP* joined the *AGE*, the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* and the *Adelaide Advertiser* to form *The Australian Press Association* to supply overseas news to Australian and New Zealand newspapers.

Based on these arrangements, the absolute majority of news printed in the Australian press during WWI, including the massacres of Armenians, originated from London. Reports from Moscow, Paris, Washington or other locations, were dispatched to

London and from there, after filtering through censor's offices, cabled to Australia.

The question lies on how long it took for a news item to reach the city from where it originated- Petrograd, Paris, London or the US. Sometimes it took several weeks or months before the news from the interior of Ottoman Turkey, reached western capitals. The main original sources of news were American and other diplomats from neutral countries stationed in areas densely populated by Armenians, missionaries, including Germans, travellers from neutral countries and sometimes survivors of the massacres.

The initial reports originated from Petrograd because advancing Turkish troops massacred Armenians in Russian Armenia, inside the Russian border, or in Persia close to Russian border. In addition, dozens of thousands of refugees, escaping the Turkish massacres, had taken refuge inside Russian territory. Many reports were based on the eyewitness accounts of these survivors. After the defeat of the Ottoman army in Sarekamish, the Russians started advancing deep into Turkish Armenia and witnessed many of the atrocities committed by Turkish troops against the Armenian population.

Many of the articles on the massacres of Armenians that appeared in the British and Australian press had as a source Lord Bryce, a long-time friend of Armenians. In 1876, he founded the Anglo-Armenian Association, and twice visited Armenia in 1876 and 1880. In 1916, the Foreign Office commissioned him to compile documents on the massacres of Armenians with the assistance of Oxford historian Arnold Toynbee. That same year he published the *Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire*, also referred to as the Blue Book.

To give credibility to reports originating from Lord Bryce and vouch for the truthfulness of his reports, the editorial of the *REG* after discussing the atrocities of the Turks against the “hundreds of thousands of unoffending civilians”, described Lord Bryce as: “The famous historian and publicist” who “is not the man either to mislaid or to misled in such a serious matter; we have not the least doubt that he satisfied himself of the entire truth of his facts, or that he was justified in describing what the Turks are doing as “extirpating Christianity”.<sup>100</sup>

It is possible that many people had doubts about the veracity of accounts appearing in the papers. Perhaps, many thought the reports were exaggerated. Yes, Turks were known to massacre Armenians, but the deportation of the entire Armenian population and their destruction was something new. This explains the

*Register*'s appraisal of Lord Bryce's character to vouch for the veracity of his reports.<sup>101</sup>

Not all Australian newspapers cited the source of their news reports. Newspapers that did usually also mentioned the date the news was despatched from an overseas city or appeared in a newspaper in that city. Usually there was a delay of only 24 hours. Let us take for example the reports that appeared on 19 May 1915 and were printed in the six newspapers used in this research. On that day, newspapers reported the massacre of some 6,000 Armenians (*The AGE*'s title was an obvious misprint). Three newspapers cited as their source London. Table 6 shows that while some newspapers usually mentioned the source of their news; others especially the *ARG* and the *AGE* almost never indicated where the news item originated. It is not surprising that *MCY* had cited as its source Petrograd, because the story must have originated from that city. As mentioned before, the Russian army was advancing in the region at the time and they witnessed many of the atrocities and publicized the findings.

**Table 6**                    **Titles of articles of 19 May 1915 and the origin of their source**

Title	Newspaper	Source
<i>Armenians Massacred – Victims Number 60 000</i>	<i>AGE</i>	No Source
<i>Armenians – Massacres by Turks</i>	<i>SMH</i>	London
<i>Armenians Massacred</i>	<i>ARG</i>	No Source
<i>Turkish Atrocities – Massacres in Armenia</i>	<i>MCY</i>	Petrograd
<i>The Massacring Turk – Six Thousand Armenians Killed</i>	<i>BC</i>	London
<i>Massacres of Armenians</i>	<i>REG</i>	London

*REG* cited “London, May 18” and *SMH* “London, May 17” while *BC* mentioned London but did not mention the date. The same article with more details and with the title *6000 Armenians Killed. Turkish and Kurdish Atrocities at Van Rival Those of 1895* appeared on May 18, 1915 in the *New York Times*, giving as its source, London May 17, 1915.<sup>102</sup>

The length of the news items differed from one newspaper to another; sometimes sentences and paragraphs were reprinted as they were from the original source. This was clear when comparing articles, printed on the same day in various newspapers in the same or different states. Other times there were only slight differences from one article to another, with only minor changes; from the difference of one or two words to the difference of a paragraph or two.

Not all articles printed overseas were reprinted in Australia. For example, there were seven articles printed in April 1915 in *New York Times* about the massacre of Armenians and other Christians.<sup>103</sup> None of these reports appeared in the Australian press.

**Table 7** Titles of articles of *New York Times* that did not appear in the Australian press

Date	Title of Article
18 April 1915	<i>Kurds Disgust the Turks: The Latter Protest Against the Atrocities of the Former</i>



19 April 1915	<i>Pillage in Smyrna District: Christians Murdered at Vouria: An Appeal to America</i>
26 April 1915	<i>Great Exodus of Christians: Thousands Suffered Greatest Hardships to Escape Enemies.</i>
26 April 1915	<i>Kurds Massacre More Armenians: All inhabitants in Ten Villages Near Van Said to Have Been Killed.</i>
28 April 1915	<i>Appeal to Turkey to Stop Massacres: Ambassador Morgenthau Instructed to Make Representations on Request of Russia.</i>
29 April 1915	<i>Morgenthau Intercedes: Reports Great Uneasiness Over treatment of Armenians</i>
29 April 1915	<i>Says Turks Aided Recent Massacres: Troops Allowed Kurds to Kill Hundreds, American Missionary Reports</i>

The majority of articles printed in the Australian press appeared in more than one newspaper, which indicated that Australian newspapers were using the same sources for their news. There were only few articles that appeared only in one newspaper.

**Table 8** Articles from overseas sources that appeared in only one newspaper

Newspaper	Title of Article	Date
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Problem. Appeal to the United States</i>	22 Oct.1915
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Atrocities. Women Driven Like Cattle</i>	26 Nov.1915
<i>Herald</i>	<i>Massacred Armenians. Related to Victorian. Bishop Hanged by Turks</i>	1 Dec. 1915
<i>Herald</i>	<i>Armenian Atrocities. Bishops Murdered</i>	2 Dec.1915
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Armenians' Plight. Typhus-Stricken Refugees</i>	13 Dec.1915
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Massacres. Women and Children Burned</i>	22 Jan. 1916
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Massacre of Armenians</i>	11 Nov.1916
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Soil of Armenia</i>	12 Jan. 1918
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Atrocities</i>	19 Jan. 1918
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Reported Massacre</i>	5 March 1918
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Horrors</i>	15 Mar. 1919
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Massacres. Horrors of Turkish Rule</i>	11 Oct. 1921
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Turkish Atrocities</i>	25 Nov. 1921

I discovered the articles from the *Herald* by chance when casually glancing at the microfilm. The two published reports were not printed in any of the six newspapers I researched.

It is extremely rare that identical articles, from headlines to the last paragraph, were printed in more than one newspaper. One exception was the article titled *Horrors of Armenia, Plain Strewn with Corpses, Fearful Treatment of Women* that appeared in the *Argus* on 29 April 1915 and in the *Register* two days later on 1 May 1915. Both articles were identical word for word. None of the two newspapers gave the source of their report. The same article with less details appeared in the *New York Times* on 20 March 1915 with the title *Whole Plain Strewn by Armenian Bodies. Turks and Kurds Reported to have Massacred Men, Women and Children*. The *NY Times* cited as its source London 19 March 1915.

Australian press was getting its overseas news, as stated, from London through *AAP* and the lack of news reports from other sources especially US probably had other reasons. During the 1918 Press Censorship Conference, the editor of *Sydney Sun*, Campbell Jones, stated that:

“There is a big prejudice in Australia against American news. *The New York Times*, the *Sun*, the *Herald* and the *World* are the highest grade of newspapers in the world. Therefore American news emanating from those papers is just as reliable as any news which comes from England or any other part of the world”.<sup>104</sup>

#### **4.6 Articles on the Armenian Genocide as they appeared in the Australian press**

The tragedy that befell the Armenians was widely covered by the Australian press, with headlines that revealed the full horror and plight of Armenians. The trickle of reports of early 1915, which gave an impression of another mass killing of Armenians in late 1915 became a torrent of reports which clearly indicated that the aim of the Turkish authorities was the total extermination of the Armenian race from the Ottoman Empire.

Most of the articles about the extermination of Armenians were printed between May and December of 1915 during the height of the deportations and massacres of Armenians. The articles became less frequent in 1917-1918 when most of the deportations and killings had taken place already. Later reports between 1918 and 1923 related to news about:

- The plight of Armenian deportees in the Syrian and Mesopotamian deserts.
- Sporadic massacres.
- The massacre of Armenian deportees who had returned to their homes after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, especially in Cilicia.

- Massacre of Armenians by Turkish Tatars (modern Azeris) in the Caucasus.
- Massacre of Armenians and Greeks by the hands of Turkish nationalist forces of Mustapha Kemal (Ataturk) in Asia Minor, Smyrna and Armenia.
- Relief efforts in Australia.

Some of the articles printed after the Armistice with reference to the extermination of Armenians were not fresh new reports of massacres but mentioned the massacres of Armenians that had taken place during the war. Atrocities against the Armenians were also mentioned, as background information, in reports that dealt with the conviction and escape of Young Turk leaders, the arrest of general Liman von Sanders,<sup>105</sup> or the killing of some of the Young Turk leaders by Armenians for vengeance.

#### **4.6.1 Position, length and importance of the articles**

The extermination of Armenians had news value in itself because it was the first time that a government was systematically exterminating an entire race. But the fate of the Armenians had no bearing on the outcome of the war and it is understandable that news about the extermination of Armenians would have a lesser priority value for the editors. During the Great War, the priorities of journalists and editors was the reporting of news from the battlefields, specially the Western Front where the

heaviest of fighting engaged the armies of great powers and where the outcome of the war would have been decided. During the course of the Great War, everyone's attention was drawn to the battlefields of Europe and Middle East and to the page where all the latest news from the war front was printed. K. Ingliss wrote:

“In Australia as elsewhere, newspapers were being read more widely now than ever before. In a quite precise sense, this war was generating more news than any event in history, as messages from the fields of battle travelled by cable and wireless to be printed in the newspapers which were, as never again, the only medium of public information; and among Australians the habit of reading newspapers was possibly more popular than anywhere else in the world”.<sup>106</sup>

Australian newspapers had also reported the massacres of Armenians back in 1896. Many of the articles of that year spread over several columns, while during WWI the reports were much shorter in length, even though the extent of the slaughter and destruction was immeasurably greater.<sup>107</sup> The reason might have been the huge amount of news that the global war was generating and news of the extermination of Armenians had to compete with them. Another reason for the brief reports might have been the lack of newsprint, which Australia depended from imports. Before the war, Australia imported, mainly from Britain and Scandinavia 100,000 tons of newsprint. In 1915, it dropped down to 70,000, in

1916 to 60,000 tonnes and in 1917 to 50,000 tonnes.<sup>108</sup> The price “per ton landed at Sydney rose from £10 in 1914 to £15 in 1915, £30 in 1916, £50 in 1917 and £80 in 1918”.<sup>109</sup>

The fall of newsprint supplies and the rise of its price affected the price of newspapers, which rose also while the cable charges had jumped by about 600 percent.<sup>110</sup> This in turn might have affected the size of news reports on the massacres of Armenians printed in the Australian press and priority given to reports from the battlefield. Another reason might have been the custom of the period not to print long reports. The papers of the period it appears did not dedicate more than a column for a story: “Like most serious papers of the day it (*SMH*) seldom expanded the display of a news report or article into more than one column”.<sup>111</sup>

The newspapers that I used for my research did not print the main news of the day on their front pages. The *Sydney Sun* was the first newspaper to publish its news on its front page.<sup>112</sup> In general, the most important news of the day was printed starting from the top left column of the paper. Each newspaper had its own page for editorial and a page or two dedicated to news from the world war. Major newspapers like the *Argus*, *Age* and *Sydney Morning Herald* printed more news items than other smaller newspapers like the *Mercury* or the *Brisbane Courier*.

**Table 9 Page numbers where most reports of the massacres of Armenians were printed**

Newspaper	Pages
<i>The Argus</i>	Pages: 7 and 9
<i>The Age</i>	Pages: 7 and 9
<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	Pages: 7, 9 or 10
<i>The Register Adelaide</i>	Pages: 5,7, 8 and 9
<i>The Brisbane Courier</i>	Page 7
<i>The Mercury</i>	Page 5

Most articles about Armenians appeared on the main page where the latest news from the war front was printed. From 25 April to December 19, 1915 the day of the evacuation, the Australian public's attention was mainly focused on the Anzac's campaign at Gallipoli.

News about the massacres of Armenians was mainly printed on the same column or on an adjacent column where the story of Anzac's was printed (see copies of articles in the Appendix).

This gave the maximum coverage to the plight of Armenians. The Anzac soldiers were fighting the Ottoman Turkish government and the same government was exterminating the Armenians, both had the same enemy. That, I presume was the reason why both subjects were printed next to each other, both events occurred in Ottoman Turkey.

#### **4.6.2 Titles of Articles**

The Australian press often used confusing titles to describe the massacres of Armenians. Some of the more frequently used ones

were: “Armenian Atrocities” and “Turkish Atrocities”. These two titles were used to describe the same thing, atrocities against the Armenians.

As it appears from the table below, newspapers had their preferences. The *MCY* preferred “Turkish Atrocities” while the *ARG* “Armenian Atrocities”.

**Table 10** Titles that included: “Armenian Atrocities” and “Turkish Atrocities” to describe the massacres of Armenians

Newspaper	Title of Articles	Date
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Armenian Atrocities. Ghastly Stories. Greek Women Tortured</i>	3 Aug. 1915
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Turkish Atrocities. Massacre of Armenians. Dreadful Details</i>	
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Atrocities. How the Turks Act. Entire Village Obliterated</i>	11 Sep. 1915
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Turkish Atrocities. Diabolical Cruelty. People Burnt Alive.</i>	
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Armenian Atrocities. Ten Thousand Drowned. Thrown into Sea from Boats.</i>	23 Sep. 1915
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Turkish Atrocities. Systematic Slaughter of Armenians.</i>	
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Armenian Atrocities.</i>	1 Oct. 1915
<i>BC</i>	<i>Armenian Atrocities. Encouraged by German Consuls.</i>	
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Atrocities. Guilt of Germans.</i>	
<i>REG</i>	<i>Turkish Atrocities. German Encouragement.</i>	

An example of this confusing way of titling the articles appeared in the *ARG* (4 Oct.1915). Two articles in two adjacent columns almost on a horizontal level depicted atrocities by the two enemies of the Allies. One title read *Armenian Atrocities, America Makes Offer, Will Take the Homeless* and the other *German Atrocities, Russian Prisoners Murdered* (See Appendix for the copy of the articles). The reader when reading the heading



“*German Atrocities*” must have understood that Germans were committing atrocities and when reading “*Armenian Atrocities*” must have understood that it is not the Armenians who were committing the atrocities but they were being subjected to atrocities by the hands of the Turks. Can we assume that every reader understood that Armenians were not committing atrocities?

Alternatively, both expressions, “Turkish Massacres” and “Armenian Massacres”, were used to describe the massacres of Armenians. On 25 May 1915, *SMH* reported *Armenia, Turkish Massacres* and the *ARG* reported the same story under the title *Armenian Massacres, Allies Issue Statement*. The other newspapers reporting the same story the same day had clearer titles, which left no doubt about the victims and the perpetrators of the crime; *AGE* (*Massacre of Armenians*), *MCY* (*Massacres in Armenia*), *BC* (*Turkish savagery, Massacres of Armenians*).

Another expression used alternatively to describe the extermination of Armenians was “Turkish Horrors”<sup>113</sup> and “Armenian Horrors”.<sup>114</sup>

Of the six newspapers I used for my research, the *REG* was the only one, which stood out for the unusual choice of news titles. Some titles did not really reflect the sufferings of the Armenians and did not mention the cruelty of the perpetrators. Also it made

it hard to guess the contents of the article from the title, for example, the title *Cheap Girls*. How would one guess that the article was related to Armenian girls being sold as slaves in Turkish markets?

#### **4.6.3 Titles without references to Turks**

The lack of Turcophobic intentions in the Australian press was visible from the hundreds of titles of articles on the extermination of Armenians, where even the word “Turk” or “Turkish” was not included. This kind of omission was uncommon for lesser degree atrocities attributed to the Germans. This is the best illustration that there was no attempt from Australian journalists to deliberately embellish, and use Turkish atrocities for propaganda purposes. This is puzzling because Australia was at war with the Ottoman Empire and every report of Turkish atrocities against the Armenians gave them abundant ammunition to use as war propaganda against Ottoman Turkey.

Australian journalists could have very well inflated the stories emphasizing Turkish atrocities, denigrating Turks and unleashing a propaganda campaign against Ottoman Turkey and Turks, exactly the way they were reporting German atrocities. But it is clear that their main concern was the fate of Armenians and they were simply doing their journalistic duties and printing the facts on the Armenian Genocide and not fictitious stories (See

Appendix for list of titles that omit the word “Turk” or “Turkish” in the title).

There were articles that not only omitted the word “Turk” or “Turkish” in the title but also in the article itself. This type of omission was not extended to Germans. Articles highlighting atrocities of German troops always mentioned Germans as the perpetrators of the crime.

**Table 11** Articles that omitted the words “Turk” or “Turkish” in the title or the body of the text

Newspaper	Title of Article	Date
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Horrors – Parents Eat Children</i>	21 Aug. 1916
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Armenian Horrors – Further Shocking Revelations</i>	21 Aug. 1916
<i>REG</i>	<i>Armenians Driven to Cannibalism</i>	21 Aug. 1916
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Sufferings of Armenians – Resort to Cannibalism</i>	21 Aug. 1916
<i>SMH</i>	<i>The Armenians – Horrible Sufferings</i>	21 Aug. 1916
<i>REG</i>	<i>Aid For the Armenians</i>	5 Oct. 1916
<i>BC</i>	<i>The Suffering Armenians</i>	5 Oct. 1916
<i>SMH</i>	<i>To Aid Armenians</i>	5 Oct. 1916
<i>MCY</i>	<i>The Armenians – Relief From America</i>	6 Oct. 1916

Another omission from the titles is the word “Ottoman”. During WWI, Turkey was known as Ottoman Empire. Yet, from the hundreds of articles there was not a single title where the “Ottoman government” was held responsible for the massacres of Armenians. Whenever mentioned, it was always the “Turk” or the “Turkish government” who was held responsible for the massacres.

#### 4.6.4 Articles with Australian content

Australian editors and journalists did not only reprint articles published overseas, but also contributed with special reports of their own. These articles can be divided in three separate categories:

- Articles dedicated to the massacres of Armenians written by war correspondents in Middle East.
- Editorials.
- Articles dedicated to the relief efforts undertaken by Australians across Australia between 1915-1923.

The articles under one of these categories are valuable because they were exclusive to the Australian press. Articles in the first category were rare. During the Great War, Australian war correspondents based in Middle East could have reported on the massacres of Armenians only when they had the chance to meet directly with an eyewitness. Two of the first reports from this category originated from Gallipoli.

**Table 12** List of Articles exclusive to the Australian press

Newspaper	Title of Article	Date
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Hard Driven Armenians</i>	20 Aug. 1915
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Turkish Atrocities. Massacre of Armenians. Seizure of Property.</i>	27 Oct. 1915
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Horrors. Story of Eye-Witness. Revolting Tale of Cruelty</i>	2 Dec. 1915

<i>AGE</i>	<i>The Armenian Atrocities. Turks Lay Siege to Mousa Dagh. Kept at Bay for 53 Days Then Rescued by the French Fleet. Story Told by an Armenian Graduate (See section 1.5)</i>	8 Dec. 1915
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Germany's Ally. The "Turkish Method." An Armenian's Simple Tale (same report as ARG 2 Dec. 1915)</i>	21 Dec. 1915
<i>REG</i>	<i>In Turkish Hands. A Woman's Ideal</i>	26 Sep. 1922

The first account appeared in the *ARG* 20 August 1915. "*Hard Driven Armenians*" was a report about Armenian soldiers in the Ottoman army during the Gallipoli campaign. I included this article with others related to the extermination of Armenians because the killing of Armenian soldiers in the Ottoman army was part of the "Turkish Method" (See section 5.6 for details of "Turkish Method") of exterminating Armenians.

Armenians,<sup>115</sup> together with other Ottoman citizens, were conscripted into the Ottoman army in 1914. They served in many fronts and duly carried out their duties. But starting 1915 they were disarmed, forced into slave labour battalions, where they were worked to death or massacred by fellow Turkish soldiers. During the Gallipoli campaign, thousands of Armenian soldiers fought in the Ottoman ranks against the Anzac, while others were used in slave labour battalions to dig trenches and other fortifications for the Ottoman army.

The Armenian participation at Gallipoli is not yet researched and it is not known how many similar incidents happened as described

in *Hard Driven Armenians* where Turkish officers forced exhausted Armenian soldiers towards the Anzac trenches just to be slaughtered. In addition, it is not known about the fate of thousands of Armenian soldiers who were part of labour battalions at Gallipoli. The article of the *ARG* was written as a tribute to the Armenian soldiers who fought with valour against the Anzac. From a distance of 88 years, the story has a different meaning in the context of the Armenian Genocide.

The Armenian soldiers, according to *ARG*, “had tramped an average of 15 miles a day for three weeks on poor food. These had been forced marches from Constantinople and the men had been sent into the attack as soon as they arrived...” The Armenian soldiers were “hard-driven” to death, which was part of the extermination campaign of the Ottoman Turkish government. They had to be eliminated, one-way or another. Thus, why not let the Anzac do the dirty work. Armenian soldiers killing Anzac soldiers in the fighting was good for the Turks and in the process of Anzac soldiers killing the Armenians, it was again good for the Turks. It was a win-win situation for them. It is attention-grabbing as reflected in the line where the article mentioned: “But our troops simply took their bayonets and rifles away from these enterprising enemies and made them prisoners”. Once away from their tormentors and in the “safety” of “enemy” trenches Armenian soldiers had no intention to fight the Anzac and gave

themselves up. I believe this short article was written or had as a source CEW Bean. He was the official Australian correspondent at Gallipoli and the article must have originated from him (See full text in the Appendix).

The second article from Gallipoli was an eyewitness account written by CEW Bean from Gaba Tepe. The article appeared in the *ARG*<sup>116</sup> and *MCY*.<sup>117</sup> Apart from few minor changes the articles are identical. For this research, I chose only the article that appeared in the *MCY* because the print quality of the microfilm was much clearer than the one in the *ARG*. The story related to the article *Hard Driven Armenians* because both originated from Gaba Tepe. It is hard to say if the Armenian prisoner, in the story by CEW Bean, was part of the Armenian soldiers who were made prisoners at Gaba Tepe and reported in the article *Hard Driven Armenians*. The Armenian soldier in the CEW Bean's story was enlisted in the Ottoman army as a Turk, with his brother, to avoid persecution and death.

Bean considered it important enough and believed in the soldier's story to spend time to write the article, most probably with the help of an interpreter from the battlefield of Gallipoli (See copy of the full report in the Appendix).

Reading Bean's article one notices that the names of places and people are missing. There are a number of articles in the Australian press where the names of witnesses or the sources of the news were deliberately withheld from the report to protect them against reprisals by Turkish authorities.<sup>118</sup> In Bean's article, the soldier had unlisted in the Ottoman army with his brother and after falling prisoner at Gallipoli, probably he wanted to protect his brother who was most likely still in the Ottoman army. Few times the name of Sivas was mentioned which indicated that it happened in the province of Sivas or the town of the same name.

Did CEW Bean have an original version of the same story with full details of the Armenian soldier's eye witness account, including his name, his brother's name, the name of their native village, the city where he served in the Ottoman army, the place where he witnessed the mass killing of Armenians? Only a thorough research of Bean's papers might reveal its existence. Among the hundreds of articles which appeared in the papers, the above mentioned article of Bean is the one with the most historical value because it wasn't a reprint from cables but was written by Bean, having as a primary source an eye witness of the genocide.

From the above two articles printed in the *ARG* that mentioned Armenian soldiers in the Ottoman army and also the reference in



the History of AIF<sup>119</sup> of Armenian prisoners caught by Anzac, it is beyond doubt that Armenian soldiers were not only used in slave labour battalions, but were also used on the battle front at Gallipoli.

It was very likely that the good impression that the Anzac had of the Turks as fair fighters, reciprocating kind gestures in the trenches came also from the many Christian soldiers that were facing the Anzac at Gallipoli. They carried out their duties as Ottoman soldiers but their sympathies laid with the Allies. For the young Anzacs in their first major engagement, the enemy was the Turk. They could not differentiate between different ethnic groups within the Ottoman army, and they would not know if the enemy they were facing, in Ottoman uniforms, were Armenians, Assyrians, Greeks, Turks or any one of other nationalities that comprised the Ottoman army. Turkish soldiers did not have any reason to be nice to Australians while Christian soldiers had every reason to rejoice from the presence of Allied forces so close to the Ottoman capital. An Allied victory would have meant freedom from Ottoman Turkish yoke, end of massacres and the start of a new life free from Ottoman Turkish misrule.

The third article appeared in the *AGE* under the subtitles *Turkish Atrocities, Massacre of Armenians, Seizure of Property*. It was part of a larger report despatched from Cairo by “the special

Representative of the *Age*".<sup>120</sup> It was the testimony of Mrs Vanec(?) the "young wife of an English doctor at Beyrout" who had "witnessed the massacre of Armenians at Urfa in August". It was a brief story of her eyewitness account of the massacre of Armenians in the city of Urfa.

The article described how she was arrested with 90 others and kept as a hostage and "*threatened with death*" if Allied ships bombarded the Mediterranean coast and killed even a single Turk. She also witnessed the extermination of Armenians outside Urfa. She recounted how she: "Saw hundreds of emaciated dead bodies all along the roads leading to the coast and a few miserable survivors, whose demeanour was more like hunted wild animals than human beings".

The fourth article was printed in the *REG* 26 September 1922 under the title *In Turkish Hands, A Woman's Ideal* (ordeal?). It was the story of a survivor of the Armenian Genocide, a young woman who had escaped from the Arab slave market and was on her way to New Zealand to get married. At a stopover in Sydney, she had told her story of deportations, sexual abuse, murder of her mother and hardship in the Syrian Desert. The *REG* mentioned as its source the *Sydney Evening News* (See copy of the article in the Appendix).

#### 4.6.5 Editorials

The second category of articles from Australian sources was the editorials. Australian editors specifically addressed the issue of the extermination of Armenians and most editorials on Armenians preceded a major article on the massacres of Armenians. The first editorial appeared late 1915 during the height of deportations and massacres when the world gradually became aware that, under the cover of war, one of the belligerents was attempting to exterminate one of its minority races.

**Table 13 Editorials that appeared preceding an article on the massacres of Armenians**

Newspaper	Title of Editorial	Article	Date
<i>REG</i>	<i>Armenian Massacres</i>	<i>Armenian Massacres "Extirpating Christianity"</i>	23 Sep.1915
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Exterminating Christians</i>	<i>Massacre of Armenians Awful tales of cruelty</i>	28 Sep.1915
<i>REG</i>	<i>The War</i>	<i>Whitewashing the Turks</i>	29 Sep.1915
<i>MCY</i>	<i>The Armenian Massacres</i>	<i>Atrocities in Armenia The work of extermination</i>	8 Oct.1915
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Turkish Atrocities</i>	<i>Turkish Atrocities Massacre of Armenians</i>	29 Nov.1915
<i>REG</i>	<i>Murdering a people</i>	<i>Unhappy Armenians</i>	12 Feb.1916
<i>REG</i>	<i>Turkey and the war America's difficulties</i>	<i>Threat from America</i>	21 Feb.1916
<i>REG</i>	<i>Taming the Turk</i>	<i>Russians' brilliant success</i>	22 Feb.1916
<i>REG</i>	<i>The War</i>	<i>Armenia Its importance to Russia</i>	28 July 1916

**Table 14 Editorials without an accompanying article**

Newspaper	Editorial	Date
<i>ARG</i>	No title	23 Feb.1916
<i>SMH</i>	<i>A Tragedy</i>	12 Aug. 1922
<i>REG</i>	<i>Turks and Armenians</i>	4 Jan. 1923

Editorials are the reflections of the major issues of the day and the newspaper's opinion on a specific topic of the day. The inclusion of the fate of Armenians reflected how Australian editors perceived the extermination of Armenians parallel to the horrors of a total war. There were clear differences between the cable reports and editorials. In general, editorials dedicated to the extermination of Armenians used the harshest language against the Turkish government than news reports. The latter were mostly dry accounts of massacres and deportations, while the editorials gave more background information about the Armenians, about their national characteristics, brief history of Armenia and most of all, reflected more human feelings and anger towards the Turks.

The third category dedicated to the relief efforts undertaken by Australians is a much wider topic and I will address it separately in chapter 6.

#### **4.7 Religious factor**

The Great War was not fought on religious grounds. Germans and Austrians were countries with a majority Christian population. Their ally Ottoman Turkey was a predominantly Muslim country. Even though the majority of Allied countries professed Christianity, the British army had a large contingent of Indian

Muslims fighting in its ranks against Ottoman Turkey and the Central Powers. Arabs were also Muslims, but fought hard against the Ottoman Empire to free them from Turkish yoke.

Australia was also a predominantly Christian country. The Australian population during WWI was almost entirely Christian. According to the 1911 Australian census, 98.46 percent of the total population were Christians. Of these, 39.40 percent belonged to the Church of England followed by the Roman Catholic Church with 21.22 percent of followers.

Armenians were also in a similar situation; Christianity was a synonym of being an Armenian. Accordingly, the Armenian population in Ottoman Turkey and elsewhere were almost entirely Christian with the majority belonging to the Armenian Apostolic church and others to the Armenian Catholic, Protestant and Evangelical churches. In 2001, Armenians commemorated the 1700 anniversary of Christianity in Armenia. Over this period of time, Christianity left an indelible mark on the character of the nation, and it was almost incomprehensible to talk about Armenians as followers of other religions.

In this context can be placed the emphasis in the news reports of the “Christianity” of Armenians. Throughout the articles in all of the newspapers I researched there was an emphasis on the

religious beliefs of the Armenians. There was even confusion between Armenians and Christianity. In many reports, the ethnicity of Armenians does not seem important. They were just called Christians, and many titles used the word Christian instead of Armenian. This tendency to confuse Armenians with their religion is not unique to the Australian press but also to the international press that Australians were using as their main source. This confusion was not exclusive to Armenians but it was used also to reports of atrocities against other Christian nationalities, Greeks, Lebanese Christians and others. In some articles, concerning the massacres of Armenians, Assyrians or Greeks, the papers used the word “Christian”, without giving details who these “Christians” were. In most articles, the word “Christian” used in the title or in the body of the text was referred exclusively to the Armenians. In some articles it is clear that was referred to Armenians and Greeks and in others where only the word “Christian” was mentioned, without giving details of the ethnic breakdown of Christians, it might have included Armenians, Assyrians, Greeks, or any other smaller Christian denominations living together. In other articles, the word “Christian” was used to indicate only the Greek population.

The reference to Armenians as Christians included all Armenian religious denominations, Apostolic, Evangelical, Catholic and Protestant. Thus Christian meant the Armenian race. There is

hardly any reference to separate Armenian Christian denominations. Only one article, in April 1916, referred to the Armenian Catholics. Amsterdam newspapers, based on German catholic sources, had reported that Turks had killed more than a million Armenians, adding that the victims included 100,000 Catholics and four bishops.<sup>121</sup>

On June 13, 2001, the newly elected head of Armenian Catholic Church, Patriarch Nerses Bedros XIX Tarmuni, arrived in Melbourne for his first official visit to Australia. During an interview with him, I mentioned the content of the above article and asked him whether it was correct. He did not know the exact number of Armenian Catholic victims of the Armenian Genocide but he said he had information that Turks had killed 44 Armenian Catholic clergy between 1915-1918. The victims included archbishops, bishops, priests and nuns of various orders. The most famous cleric was Archbishop Ignatius Maloian who was tortured and killed by Ottoman Turkish police and beatified by Pope John Paul II in October 2001 (See Images and Maps).

There were no titles between 1916 and 1923 reporting about Armenian massacres and using the word “Christian”. Although in the reports, the practice continued as before.

**Table 15** Titles with the mention of the word “Christian” to identify Armenians

Newspaper	Title of Article	Date
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Progress of the Turks - Massacre of Christians</i>	15 January 1915
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Turkish Horrors. Fearful Butchery of Christians</i>	12 May 1915
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Christians Butchered - Massacres in Armenia</i>	12 May 1915
<i>BC</i>	<i>Turkish Horrors - War on the Christians</i>	12 May 1915
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Asiatic Turkey - Massacre of Christians</i>	30 July 1915
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Murderous Turks - Christians Massacred</i>	30 July 1915
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Turkey - Massacre of Christians</i>	7 August 1915
<i>BC</i>	<i>Enver Bey and the Massacres of Christians</i>	7 August 1915
<i>REG</i>	<i>Armenian Massacres. “Extirpating Christianity”</i>	23 September 1915
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Turks and Armenians - War Against Christians</i>	24 September 1915
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Exterminating Christians (editorial)</i>	28 September 1915
<i>REG</i>	<i>Christians in Distress</i>	21 December 1915

The press of 1915 had an ideological interpretation of the world. Many editorials in the Australian press portrayed the ongoing war as a battle between good and evil, civilized Christian world against un-Christian barbaric enemies. Needless to say that the good and the civilized Christian countries were the Allies and the “barbarians” were the Germans and the Ottoman Turks. Since Germans and Austrians professed Christianity, many editorials questioned the Christianity of Germans. The “civilized Christian” world, comprised by the Allies, had high moral and ethical values. In this context, the Armenians were classified as part of the good Christian world that the uncivilized barbarity of the enemy was trying to exterminate. The presentation of the extermination of the Armenians in the context of the global war of the good civilised Allies against the barbaric uncivilised



Central Powers, also justified the war the Allies were waging against the uncivilised enemy.

The editorial of the *MCY* titled *Exterminating Christians* (28 Sep.1915) was a typical example of how the extermination of Armenians was viewed from a religious point of view. The Germans were referred to as the “so-called Christians”, both the “German Huns” and the “ruthless barbarians” (Turks) “worshiped hate” and both were the most dangerous to humanity. The editorial further stated that: “Some Germans have no God at all and others have the same God the Muslims believe in, the God of polygamy and slaughter”. The editorial was dedicated to the extermination of the Armenians by the hands of the Turks, and Germany was portrayed as being as guilty as the Turks for letting their ally carry out the extermination of the Armenians.

The *Anglican Church Messenger* had also emphasized the Christian factor. After stating that: “It’s an extraordinary puzzle how America, professing to be Christian can look on comparatively unmoved” compared the massacre of Armenians with the persecution and the “Roman murders of Christians during the first three centuries of our era” it added that: “Turks have murdered immeasurably more Christians than all the persecuting emperors put together”.<sup>122</sup>

The editorial of the *MCY* after describing atrocities against the Armenians wrote: “It is their (fanatic Turks) “religious hatred of the Christians, which steels their barbarous hearts to such ghastly crimes”. And after accusing German officers that: “In some instances assisted” the massacres accused the Kaiser of deliberately instigating the “Mohammedans to preach a “Holy War”, which means exterminating Christians wherever they have the power”. It ended the editorial with the promise that the: “Civilised Powers (the Allies)” will “take steps to render their recurrence impossible”.<sup>123</sup>

Shortly after entering the war, Ottoman Turkey declared Jihad or Holy War against the Allies and the “Moslems of the Empire were besought and incited to persecute and massacre all Christians”.<sup>124</sup> The proclamation of Holy War was not an expression of religious zeal from the part of Young Turk leaders- Enver, Djemal and Talaat- but a calculated political move to gain the unwavering support from the Muslim population inside the Ottoman Turkish Empire and outside its borders.

**Table 16**            **Articles on the declaration of Holy War by Ottoman Turkey**

Newspaper	Title	Date
<i>AGE</i>	<i>A Holy War - Reported Proclamation</i>	20 Nov. 1914
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Russia and Turkey - Porte Declares Holy War</i>	20 Nov. 1914
<i>BC</i>	<i>Moslem Holy War - Statement by the Kaiser</i>	20 Nov. 1914
<i>REG</i>	<i>Kaiser and Holy War</i>	20 Nov. 1914
<i>SMH</i>	<i>The Jihad</i>	20 Nov. 1914

Another reason for the wide use of the word “Christian” to denominate Armenians, Greeks and other Christian nationalities was the direct result of Turkish government’s deliberate policy of persecution targeting the Christian religion. Turkish authorities had used the religious factor to incite the Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire against the Armenians. They had used the difference of religion of Armenians as a tool to carry out their planned extermination thoroughly and this might have been one of the reasons for the extensive use of the word “Christian” instead of “Armenian” in the Western media. The Young Turk government not only physically destroyed the Armenians but simultaneously also destroyed dozens of thousands of religious manuscripts, desecrated thousands of Armenian churches, monasteries, sanctuaries and tortured and killed bishops, priests and monks. This deliberate attack against the Christian religion was another powerful reason that had its effect on Christians and provoked a strong reaction from the press and Christian churches worldwide.

In the Australian newspapers of WWI, there were only few reports where the destruction of monasteries, religious items and manuscripts were reported. This was astonishing compared to the number of religious sites desecrated, destroyed or simply transformed to a mosque by the Turks. In general, the news reports printed between 1915-1923 put the emphasis on the human

factor, the killing of Armenians, their abduction, the slavery of young women and girls and the plight of the survivors. It was only in 1916 that newspapers reporting the successful Russian advance in Armenia, printed reports stating that: “The Russians are making every effort to save the vestiges of the ancient Armenian civilisation. Only two monasteries are left standing in the province of Van and thousands of valuable manuscripts have been destroyed”.<sup>125</sup> This reference to the destruction of religious property referred only to the province of Van that Russians had succeeded in occupying.

There might have been another reason for identifying Armenians with Christianity. Probably most people would not know who the Armenians were and a common link for identification between the reader of the newspaper and the Armenians was the common Christian religion professed by the majority of Australians. In addition, the Christian sentiment was much stronger in those days in Australia and it is not a coincidence that most of the members of Friends of Armenia and Armenian Relief Fund were clerics, preachers or closely associated with the Anglican or Presbyterian Churches.

In recent decades, when Armenians are pursuing the recognition of the Armenian Genocide more forcibly on the international level, they are presenting the issue as the Armenian Genocide

based on the principles of UNCG and not as the genocide of Christians. But successive Turkish governments, trying to appeal to the religious sentiments of Muslims worldwide, continue to deny and justify the actions of the Ottoman Turkish government by bringing to the attention of the world the fact that during the war a bigger number of Muslims were killed.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

Australian editors and journalists, who covered the Armenian Genocide, received the news overwhelmingly from British sources. The background of most journalists and editors was British and the arrangements that the Australian press had made with Great Britain, in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century for the supply of news, gave preference to the news reports from Great Britain over other sources of news. This preference had its origins in the strong ties- linguistic, religious, cultural and social- that bound Australians to Great Britain. From the very first day Great Britain entered the war, Australia declared its unconditional support to the mother country and followed the lead of Great Britain. That unconditional support extended also to the press, thus what was acceptable for the British press was also acceptable for the Australian press.

Australians also followed the British lead on war censorship and war propaganda and there were no indication that reports on the massacres of Armenians were censored either in Britain or in Australia. During the hostilities, the main target of British war propaganda was Germany. The reports printed in the British press were sent to Australia and printed in the Australian newspapers, and consequently atrocities attributed to Germans received wider coverage than the real atrocities the Turkish government was committing against the Armenians. Often, the atrocities or harsh treatment of British prisoners received wider coverage than the massacre of thousands of Armenians. The inequality of the treatment of German and Turkish cruelties in the Australian press was tangible when we compare the excesses the Germans committed and the extent, severity and barbarity of the crimes against humanity the Turkish government committed against the Armenians.

During WWI, the German government did not have any genocidal policies against any people and did not exterminate any racial or ethnic group. Germany of WWI was not Germany of WWII. Atrocities against Germans were exaggerated or fabricated because Germans did not commit excessive atrocities, as probably Allied propagandists hoped, and the Allies needed propaganda to keep the hatred of the enemy alive. In the case of the Ottoman Empire, Turks were committing so many atrocities and shocking

crimes against humanity that the press did not need to embellish them or use propaganda to defame the Turks.

The printed accounts of the Armenian Genocide in the Australian press were as objective and clear of any propaganda and political influence as possible, and did not pursue the objective of discrediting Ottoman Turkey or Turks in general. There was no evidence that the media had unleashed a propaganda campaign against Ottoman Turkey using as a pretext the extermination of Armenians. On the contrary a number of articles were printed which were favourable to the Ottoman Turks, and given the fact that Australia was at war with Ottoman Turkey, it was quite extraordinary.

The few reports written by Australian correspondents in the Middle East and mentioned in this chapter are not the complete list of articles, but merely the ones that I have encountered during my research. It is probable that other articles were written on the massacres of Armenians by Australian war correspondents and printed in papers waiting to be rediscovered. The reports of Australian correspondents complemented the news of massacres of Armenians that were being published in the newspapers.

Together with editorials and articles on relief efforts in Australia are parts of a wealth of still untapped documentary evidence on the Armenian Genocide from Australian sources.

- <sup>1</sup> Scott, Ernest 1936, *Australia During the War, The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, vol. 11, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, Preface p. v.
- <sup>2</sup> *A United Empire*, editorial, *SMH*, 3 Aug. 1914, p. 8.
- <sup>3</sup> *Sharing the Suffering*, editorial, *SMH*, 10 Aug. 1914, p. 8.
- <sup>4</sup> Scott, Preface p. v.
- <sup>5</sup> *Easing the Burden*, editorial, *SMH*, 31 Aug. 1914, p.6.
- <sup>6</sup> *Company of Heralds, A Century and a Half of Australian Publishing by John Fairfax Limited and its Predecessors 1831-1981*, Melbourne University Press, p. 112.
- <sup>7</sup> Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1911, *Birthplaces*, p. 145.
- <sup>8</sup> Census, 1911, *Occupations*, p.350.
- <sup>9</sup> Lloyd, Clem 1985, *Profession: Journalist*, Hale & Iremonger NSW, p. 28.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, p. 29.
- <sup>11</sup> *Company of Heralds*, p. 109.
- <sup>12</sup> *War Correspondents, Not Allowed at Front*, *ARG*, 19 Aug. 1914, p. 9.
- <sup>13</sup> Scott, p. 215.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>15</sup> Fewster, Kevin 1983, *Gallipoli Correspondent, the Frontline Diary of CEW Bean*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, p. 135.
- <sup>16</sup> Scott, p.215.
- <sup>17</sup> Fewster, *Gallipoli Correspondent*, p. 140.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 154.
- <sup>19</sup> Australian Archives (Vic): Series: MP 826/1, Item No. 21, *Report on Cable Censorship* M.I. 8, War Office 1919.
- <sup>20</sup> Australian Archives (Vic): Series MP 124/5, *Papers on Press Censorship Conference*, 1918.
- <sup>21</sup> *If War Came, Position of Australia, Possible Censorship*, *SMH*, 30 July 1914, p.8.
- <sup>22</sup> Editorial (no title), *ARG*, 5 Aug. 1914, p.7.
- <sup>23</sup> Australian Archives (Vic): Series: MP 826/1, *Short History of Cable Censorship in the Commonwealth of Australia*.
- <sup>24</sup> Australian Archives (Vic): Series: MP 826/1, *Press*.
- <sup>25</sup> *Press Censorship*, *REG*, editorial, 22 April 1918.
- <sup>26</sup> Australian Archives (Vic): Series: MP 826/1, *Press*.
- <sup>27</sup> Australian Archives (Vic): Series MP826/1, Item 21. *Report on Cable Censorship*.
- <sup>28</sup> Australian Archives (Vic): MP 826/1, G F H Schuler, Editor of the *AGE*, *Press Censorship Conference*.
- <sup>29</sup> *Censorship, Reform Approved*, *SMH*, 10 Aug. 1914, p.8.
- <sup>30</sup> *Cable Censorship, Complaint of Delay*, *ARG*, 12 Aug. 1914, p.10.
- <sup>31</sup> Editorial, *ARG*, 15 Aug. 1914, p. 14.
- <sup>32</sup> Australian Archives (Vic): MP 826/1, Sowden, W J, Editor and part proprietor *REG*, *Press Censorship Conference*.
- <sup>33</sup> *The Censorship, What Mr Pearce Says*, *REG*, 12 Jan. 1918, p.7.
- <sup>34</sup> Australian Archives (Vic): *Papers on Press Censorship Conference*, 1918.
- <sup>35</sup> *War Precautions and Censorship*, *REG*, editorial, 27 Nov. 1918.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>38</sup> *Follies of the Censorship*, *New York Tribune*, 8 May 1915, p. 8.
- <sup>39</sup> Scott, Ernest 1936, *Australia During the War, Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918, The Censorship*, p. 60.
- <sup>40</sup> *Exterminating Christianity*, editorial, *MCY*, 28 Sep. 1915.
- <sup>41</sup> Australian Archives (Vic): MP/16/1, Series 18/2064, (See copy of document in the Appendix).
- <sup>42</sup> *Rewriting History*, editorial, *REG*, 17 Feb. 1923.
- <sup>43</sup> Scott, p.111.
- <sup>44</sup> Australian Archives (Vic): MP/16/1, Series 18/2064. (See copy of the document in the Appendix).
- <sup>45</sup> Australian Archives (Vic): MP16/1, Series 16/1537 (See copy of the document in the Appendix).
- <sup>46</sup> Edith Cavell (1865-1915), British nurse, shot by Germans for helping Allied soldiers escape from Belgium.
- <sup>47</sup> *Turkish Atrocities, Massacres in Armenia: Fearful Outrages*, *MCY*, 12 May 1915.
- <sup>48</sup> *German Barbarism, Massacre of British Prisoners, Wholesale Executions: Shocking Story of Vengeance*, *MCY*, 12 May 1915.
- <sup>49</sup> *Bavarian Savagery, British Prisoners Murdered by Order of High Officers, Forty Soldiers Burnt Alive, Fate of an informer*, *AGE*, 12 May 1915.
- <sup>50</sup> *Turkish Horrors, Fearful Butchery of Christians, Minister Crucified and Bishop Hanged*, *AGE*, 12 May 1915.
- <sup>51</sup> *German Atrocities: A Further Statement*, *BC*, 19 May 1915.
- <sup>52</sup> *Canadians Crucified: The Murderous Iron Crosses*, *BC*, 19 May 1915.
- <sup>53</sup> *The Massacring Turk: Six Thousand Armenians Killed*, *BC*, 19 May 1915.
- <sup>54</sup> *German Atrocities: Frightfulness in Poland and Noble Polish Ladies Hanged*, *AGE*, 24 July 1915.
- <sup>55</sup> *Exterminating the Armenians. Thousands Thrown into Rivers*, *AGE*, 24 July 1915.
- <sup>56</sup> *German Inhumanity, The Wittenburg Camp*, *AGE*, 17 April 1916.
- <sup>57</sup> *Further Shocking Disclosures*, *AGE*, 17 April 1916.
- <sup>58</sup> *Million Armenians Massacred. Turkish Guilt Confirmed*, *AGE*, 17 April 1916.
- <sup>59</sup> *Famine in Armenia*, *SMH*, 25 Jan. 1917.
- <sup>60</sup> *Heartless Cruelty, Germany's Treatment of Sick Prisoners*, *SMH*, 25 Jan. 1917.
- <sup>61</sup> *Huns' Atrocities, Stories of Outrages Confirmed, What British Found in Lille*, *SMH*, 21 Nov. 1918.
- <sup>62</sup> *Policy in Turkey, Allies' Intentions*, *SMH*, 21 Nov. 1918.
- <sup>63</sup> *Americans in Turkey, Not Allowed to Leave, United States Cabinet Angry: More Armenian Horrors*, *ARG*, 30 Nov. 1916.
- <sup>64</sup> *Brutal Germans, Englishwoman Ill-Treated*, *SMH*, 30 Dec. 1918.
- <sup>65</sup> *Turkish Agitators*, *SMH*, 30 Dec. 1918.
- <sup>66</sup> *German Inhumanity, Belgians Starved to Death*, *BC*, 10 June 1918.
- <sup>67</sup> *The Suffering Armenians, Massacres by the Turks*, *BC*, 10 June 1918.
- <sup>68</sup> *Turkish Horrors, War on the Christians, Revolting Murders by Kaiser's Ally*, *BC*, 12 May 1915.

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- <sup>69</sup> *The German Kurds, Asiatic Barbarism Excelled, Report on Atrocities, BC*, 13 May 1915.
- <sup>70</sup> *Turkish Atrocities, Wholesale Massacres of Armenians, The Kaiser's Deeds Outdone, 9000 Women and Children Shot. Whole Districts Wiped Out, BC*, 24 July 1915.
- <sup>71</sup> *The Kaiser's Ally, Turkish Horrors, 70,000 Armenians Massacred, BC*, 10 September 1915.
- <sup>72</sup> *Germany's Ally, The "Turkish Method," An Armenian's Simple Tale, MCY*, 21 December 1915.
- <sup>73</sup> *Atrocities on Armenians, Germany's Noble Ally, Wiping Out a Population, BC*, 19 February 1917.
- <sup>74</sup> *Turkish Atrocities Among Armenians, Church of England Messenger*, 22 Oct. 1915, p. 2019.
- <sup>75</sup> *The Guildhall Speeches*, editorial, *REG*, 11 Nov. 1916.
- <sup>76</sup> *Massacre of Armenians, SMH*, 11 Nov. 1916.
- <sup>77</sup> *Murdering a People, REG*, 12 Feb. 1916.
- <sup>78</sup> *The Position of Turkey, SMH*, 14 March 1917.
- <sup>79</sup> Dadrian, Vahakn 1996, *German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide*, Blue Crane Books, Cambridge MA.
- <sup>80</sup> 30 July 1915: *ARG, Murderous Turks, Germans Offer Encouragement. BC, Germans in Turkey, "An Unmitigated Curse". MCY, Turkish Atrocities, Encouraged by Germans. REG, Massacres in Asia Minor. SMH, Asiatic Turkey, Massacre of Christians.*
- <sup>81</sup> 29 November 1915: *AGE, Armenians Butchered, Germans Assist the Turks. ARG, Armenians, Half a Million Killed. BC, Turkish Massacres, German Officers at Work. MCY, Turkish Atrocities, Massacre of the Armenians. REG, Horror on Horror, Atrocities Against Armenians. SMH, The Armenians, Butchered by Turks.*
- <sup>82</sup> 1 October 1915: *AGE, The Armenian Massacres, Encouraged by German Consuls. ARG, Armenian Atrocities, Guilt of Germans. BC, Armenian Atrocities, Encouraged by German Consuls. MCY, Atrocities in Armenia, Encouraged by the Germans. REG, Turkish Atrocities, German Encouragement. SMH, Armenian Atrocities.*
- <sup>83</sup> Dadrian, *German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide*.
- <sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, p.16.
- <sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, *The ideological and instigative role of Oppenheim*, pp. 65-81.
- <sup>86</sup> Quote from the newspapers.
- <sup>87</sup> *Armenian Problem, Appeal to United States, ARG*, 22 October 1915.
- <sup>88</sup> 06 January 1919: *ARG, Butchered Armenians, 1,500,000 Victims. BC, Massacres of Armenians, Children Die of Hunger. MCY, Armenian Massacres. Victims Number 1,500,000. REG, The Armenian Horrors. SMH, Armenia. Turkish Atrocities.*
- <sup>89</sup> Dadrian, *The indignity of decorating the arch perpetrators*, Appendix B, p. 205.
- <sup>90</sup> Dadrian, p. 205.
- <sup>91</sup> Dadrian, pp. 210-211.
- <sup>92</sup> Many names of localities were misspelled in the press during the war. Names were spelled differently depending where the news item originated, the British, French or Russians spelled differently the same name.
- <sup>93</sup> 15 April 1918: *AGE, Russian Note to Germany, Protest against Turk Excesses. ARG, Armenian Atrocities, Russia Blames Germany. BC, Massacres in Armenia, Russian Note to Berlin. MCY, Turkish Atrocities, Germany Responsible for the Horrors. REG, Massacres of Armenians. SMH, Massacre of Armenians, Atrocities by Turks.*
- <sup>94</sup> 21 September 1916: *ARG, Atrocious Turks, Germany's Responsibility. BC, Turkish Atrocities, Horrible Treatment of Armenians. MCY, Turkish Atrocities, Shocking Revelations from Armenia. REG, Armenian Horrors, Germany Impeached by Germans. SMH, Armenian Horrors, Incredible Turkish Atrocities.*
- <sup>95</sup> Dadrian, Count Eberhard Wolffskeel Von Reichenberg Major, pp. 136-137.
- <sup>96</sup> *Murdering a People*, editorial, *REG*, 12 Feb. 1916.
- <sup>97</sup> Kerr, Greg 1998, *Lost Anzac's the Story of Two Brothers*, Oxford University Press, p.99.
- <sup>98</sup> *A Century of Journalism. The SMH and its Record of Australian Life 1831-1931*. 1931, John Fairfax & Sons LTD, Sydney, p.743.
- <sup>99</sup> Mayer, Henry 1964, *The Press in Australia*, Langdowne Press, p.15.
- <sup>100</sup> *Exterminating Christians*, editorial, *REG*, 28 Sep.1915.
- <sup>101</sup> News reports of the following dates were based on reports from Lord Bryce: 30 July 1915, 22 September 1915, 23 September 1915, 8 October 1915, 18 October 1915, 29 November 1915, 16 December 1915, 17 December 1915, 17 January 1916, 22 January 1916, and 12 February 1916.
- <sup>102</sup> Kloian, D. Richard 1981, *The Armenian Genocide. News Accounts from the American Press 1915-1922*. California.
- <sup>103</sup> Kloian, pages 6, 8, 9, 10, 11.
- <sup>104</sup> Australian Archives (Vic): *Papers on Press Censorship Conference*, Series number: MP124/5, 1918-1918, p.84.
- <sup>105</sup> Otto Liman Von Sanders was born in 1855. He began his military career in 1874 and in 1911 became general. In 1913 he became the head of the German military mission in Ottoman Turkey and after Russian protests, in 1914, was appointed to the lesser position of Inspector General. He was involved in the reorganisation of the Ottoman Army. In March 1915 he was appointed as the head of the Ottoman 5<sup>th</sup> Army stationed at Gallipoli. In February 1918 he was at the command of the German and Turkish forces on the Palestinian front where Gen. Allenby defeated him. He was arrested by the British forces for war crimes against the Armenians in 1919, but was released after six months imprisonment. He died in 1929.
- <sup>106</sup> Ingliss, K. S 1970, *The Australians at Gallipoli. Historical Studies*, vol. 14, No. 54, p. 221.
- <sup>107</sup> See sample of long articles printed in 1896 in the Appendix.
- <sup>108</sup> *Company of Heralds*, p. 119.
- <sup>109</sup> Walker, R. B 1976, *The Newspaper Press in NSW 1803-1920*, Sydney University Press, p. 254-255.
- <sup>110</sup> Mayer, Henry 1964, *The Press in Australia*, Lansdowne Press, p. 28.
- <sup>111</sup> *Company of Heralds*, p.107.
- <sup>112</sup> Mayer, p. 20.
- <sup>113</sup> *Turkish Horrors: Fearful Butchery of Christians, BC*, 12 May 1915.
- <sup>114</sup> *Armenian Horrors: After All, It's War, REG*, 11 Sep. 1915.
- <sup>115</sup> For centuries under Ottoman rule Armenians, as Christians, were not allowed to serve in the military. Only Muslims were allowed to carry arms and Christians had to pay a special tax for exemption from military service. Christians gained the right to serve in the army after Young Turks took power in 1909. Every year in Australia, with all the material printed on Anzac and the campaign of Gallipoli, the multiethnic composition of the Ottoman Army hardly gets any mention. For example, in April 2002, the mummified head that allegedly an Anzac soldier had brought from Gallipoli, received wide media coverage. The Minister for

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Veterans' Affairs, Danna Vale, and RSL Victorian president, Bruce Ruxton, issued apologies to the Turkish community without stating how they came to the conclusion that the head was that of a Turk. Everyone had automatically assumed that only Turks served in the Ottoman Army.

<sup>116</sup> *Armenian Horrors: Story of Eye-Witness, Revolting Tale of Cruelty*, ARG, 2 Dec. 1915.

<sup>117</sup> *Germany's Ally: The "Turkish Method," An Armenian's Simple tale, From Captain Bean*, *Official Australian press Representative*, MCY, 21 Dec. 1915.

<sup>118</sup> The US weekly journal *The Outlook*, in the Editors Note of 29 September 1915 wrote: "The following article is based upon first-hand and authentic information which has reached The Outlook through the most trustworthy source. Where names have been left blank it is because of fear that the individuals quoted might, if known, suffer Turkish retaliation. The suppressed names, however, are in our possession." The title of the article was *The Turkish Atrocities in Armenia*. Kloian *The Armenian Genocide. News Accounts from the American Press: 1915-1922*, page 43.

<sup>119</sup> Gullett, H. S., *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, vol. II, p. 317.

<sup>120</sup> Other titles included: *Problems of Turkey, Coal supply and Ammunition, Australian Prisoners of War, Letter from a Victorian*.

<sup>121</sup> 17 April 1916: *AGE, Million Armenians Massacred, Turkish Guilt Confirmed*. ARG, *Armenian Horrors, One Million Victims*. BC, *Armenian Massacres: Upwards of 1,000,000*. MCY, *Armenian Atrocities, Over a Million Victims*. REG, *Million Armenians Killed*. SMH, *Armenians, A Million Murdered*.

<sup>122</sup> *Turkish Atrocities Among Armenians*, *The Church of England Messenger*, 22 Oct. 1915, p.2019.

<sup>123</sup> *Turkish Atrocities*, MCY, editorial, 29 Nov. 1915.

<sup>124</sup> Gullett, *Official History of Australia, AIF in Sinai and Palestine*, Chapter VI, p. 75.

<sup>125</sup> 22 February 1916: ARG, *Armenian Campaign, Russians Sweep On*. BC, *Turkish Armies Cut Off; Russians Advance Over 50 Miles*. REG, *The Eastern Push, Russians' Brilliant Successes*. SMH, *Key to Armenia*.

# Chapter 5 The Armenian Genocide in the Australian Press

## 5.1 Introduction

The current struggle between Armenians and the Turkish government for the correct definition of the events of WWI revolves around the word genocide. For Armenians, the total annihilation of the Armenian population from Western Armenia and the total destruction of their cultural heritage is a clear case of state sponsored genocide and corresponds with the principles stated in the United Nations Convention on Genocide (UNCG). The Turkish government on the other hand obstinately refuses to call it genocide.<sup>1</sup>

The root of the problem is the word genocide, which came into use some 21 years after the end of the massacres. Thus, the word was not used during 1915-1923 to portray the extermination of Armenians as discussed in chapter 2. The word genocide was not used also for the extermination of Jews during WWII, but the obstinate denial by successive Turkish governments of any wrongdoing makes the use of the word problematic for the Armenian case.

United Nation's Genocide Convention of 1948 did not create a new crime but merely classified and named a crime that long existed in human history. After the Armistice, Turkish courts condemned in absentia, the Young Turk leaders for their crimes during the war and against the Armenians.<sup>2</sup>

Prof Alfred de Zayas in his Memorandum on the Armenian Genocide writes:

“At the time of the genocide against the Armenians, State responsibility already existed for internationally wrongful acts, such as the crime of genocide, and entailed both a responsibility to provide compensation and the personal criminal liability of the perpetrators.

The punishment of the crime of genocide - whether called exterminations, mass liquidations or massacres - as well as the obligation to make restitution to the survivors of the victims, were envisaged by the victorious Allies of the First World War and included in the text of the Peace Treaty of Sevres of 10 August 1920 between the Allies and the Ottoman Empire. This Treaty contained not only a commitment to try Turkish officials for war crimes committed by Ottoman Turkey against Allied nationals, but also for crimes committed against citizens of Turkey of different ethnic origin, in particular the Armenians, crimes which today would be termed genocide or crimes against humanity”.<sup>3</sup>

The aim of this chapter is to classify the reports printed in the Australian press under the appropriate clauses of the UNCG to see:

- If the reports printed in the Australian press of 1915-1923 correspond with the principles that define the word genocide.
- If even before the adoption of UNCG, Australian journalists printed the main principles that define the word genocide and thus it is correct to use the term for the extermination of Armenians.

Crimes committed against any one of the five elements of UNCG are considered an act of genocide. However, only four elements were selected for analysis. The fourth element (Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group) was not selected because not enough reports were printed in the newspapers that can be classified under this clause.

The accounts of extermination and the methods used, described in the following sections, will leave no doubt that the Turkish government's main aim was the quick extermination of the Armenians. Reading the newspaper articles it does not appear that they had a deliberate policy of imposing measures to prevent births within the Armenian population (for example sterilization).

However some of their actions can be interpreted as though they were intended to prevent the birth of Armenian children within selected people whose lives were spared. Also from the early stages, the Turkish government had successfully achieved in imposing measures to seriously hamper births within the Armenian population. After the conscription of young and able-bodied men and their subsequent elimination, only the sick, elderly and underage boys were left of the Armenian male population.

As a guide, I took the “Elements of Crimes” agreed upon in New York on 30 June 2000 of the Preparatory Commission for the International Criminal Court.<sup>4</sup>

UNCG definition of genocide (see section 2.2):

Article 2

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

### Article 3

The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.<sup>5</sup>

The aim of the thesis is not to secure a conviction but merely to examine how comprehensively the Australian press had covered the Armenian Genocide. From over a thousand articles only 44 were chosen for analysis. It was imperative to bring enough evidence to justify that indeed Australian journalists of early 20<sup>th</sup> century had covered all aspects of the Armenian Genocide and passed on to their readers the fact that Turks were indeed destroying the Armenian race.

## 5.2 Killing members of the group

The first clause of Article 2 of UNCG considers genocide as killing members of a group.

Recent examples of the 20<sup>th</sup> century genocides (Armenian, Assyrian, Greek, Jewish, Cambodian, Rwandan) testify that killing was by far the primary method used by perpetrators, since all of the genocides of the last century ended up with immense piles of corpses.

The Young Turks' preferred method was also the physical elimination of Armenians. Most news reports in the Australian press referred to the physical destruction of the Armenian population. Thus, the first Act of Article 2 of UNCG covers most articles in the Australian press.

The US Ambassador in Ottoman Turkey during WWI, Henri Morgenthau, in his memoirs delved into the mentality of the Turks bent on exterminating Armenians. He wrote:

“My purpose is merely to emphasize this innate attitude of the Moslem Turk to people not of his own race and religion, that they are not human beings with rights, but which may be pitilessly destroyed when they have ceased to be useful. This attitude is intensified by a



total disregard for human life and an intense delight in inflicting physical human suffering”.<sup>6</sup>

Here I will discuss only few forms that the Turks used to kill Armenians.

### **5.2.1 Slaughtering**

Many articles carry the title of “butchered” or “slaughtered” because Armenians were literally butchered by daggers, knives, swords, axes and bayonets.

It was common practice of Turks to torture, rape and slaughter Armenians in front of their relatives. It was also an effective method of terrorizing the population to keep them under their control. In May 1915, the Australian newspapers reported the slaughter of Armenians by Turkish troops in Persia: “Twenty five leading residents were conveyed to a graveyard at Gulpashan and butchered like animals in the presence of their relatives”.<sup>7</sup>

In February, newspapers reported similar atrocities committed by Turkish troops in the city of Ardanush in Russian Territory: “Turks dragged into the streets 150 of the Armenian residents and cut their throats”.<sup>8</sup> More reports of Armenians being slaughtered appeared in the following months: “ ... the Turks similarly cut the throats of a thousand Armenians on the banks of the Euphrates”.<sup>9</sup>

**Table 17**                    **Articles that carry the words “butchered” or “slaughtered” in the title**

Newspaper	Title of Article	Date
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Turkish Horrors Fearful Butchery of Christians</i>	12 May 1915
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Armenian Massacres. Scenes of Butchery</i>	2 June 1915
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Massacres. Thousands Slaughtered</i>	24 July 1915
<i>REG</i>	<i>Armenians Butchered</i>	24 July 1915
<i>BC</i>	<i>The Slaughter of Armenians</i>	22 Sep.1915
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Turkish Atrocities-Systematic Slaughter of Armenians</i>	23 Sep.1915
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Slaughter of Armenians</i>	27 Sep.1915
<i>REG</i>	<i>Armenian Slaughter</i>	27 Sep.1915
<i>MCY</i>	<i>The Slaughter Resumed</i>	14 Oct.1915
<i>REG</i>	<i>Slaughter of Armenians</i>	14 Oct.1915
<i>SMH</i>	<i>The Armenians. Butchered by Turks</i>	29 Nov.1915
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Massacres. Peasantry Slaughtered</i>	12 Jan.1916
<i>REG</i>	<i>Slaughter of Armenians</i>	13 March 1916
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Slaughter of Armenians. Many thousands massacred</i>	23 May 1916
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Turkish Barbarities. Slaughter of Armenians</i>	23 May 1916
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Turkish Atrocities. Slaughter of Armenians</i>	22 July 1916
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Butchered Armenians. More Turkish horrors</i>	22 June 1917
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Butchered Armenians. 1,500,000 Victims</i>	6 Jan.1919

The article by CEW Bean reported a scene where 100 Turkish police tore “to pieces with bayonets” and nailed “to the ground utterly exhausted” 1000 Armenians who were tied together four by four.<sup>10</sup>

Many articles do not use in their titles “butchered” or “slaughtered” but use the same words in the article to describe how Turks killed the Armenians.

### **5.2.2 Killing by fire**

Nazis were the first to make use of industrial methods to exterminate and dispose of the bodies of hundreds of thousands

of their victims in furnaces. Decades before them, Turks also used fire to destroy large numbers of Armenians at any one time. In the Syrian Desert, they used underground caves to kill thousands of exhausted deportees by hurdling them into the caves and burning fresh branches of trees at the opening of the caves. Thus, creating rudimental gas chambers and asphyxiating the thousands trapped inside the caves. The killing of Armenians by fire was widely reported in the Australian press.

In September 1915, newspapers reported the destruction by fire of the city of Ismid. The victims were Armenian and Greek civilians.

“The Turks, after setting fire to the Christian quarter of the town of Ismid 53 miles to the southeast of Constantinople and the seat of Greek and Armenian archbishops, massacred all the Christian population”.<sup>11</sup>

Five days later all of the newspapers reported the destruction of a village by fire, a scenario repeated in countless villages throughout Armenia:

“Five battalions next arrived with machine guns, and having established a cordon round the village, sent in incendiaries with torches. The buildings were soon ablaze...the miserable inhabitants, men, women and children were burnt alive”.<sup>12</sup>

In January 1916, *ARG* reported other cases when Turks had used fire to kill large number of Armenians in their villages or in concentration camps:

“The Moslem rabble made a descent upon the women and children and drove them out of the town into large camps which had already been prepared for the peasant women and children. The shortest means employed for disposing of the women and children concentrated in the various camps was by burning. Fire was set to large wooden sheds in Alijan, Mograkom, Khaskogh and other Armenian villages and these absolutely helpless women and children were roasted to death”.<sup>13</sup>

Since the mass killing of Armenians started in mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were many reported cases where Turks had burned large numbers of Armenians in their places of worship. In many villages and cities, churches were the only solid structures of stone and the population used to take shelter during a threat or massacre. It was not just a shelter from physical danger but also a sacred place to seek divine protection and intervention. The *AGE* reported in October 1915: “Crowds of men, women and children took refuge in the churches, but these were burned down and the poor refugees slaughtered like trapped rats”.<sup>14</sup>

Many Australians during WWI in reading the above report would probably have remembered similar accounts printed 19 years

earlier during the massacres of Sultan Abdul Hamid. One such report appeared in the papers in May 1896:

“A fearful holocaust was made by the Mahometans of 3000 Christians who had taken refuge in the Armenian Cathedral at Orfah. The doors and windows of the cathedral were closed and guarded; the building was then fired and with all it contained reduced to ashes”.<sup>15</sup>

The last reports of burning in churches appeared in the papers late 1922 when Turkish forces of Mustapha Kemal overrun the city of Smyrna destroying the Armenian and Greek quarters and massacring the city’s Christian inhabitants: “The bodies of mutilated men, women, and children are lying in the streets, and all the churches are ablaze, with thousands of refugees caught inside them”.<sup>16</sup>

In 1919, based on a report published by the “*Petit Parisien*”, newspapers described the mass killing of Armenian women by fire: “Two thousand women suspected of swallowing their jewellery were saturated with petrol, burned, and the ashes passed through sieves to recover the gold”.<sup>17</sup>

Mass burnings took place all along the deportation roads *ARG* reported in March 1919:

“At Jurbab 2000 men and 2000 invalid women were removed; we left these people and soon after saw smoke. A boy of 13, who escaped said the Cherkess had burnt them all with kerosene... I (another witness) saw smoke rising from a place where I knew over 1000 women and children were encamped. Two children who escaped told me the rest were being burnt”.<sup>18</sup>

### **5.2.3 Shooting, Hanging, Drowning**

Drowning was another method of mass killing. In mid July 1915, newspapers reported the mass drowning of Armenian deportees in the river Tigris: “The Turks in one district had shot all the men and taken all the women and children, 9000 of them, and drowned them in the Tigris”.<sup>19</sup>

Besides forced drowning, countless young women and girls voluntarily drowned themselves in rivers to avoid rape and dishonour. One of the reports of voluntary drowning appeared in the papers in September 1915. It stated: “Many threw themselves in the Euphrates with their babies”.<sup>20</sup>

Ambassador Morgenthau in his memoirs also described scenes along rivers where thousands of deportees drowned:

“The most terrible scenes took place at the rivers, especially the Euphrates. Sometimes, when crossing this stream, the gendarmes

would push the women into the water, shooting all who attempted to save themselves by swimming. Frequently the women themselves would save their honour by jumping into the river, their children in their arms”.<sup>21</sup>

In 1916, more accounts of mass drowning appeared in the Australian press that had taken place in November 1915:

“As the outcome of an amnesty granted by the Turks, 1500 Armenians, at Sassoon, forced by famine and cold, surrendered to the authorities at the end of November, but by the order of the Governor of Mush, the men were massacred and the women and children drowned in the Euphrates”.<sup>22</sup>

The first reports of hangings started appearing shortly after the Ottoman Empire entered the war. Mid December 1914, newspapers reported how persecutions against Armenians and Greeks had started already:

“Many Armenians and Greeks who have been suspected by the Turks of espionage have been hanged without trial. Their corpses have been suspended from lampposts for weeks. Turks as they pass, spit on the bodies, and compel the Christians to do the same”.<sup>23</sup>

For Armenians, probably the most notorious hanged victims were the 20 leading members of the Armenian Social Democrat party.

Their public hanging took place in June 1915 in the Ottoman Turkish capital, Constantinople. It was part of the “Turkish method” of eliminating first the Armenian leadership. Late June, based on reports published in the German newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung*, newspapers reported how Turks had executed the Armenians for planning to establish an independent Armenia.<sup>24</sup> Two months later, after receipt of further information, newspapers had reprinted the story revealing more details about the victims: “Twenty Armenian Social Democrats were publicly hanged in Constantinople”<sup>25</sup> (See also section 2.5.4, Denial reports during WWI).

There are a number of reports describing the killing of Armenians by shooting, though this was not a preferred method because it wasted bullets. Late 1915 newspapers had reported mass shooting of Armenians: “In one instance 200 Armenians were taken in trucks to the bank of a river, where the men were shot and the females were half stripped, tied together, and taken away”.<sup>26</sup> A similar incident recalled by Ambassador Morgenthau was based on a US consular report:

“She shuddered to recall how hundreds of children were bayoneted by the Turks and thrown into the Euphrates, and how men and women were stripped naked, tied together in hundreds, shot, and then hurled into the river. In a loop of the river near Erzinghan, she said, the



thousands of dead bodies created such a barrage that the Euphrates changed its course for about a hundred yards".<sup>27</sup>

More accounts of mass shooting that had happened in June 1915 but published in 1916:

"Then most of the able-bodied men were taken away from their woman by domiciliary visits. During the following few days all men under arrest were shot outside the town, and buried in deep trenches dug by the victims themselves".<sup>28</sup>

In May 1916, advancing Russian troops uncovered, in the city of Trebizond, more evidence of atrocities against the Armenians by way of drowning and shooting: "The Russians and Greeks ...have found the bodies of children scattered on the roadsides, many having been shot for target practice. It is estimated the Turks drowned 800 at Trebizond alone".<sup>29</sup> Two months later, newspapers gave the extent of the massacres at Trebizond, based on the report of M. Balof, Red Cross Commissioner in Armenia. He had reported that: "He visited 45 villages around Trebizond. Out of 8343 inhabitants there before the war Russians found only 367. The rest had been massacred. Out of 10,000 in Trebizond itself, the Russians found 92".<sup>30</sup>

The few examples presented in this section are only a limited sample of the different methods the Turks used to kill the

Armenians. As stated the absolute majority of articles printed in the Australian press fall under UNCG's first definition of genocide, simply because most articles used the word "massacre" to describe the killings, which might have included any form of torture and killing.

### **5.3 Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group**

The extermination of Armenians was accomplished by extreme violence and brutality. War correspondent, H S Gullett, in the Official History stated that Armenians "suffered death with every form of outrage".<sup>31</sup> Referring to the extermination of Armenians an editorial of *REG* stated: "Within a brief space of time a million Christians of all ages and both sexes were massacred in circumstances of revolting bestiality and barbarity!"<sup>32</sup> The same month, addressing the same issue the editorial of *ARG* stated that: "The history of Armenians is a long tragedy...many millions of its inhabitants have been massacred in circumstances of extraordinary cruelty by the Turks".<sup>33</sup>

Describing the tortures inflicted on the Armenian population Ambassador Morgenthau wrote:

"One day I was discussing these proceedings with a responsible Turkish official, who was describing the tortures inflicted... This

official told me that all these details were matters of nightly discussion at the headquarters of the Union and Progress Committee.<sup>34</sup> Each new method of inflicting pain was hailed as a splendid discovery, and the regular attendants were constantly ransacking their brains in the effort to devise some new torment. He told me that they even delved into the records of the Spanish Inquisition and other historic institutions of torture and adopted all the suggestions found there”.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, it is going to be an impressive job even attempting to compile the list of methods that Turks used to torture and kill Armenians. Since it was not possible to include into this chapter every method employed, I will introduce only a limited number of examples.

A number of reports appeared in the Australian newspapers describing different methods of torture. In 1916, *ARG*, in an unusually long article described how Armenians were tortured in the city of Mush in early July 1915:

“The headmen of the villages were subjected to revolting tortures. First their fingernails, then their toenails were forcibly extracted, their teeth were knocked out, and in some cases their noses were whittled away, the victims dying after lingering agonies”.<sup>36</sup>

In November 1915, *ARG* reported of the favored Turkish method of torture- the beating of the sole of the victim's feet:

“Gendarmes standing in twos at both sides and two at the end of the room administer each in turn, bastinadoes as long as they have enough force in them. At the time of the Romans, forty strokes were administered at the very most; in this place, however, 200, 300, 500, even 800 strokes are administered. The foot swells up, then bursts open, due to the numerous blows”.<sup>37</sup>

The constant tortures, daily deprivations and the widespread carnage during the deportations affected the mental health of thousands who could not take it any more and just lost their reasoning.

One of the first accounts of people losing their minds appeared late 1915. It happened in Persia when thousands of Armenians were escaping towards the Russian border from the rampage of advancing Turkish troops. The *AGE* reported: “One woman, unable to walk further, fell on the snow and gave birth to a child. A few yards away, another, made insane by suffering, leaped over a cliff...such scenes were repeated all along the route”.<sup>38</sup>

In July there were more accounts of atrocities and how they affected the mental health of many Armenians:

“A wealthy resident who saw his wife and three daughters taken away became a raving lunatic...Today I counted 21 women and children in a hospital lying on the floor from sheer exhaustion. Three of the children were moribund, and half the remainder looked likely to die. Two children were forcibly separated from their mother, and one, which was left to die on the damp ground, died. The mother strayed on the railway, and was knocked down, and her leg partially amputated by a train. She is now demented. The sufferings of the people are too horrible and awful to describe”.<sup>39</sup>

Early 1916 *ARG* reported how, in the city of Mush after the arrest and killing of Armenian men, many women lost their minds while being burnt alive: “Many went mad and threw away their children, some knelt down and prayed amid the flames which were burning their bodies”.<sup>40</sup>

In August 1916 a German eyewitness account of people losing their minds from suffering. The report described the state of refugees who had reached the Syrian city of Aleppo:

“Fifty “skeletons” are now lying in the courtyard near the school. They are alive, but all are mad and no longer know how to eat. If given bread they push it away groaning and awaiting the deliverance of death”.<sup>41</sup>

### 5.3.1 Violence against Armenian Women in Ottoman Turkey

With harems and polygamy being customary way of life, males dominated the Ottoman Turkish society. Armenian women, as members of a minority Christian group, stood at a much lower social level than their Turkish counterparts. As a conquered Christian nation, Armenians were at a lower level than Turks. Abductions, kidnappings, rape and sexual violence against Christian women (Armenian, Assyrian, and Greek) was a common occurrence in the Ottoman Empire for centuries. It was common practice in many parts of Turkish Armenia to maim baby girls to protect them from being kidnapped in the future when they grew up. An editorial of *SMH* describing the violence under which Armenians lived in the Ottoman Empire stated: “Even before the war they suffered grievously at Turks hands. Proscriptions, battues, and abductions on a large scale were almost normal incidents of their existence”.<sup>42</sup>

Starting late 19<sup>th</sup> century with the start of the mass destruction of the Armenians under Sultan Abdul Hamid II, abductions, rapes and acts of sexual violence against Armenian women and girls increased dramatically. It reached its apogee in 1915 when the entire Armenian population was forcibly deported. Violence against Armenian women during and after WWI was not isolated incidents or the result of a few overzealous or crazed officials. There was a distinguishable pattern of violence reserved only for

women and young girls and their agonies lasted much longer than the adult male Armenian population.

US Ambassador Henri Morgenthau, discussing the fate of Armenian women wrote in his memoirs:

“The most beautiful and healthy Armenian girls could be taken, converted forcibly to Muhammedanism and made the wives or concubines of devout followers of the Prophet. Their children would then automatically become Moslems and so strengthen the empire as the Janissaries had strengthened it formerly. These Armenian girls represent a high type of womanhood and the Young Turks, in their crude, intuitive way, recognized that the mingling of their blood with the Turkish population would exert a eugenic influence upon the whole”.<sup>43</sup>

### **5.3.2 Rape as a war crime**

In 1990's, during the conflict in former Yugoslavia, mass rape of women made the headlines and drew people's attention to the fate of women in conflicts.<sup>44</sup> Rape camps in Bosnia drew worldwide condemnation and finally the international community took concrete steps to classify rape, during conflicts, in a special category and as a crime against humanity.

In September 1998, ICTR (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda) found Jean-Paul Akayesu,<sup>45</sup> guilty of genocide, crimes

against humanity and war crimes. For the first time rape was classified as an act of genocide and the perpetrator of sexual violence found guilty and punished. In February 2001 the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia found three Serbs guilty of rape, torture and enslavement, categorizing rape and enslavement as crimes against humanity.

One of the reasons the rape camps of Bosnia caught people's attention was the fact that it happened during a limited war in Europe in late 20<sup>th</sup> century, while much worse atrocities on a massive scale committed by Turks against Armenian women were long forgotten, partly because it happened during the carnage of WWI in remote areas of the Ottoman Empire.

Rape during wartime involves soldiers of a country indulging themselves in sexual violence against women of the enemy country or enemy group. Examples are the comfort women in Korea, Philippines and other Asian countries during WWII; Japanese atrocities against the Chinese in Nanking; Soviet soldiers' mass rape of German women after the defeat of Nazi Germany; and conflicts in many countries in Africa. In the case of Rwandan genocide and the rape camps in Bosnia, it happened mainly through implosion, pitting the dominating group against the weaker one.



Violence of sexual nature against Armenian women and girls included both aspects of the above-mentioned cases in addition to other forms of violence:

- Rape and sexual violence against Armenian women outside the borders of the Ottoman Empire committed by Ottoman Turkish soldiers.
- Rape and sexual violence against Armenian women at the hands of Turkish soldiers, gendarmes, government officials, with the active participation of Turkish and non-Turkish Moslem population, inside the borders of the Ottoman Empire sanctioned by the Ottoman Turkish government.
- Abduction, forced marriages and slavery of young girls and women.

Instances of rape in the first case involved violence against Armenian citizens of Persia and Russia. These reports appeared in the Australian press intermittently between January and October 1915. While attacking Persia in early 1915, Turkish troops aided by Kurdish irregulars committed many atrocities against Armenian and other Christians (mainly Assyrians) of that region. In May 1915, newspapers reported atrocities against the population with the “continual murders, outrages and abductions”.<sup>46</sup>

The story of atrocities by advancing Turkish troops in Persia was again taken by the *AGE* describing the escape of Armenians from the city of Salmas:

“Hundreds of old people and children remained behind in the ill-omened “Valley of Blood” ... A sick woman was telling how her husband and children had been butchered before her eyes. She begged to be killed too, but instead she was subjected to treatment worse than death...”<sup>47</sup>

The situation was not different in Eastern Armenia under Russian rule. Advancing Turkish troops committed similar atrocities against women in that region: “At a neighbouring village, Tamvot, 250 Armenians were massacred and their women folk were carried into captivity”.<sup>48</sup>

Three months later more details had reached the outside world about atrocities committed by Turkish troops and Kurdish irregulars in the Alashgerd region inside Russian border:

“The whole plain of Alashgerd is said to be covered with the corpses of men, women and children, frozen in congealed pools of their own blood...after having made us women and girls go through untold agonies they stripped us of all our clothing, and made us stand around the walls. The Kurds came up to us, and selected as many women as

they wanted, placed them on, and took them away...those who resisted were beaten mercilessly”.<sup>49</sup>

Reports of Turkish atrocities in Persian and Russian territories were limited in numbers because it happened in a much shorter period, while violence against Armenian women inside Ottoman territory lasted for the whole duration of WWI and beyond.

**Table 18**            **Titles of articles describing the fate of women**

Newspaper	Title of Article	Date
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Horrors of Armenia - Fearful Treatment of Women</i>	29 April 1915
<i>REG</i>	<i>Horrors of Armenia - Fearful Treatment of Women</i>	1 May 1915
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Massacres - Women and Children Shot</i>	24 July 1915
<i>BC</i>	<i>Turkish Atrocities - 9000 Women and Children Shot</i>	24 July 1915
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Reign of Terror in Armenia-9000 Women and Children Shot</i>	18 Sep.1915
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Armenian Girls Sold as Slaves</i>	25 Sep.1915
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Atrocities in Armenia-Awful Tale of Cruelty-Fate of Women</i>	28 Sep.1915
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Atrocities - Women Driven Like Cattle</i>	26 Nov.1915
<i>BC</i>	<i>Turkish Massacres - Women and Children Burnt Alive</i>	29 Nov.1915
<i>ARG</i>	<i>The Market of Women - The Women of Zilch</i>	2 Dec.1915
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Massacres - Women and Children Burned</i>	22 Jan.1916
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Massacre of Armenians - Women and Girls Sold</i>	12 Feb.1916
<i>ARG</i>	<i>More Armenian Atrocities - Women Sold Openly in Turkey</i>	12 Feb.1916
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Massacre of Armenians - Women Bound to Railway Line</i>	6 April 1918

Greek women suffered the same fate as Armenian women. In August 1915, newspapers reported similar violence against Greek women:

“Several Greeks in Marsovan were compelled to dig a trench as a grave before being shot. Greek women were given the alternatives of

embracing Islam or death. They refused to change their religion. Their lives were spared, but they were left to the mercy of the soldiers, being compelled to accompany the troops on a long march. Some became exhausted and abandoned their babies. The German orphanage sent an ambulance to rescue the survivors lying by the roadsides”.<sup>50</sup>

According to eyewitness reports, in many cases the Turks raped Armenian girls and women so many times continually that they lost their mind and wandered around mad or suffering from mental disorders. Dr Martin Niepage, a German teacher and eyewitness, described the fate of one such young girl:

“Europeans had found an opportunity to buy the poor creatures (Armenian girls) for a few marks from the last Turkish soldier who had violated them. All these girls showed symptoms of mental derangement; many of them had to watch the Turks cut their parents throats.... A girl about fourteen years old was given shelter by Herr Krause, Depot Manager for the Bagdad Railway at Aleppo. The girl had been so many times ravished by Turkish soldiers in one night that she had completely lost her reason”.<sup>51</sup>

Based on a report prepared by the American Committee on Armenian Atrocities *ARG* published more reports of violence against women:

“These poor (Armenian) exiles were mostly women, children, and old men, and they were clubbed and beaten and lashed along as though they had been wild animals, and their women and girls were daily outraged both by their guards and the ruffians of every village through which they passed.... the bandsmen were doing all sorts of awful deeds to the women and girls that were with us, whose cries went up to heaven”.<sup>52</sup>

In October 1915, *ARG* reported more violence against women in many regions of Turkish Armenia:

“Women violated by soldiers at every station...Girls and young women were taken for Turkish harems...in Harput, Armenian women were torn from the school, violated and butchered by the soldiers and the mob. At Marsivan the mob stormed a school, struck the missionaries and deported 48 girls.... in the Kara Hissar school Armenian girls were deported and outraged”.<sup>53</sup>

### **5.3.3 Forced conversions and slavery in harems**

If slavery was abolished in principle in Western countries in 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Turkish government officially sanctioned the slave trade during WWI in Ottoman Turkey and it was part of the “Turkish method” to destroy the Armenians. Armenian slaves, in Turkish hands, were young women, girls and children. There were no reports of adult male slaves.

In 1915, an editorial of *REG* after describing Turkish atrocities had included in the “policy of extermination” of the Turkish government also the slavery of Armenian women: “Hundreds of thousands have recently been savagely killed and many thousands of young women and children have been sent into slavery”.<sup>54</sup>

Not only did the Turks and Kurds abduct Armenian women and children for their own pleasure and use, but they also sold thousands on the markets as slaves. Thus even in cities and towns situated far away from the scene of deportations and massacres, Turks living in these regions had a chance to acquire Armenian women and children and participate in the extermination. In September 1915, newspapers reported an eyewitness account by a Swiss national who described the daily life in the Ottoman Turkish capital Constantinople: “The police openly sell to the Turks Armenian orphans of both sexes as slaves, at prices ranging from 6/8 to 9/6, well conditioned girls are rather dearer”.<sup>55</sup>

In 1916, more reports of Armenians being sold in the markets of Constantinople, hundreds of kilometers away from the towns and villages of Turkish Armenia where these women and girls were abducted: “The younger women and girls are sold in the open market at Constantinople”.<sup>56</sup>

CEW Bean's report from Gallipoli on the extermination of Armenians had a paragraph describing the sale of Armenian girls on Turkish markets:

“Two days after this, for a whole day and a half some twenty carriages were kept busy conveying women and children to the railway station. They were placed like so many cattle in an enclosure with guards all round...an officer made a speech to the effect that these women and girls were now public property...while these were torn from their mothers a company of gendarmes who were in ambuscade, came out of their hiding place and bayoneted their mothers before the eyes of the little ones...day after day the unhappy girls were there like so many sheep for sale in the market”.<sup>57</sup>

The abduction and forced marriages of young Armenian girls and women was an integral part of the genocidal plan to destroy the Armenian nation.

The Australian newspapers of 28 September 1915 brought to the reader the “Turkish method” of dealing with Armenian women and girls by forcibly taking them as wives:

“The Turks in the Kharpert Province sold in the market the remainder (Armenian women). The highest functionary to the simplest peasant bought wives, forcibly converting them to Islamism...There were similar scenes in the Diarbekir province...they killed the few

remaining youth, abducted the women and girls, and whipped old women along the roads until they dropped from exhaustion, and died from hunger”.<sup>58</sup>

A week earlier, newspapers had reported the issue of Armenian women being forced to marry Turks: “Younger women seized for the Turkish harems, and compelled with their children to become Mohammedans, and be kept in slavery”.<sup>59</sup>

In 1918, another eyewitness account from an American source of Armenians abducted or sold for the Turkish harems: “Girls and young women were snatched away at every turn on the journey. The girls sold at Marsovan for from two to four dollars each...I know because I was able to ransom three girls at the price of £1”.<sup>60</sup>

In late September, Australian newspapers mentioned the forced conversion and abduction of women for the same purpose: “Women are seized for the Turkish harems and are compelled to become Moslems”.<sup>61</sup>

The price for conversion was that individuals and sometimes families who were forced to accept the Islamic fate were renouncing not only their religion but also any link they had with their Armenian roots, including language and culture. Once converted any child born in the family would automatically



become Muslim although the parents were Armenians. In October 1915, another report of forced conversion of Armenians appeared in the papers: “The Armenians of the regions of Erzerum, Bitlis and Erzingan have under torture been converted to Islam”.<sup>62</sup>

At a meeting in Melbourne organized by the Melbourne women’s auxiliary of the Australian Armenian Relief, Dr Lincoln Wirt stated that: “ Twenty five thousand Armenian girls had been saved from Turkish harem, but 25,000 more remained to be rescued”.<sup>63</sup> Dr Wirt was referring to the efforts of Armenians to save Armenian women and children kept in Turkish harems after the end of the war. The figures testified to the enormity of the task to rescue Armenian women from Turkish harems.

#### **5.4 Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part**

Perhaps as many Armenians died as a result of the harsh conditions imposed on them such as the death marches than from the hands of the Turks. In describing the extermination of Armenians in several regions, *ARG* reported in 1915: “There were few outright massacres, but it is plain to be seen that this subtle way was taken of destroying an entire race”.<sup>64</sup>

These days, in trivializing the genocide Turks are calling the deportations “relocation” and insist on the caring nature of the Turkish government.

US Ambassador Morgenthau described in his memoirs the itinerary of a single caravan to show that the real purpose of the Turkish government was not deportation but extermination. He wrote on the subject:

“It is absurd for the Turkish Government to assert that it ever seriously intended to “deport the Armenians to new homes”; the treatment which was given the convoys clearly shows that extermination was the real purpose of Enver and Talaat”.<sup>65</sup>

A major killer of the Armenian deportees was the exposure to the elements, the cold weather in winter or the scorching hot sun of the Syrian and Mesopotamian deserts. Covered in rags or naked, without shelter, food or water the deportees had absolutely no chance of survival. In January 1916, based on reports of Lord Bryce, *ARG* reported:

“At Eski Shehir there are from 12,000 to 15,000 exiles in the fields, evidently in great need and distress. The majority of them are without shelter and shelter they have consists of the flimsiest kind of tents, improvised out of a few sticks covered with rugs or carpets in a few

instances, but often with only cotton cloth, absolutely no protection from heavy autumn rain which will soon be coming”.<sup>66</sup>

Four years after the end of the war, Armenians were still dying in scores from the harsh elements of the climate. An editorial of *SMH* wrote in 1922:

“During last year alone 140 villages were destroyed and thousands of Armenians, men, women, and children were slain. And even where the Turkish sword and fire do not reach the position is almost desperate. Starvation and disease are levying a terrible toll. To crown Armenian’s woes, famine and sickness in many dreadful forms are scourging the land. Hundreds of thousands of homeless refugees are plumbing the depth of misery and know not where to turn for succor”.<sup>67</sup>

Reports printed in the Australian newspapers also left no doubt that the Turkish government deported the Armenian population to the desert to die. One of the first accounts of deportations appeared in August 1915, it referred to the Armenian population of Cilicia: “40,000 Armenians in Cilicia, a province in Asia Minor, have perished. The entire population was stripped of all their possessions, and driven into the desert to die”.<sup>68</sup>

A month later further reports clarified what was meant by “deportation”: “Old men, women, and children are sent to the

uninhabited interior and left to a slow death from hunger and exposure”.<sup>69</sup>

Two weeks later a similar account from Lord Bryce noted that:

“Convoys of Turkish soldiers, who were largely released criminals, are driving the old men and women into unhealthy parts in Asia Minor and onto the desert between Syria and the Euphrates... and all will perish sooner or later”.<sup>70</sup>

Turkish gendarmes deported most Armenians with a short notice of a few hours, but often without any warning simply expelled them under lashes. Even with the few possessions they were able to take with them, the gendarmes or Turkish and Kurdish villagers would soon loot from the deportees along the roads. In November based on eyewitness accounts, details about deportations further revealed that their main aim was extermination:

“Whole villages were deported at an hour’s notice, with no opportunity to prepare for the journey, not even, in some cases, to gather together the scattered members of the family, so that little children were left behind. Women with little children in their arms were driven along under the whip like cattle”.<sup>71</sup>

The Turkish government has a totally different interpretation of the deportations. According to the Turkish Foreign Ministry website, the Ottoman Turkish government showed utmost care in “resettling” the Armenians:

“While transporting the Armenian convoys to the resettlement areas, routes that were close and not strenuous were selected and in addition care was taken to ensure the security and protection of the deportees”.<sup>72</sup>

Pulat Tacar from the Institute for Armenian Studies Research,<sup>73</sup> expressing Turkish governments position states that the death of “some” Armenians during “emigration” was not the Turkish government’s fault:

“Many Armenians were forced to emigrate from the war theatre to more secure regions, and some of them died during the relocation. This is not due to a state policy but to bad health conditions, transportation problems and the poor security circumstances”.<sup>74</sup>

In October, *ARG* printed more details on how deportations were carried out in some localities:

“Women, children, and men, sick or well, were clubbed and whipped, 45 into a box car, where they spent five days without food, unless

brought with them. Babies were born in the cars, people died in them. Many committed suicide, throwing themselves from the train”.<sup>75</sup>

In 1984, the Permanent People’s Tribunal in its verdict on the Armenian Genocide mentioned also to the fact that deportations were part of the plan to destroy the Armenian nation:

“Deportation was in fact only a disguised form of extermination. The strongest were eliminated before departure. Hunger, thirst, and slaughter decimated the convoys' numbers. Thousands of bodies piled up along the roads. Corpses hung from trees and telegraph poles; mutilated bodies floated down rivers or were washed up on the banks”.<sup>76</sup>

#### **5.4.1 Hunger**

During and after WWI, the words “starving” and “Armenian” became synonymous. Starvation was one of the main killers of the deported Armenians in the Syrian and Mesopotamian deserts. Photos of emaciated people in concentration camps were a premonition of things to come in a few decades.

Starting from 1916, reports started reaching the outside world about the horrible conditions inside the concentration camps in the Syrian Desert. One of the cities regularly mentioned in the articles was Meskene; which was featured in reports as being in “Northern Arabia” inside Ottoman territory, but currently is

situated inside the borders of modern Syria. All six newspapers reported the awful condition of Armenians in that location and the situation in the concentration camps were as horrible as described in the reports.

**Table 19**            **Titles of articles about Meskene**

Newspaper	Title of Article	Date
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Suffering Armenians – 30,000 Starving People</i>	12 Sep. 1916
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Plight of Armenians – Thousands Starving</i>	12 Sep. 1916
<i>BC</i>	<i>The Persecuted Armenians – Horrible Atrocities– 30,000 Starving</i>	12 Sep. 1916
<i>MCY</i>	<i>The Armenians–Their Terrible Sufferings – Thousands of People Perishing</i>	12 Sep. 1916
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Armenian Horrors – 30,000 Starving–Missionary’s Description</i>	12 Sep. 1916
<i>REG</i>	<i>Starving Armenians</i>	12 Sep. 1916
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Armenian Horrors – Thousands Dying of Starvation</i>	19 Feb. 1917
<i>AGE</i>	<i>Atrocities in Armenia – Many Thousands of Victims – Exhaustion and Ill-treatment</i>	19 Feb. 1917
<i>MCY</i>	<i>Armenian Atrocities – Shocking Revelations</i>	19 Feb. 1917

The Armenian language encyclopedia *Armenian Question* has an entry on Meskene:

“It was one of the concentration camps. Extremely harsh conditions were created for the Armenian refugees. Some 3000 orphans were killed in Meskene. One hundred of these orphans were trampled under the hoofs of the horses, 800 others, during the coldest days of winter almost naked and bare feet were forced to march until they dropped dead of exhaustion and exposure. Some of them were drowned in the river Euphrates; others were burned to death or asphyxiated with the smoke of fresh branches of trees”.<sup>77</sup>

In mid-August, newspapers reported the horrible conditions in which deportees who had survived the massacres were living at Meskene: “Thousands of people are without food, except for roasting grasshopper and dogs. One party of 600 were compelled to move from place to place until all perished”.<sup>78</sup> It is possible that the episode described in the Australian newspapers related to the entry of the Armenian encyclopedia of the 800 orphans who were forced to move from one place to the other until they dropped dead.

In September more accounts appeared in the Australian press about the living dead of Meskene:

“He saw women and children throw themselves into trenches and beg gravediggers to bury them. The Armenians there had no bread or tents. At Hama he saw 7000 deportees, of whom 3000 were naked. They were living on locusts and dogs. Men were observed to dig graves while awaiting death”.<sup>79</sup>

The deported Armenians lived in similar atrocious conditions in other parts of Syria. In 1916, the complaints of German teachers in the city of Haleb made the headlines:

“Boys and girls are almost naked and are dying in scores in the neighbourhood. 2000 healthy peasant women who were driven down from the highlands, and all that remains of them here are 40 to 50



skeletons. The Turkish guards ravished the beautiful women and the others were allowed to die of hunger, thirst and flogging. The cruelty was carried to such an extent that those lying helpless close to water were not allowed to drink”.<sup>80</sup>

A year later there were more reports from concentration camps in Meskene and the awful conditions deportees had to live:

“The report states that 60,000 victims of exhaustion and ill treatment were buried at Meskene, to which place they had been deported from Syria and Mesopotamia. On the way to Meskene 300 bodies of women, old men, and children were thrown into one grave... 600 orphans crowded in one great shed, were dying of hunger”.<sup>81</sup>

After the war ended, while most belligerent nations were trying to heal their wounds and had started reconstruction, the extermination of Armenians continued unabated in Armenia:

“Tens of thousands of Armenians are being starved to death by the Turks, Kurds, and Tartars in the Black Sea region, and that the daily deaths of Armenians at Alexandropol (Transcaucasia) number more than 100”.<sup>82</sup>

## **5.5 Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group**

In Australia, sometimes the intense argument on the Stolen Generation revolves around the fifth principle of UNCG.

Armenians in Australia can easily identify themselves with the pain of Aborigines and understand how they feel about their stolen children. The significant difference between the Aborigine and Armenian cases is that Turks abducted Armenian children during a state sponsored genocide. Like Aborigine children, thousands of Armenian children were snatched from their parents and forced into an alien culture and environment.

The Ottoman Turkish government and society had taken every necessary step to make sure that children who had their lives spared would grow up as good Turks or Kurds and permanently lose any link to their original race and culture to perpetuate the hatred of Armenians. Reports of abductions of children started appearing early May 1915, a few weeks after the start of the official date (April 24, 1915) of genocide: “All the Kurds then poured into the mosque, and divided our little boys between them to be brought up as Mahometans”.<sup>83</sup>

Sometimes, young women and their toddlers, as stated before, had the same fate: “The younger women have been seized for the harems and compelled with the children to become Mahomedans”.<sup>84</sup>

In CEW Bean’s report from Gallipoli, there was a description of forced removal of Armenian children to be brought up as Turks:

“The boys were separated from the girls, and taken to mosque schools to be brought up as Mohammedans”.<sup>85</sup>

In September 1915, newspapers reported how children were forcibly taken away from their mothers: “A little girl states that when the caravan arrived at the Governor’s office at Sarikichila children were torn from their mothers’ arms and the caravan was forced to continue without them”.<sup>86</sup> The reports mentioned only mothers and not parents because the male population had been massacred already and the caravans were composed of women, children and the elderly.

The fate of Greek children in the hands of the Turks did not have a better fate *ARG* reported in 1916: “The Greek children are being taken from the villages and converted to Islamism”.<sup>87</sup>

**Table 20** Articles used for analysis and their classification under UNGC

	DATE	NEWSPAPER	UNCG ARTICLE 2 CLAUSE NO	SOURCE
1	December 15, 1914	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	1	NEWS REPORT
2	February 24, 1915	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	1,2,5	NEWS REPORT
3	April 29, 1915	<i>ARG</i>	2	NEWS REPORT
4	May 1, 1915	<i>REG</i>	2	NEWS REPORT
5	May 12, 1915	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	1,2	NEWS REPORT
6	June 2, 1915	<i>AGE</i>	2	NEWS REPORT
7	June 21, 1915	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG</i>	1	NEWS REPORT
8	July 24, 1915	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG</i>	1	NEWS REPORT
9	July 30, 1915	<i>ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	1	NEWS REPORT

10	August 3, 1915	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	2	NEWS REPORT
11	August 5, 1915	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG</i>	1, 3	NEWS REPORT
12	September 6, 1915	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG</i>	1	NEWS REPORT
13	September 11, 1915	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	1, 3	NEWS REPORT
14	September 22, 1915	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG</i>	2	NEWS REPORT
15	September 23, 1915	<i>REG</i>	2	EDITORIAL
16	September 23, 1915	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	2,3,5	NEWS REPORT
17	September 25, 1915	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG</i>	2	NEWS REPORT
18	September 28, 1915	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	1,2,5	NEWS REPORT
19	October 8, 1915	<i>AGE</i>	1, 2	NEWS REPORT (E)
20	October 22, 1915	<i>ARG</i>	2, 3	NEWS REPORT (E)
21	November 26, 1915	<i>ARG</i>	2, 3	NEWS REPORT (E)
22	December 2, 1915	<i>ARG</i>	2,5	SPECIAL REPORT
23	December 16, 1915	<i>AGE, ARG, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	1, 2	NEWS REPORT
24	December 17, 1915	<i>BC</i>	2	NEWS REPORT
25	December 21, 1915	<i>MCY</i>	2,5	SPECIAL REPORT
26	January 17, 1916	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	1	NEWS REPORT
27	January 22, 1916	<i>ARG</i>	1, 2, 3	NEWS REPORT (E)
28	February 12, 1916	<i>REG</i>	2	EDITORIAL
29	February 12, 1916	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	2	NEWS REPORT
30	February 23, 1916	<i>ARG</i>	2	EDITORIAL
31	May 15, 1916	<i>AGE, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	1	NEWS REPORT
32	July 22, 1916	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	1, 2	NEWS REPORT
33	August 21, 1916	<i>AGE, ARG, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	3	NEWS REPORT
34	August 22, 1916	<i>ARG,</i>	5	NEWS REPORT (E)
35	August 25, 1916	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY,</i>	2, 3	NEWS REPORT

		<i>REG</i>		
36	September 12, 1916	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	3	NEWS REPORT
37	February 19, 1917	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG,</i>	3	NEWS REPORT
38	January 19, 1918	<i>ARG</i>	2	NEWS REPORT (E)
39	January 6, 1919	<i>ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	1	NEWS REPORT
40	March 15, 1919	<i>ARG</i>	1	NEWS REPORT (E)
41	April 25, 1919	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	3	NEWS REPORT
42	August 12, 1922	<i>SMH</i>	2, 3	EDITORIAL
43	August 19, 1922	<i>ARG</i>	2	AUSTRALIAN
44	September 19, 1922	<i>ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>	1	NEWS REPORT

## 5.6 Turkish Method

When executing the orders of the Turkish government, Turkish officials, troops, police and the special “butcher battalions”<sup>88</sup> followed a pattern. This pattern of extermination had become clear starting in mid-1915 and in many articles newspapers referred to it as the “Turkish method”, which corresponds also to the accounts of survivors.

Most of the reports with reference to the “Turkish method” appeared in 1915 at the height of the deportations and extermination. It took approximately five months and countless executions of the method, before the pattern of extermination became clear and reached the outside world and the international

press. It was a pattern of careful and centrally organized extermination plan that involved:

- The conscription of young Armenian males into the Ottoman army and their subsequent extermination.
- The sudden arrest of Armenian intellectuals, political, and religious leaders in cities and villages throughout the Ottoman territories.
- The deportation and massacre of the remaining population comprised mainly of women, children the elderly and the sick towards the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia.
- Abduction of young women and their enslavement in Turkish harems.
- Sale of Armenian young women, girls and boys as slaves.
- Islamisation and Turkification of under aged Armenian children.

The first description of a Turkish pattern appeared in the papers early September 1915:

“The Turkish method throughout the Armenian villages consists of separating the men, compelling the young to fight, selling the young women to harems and sending the old men, women and children to the uninhabited interior, where they are left to a slow death from hunger and exposure”.<sup>89</sup>

Two weeks later, the newspapers in echoing Lord Bryce's appeal to the US reported again on the "Turkish method" of exterminating Armenians:

"The Armenians have not rebelled and are not armed but men of military age were killed. The younger women have been seized for the harems and compelled with the children to become Mahometans. They will be kept in slavery. Convoys of Turkish soldiers, who are largely released criminals, have been driving the old men and women into the unhealthy parts of the Asia Minor desert between Syria and the Euphrates. Many are murdered on the way the road being strewn with corpses".<sup>90</sup>

A week later, newspapers reported the same pattern of extermination:

"The first step was disarming under pretext, for which there were many murders and torturings. Then the Armenians were imprisoned en masse. Deportations followed accompanied by massacres. Scarcely a man was left. The Turks in the Kharput province sold in the market the remainder".<sup>91</sup>

The same day *MCY*, with its editorial further emphasized the "Turkish method":

“The Armenians ... half a million of them have been slaughtered- chiefly the males of military age; whilst the younger women and the children have been seized for the harem and for slavery, and hundreds of thousands of others have been driven out of their homes to die by the roadsides of starvation”.<sup>92</sup>

The pattern changed slightly along the coastal areas of the Black Sea. Relying on the eyewitness accounts of the Italian Consul of Trebizond, *ARG* reported:

“Orders came from Constantinople that all the Armenian Christians in Trebizond were to be killed...obeying the orders which they had received, they hunted out all the Christians, gathered them together and drove them down the streets to the sea. They were all put on board sailing boats, carried out some distance into the Black Sea and there thrown overboard and drowned. The whole Armenian population of from 8000 to 10,000 was destroyed in the way in one afternoon”.<sup>93</sup>

One of the references to the “Turkish method” of killing Armenians, in 1916, appeared in the editorial of the *Register*:

“In each town the horrible business began in the same way. The male adult Armenians were removed from the cities and stabbed or taken out to sea and drowned in thousands. Then the old men, women and children were assembled in great companies and (in charge of ruffianly soldiery) began a frightful march across the mountains and burning deserts, tortured by hunger and thirst and goaded by the



whips of their oppressors...the survivors were abandoned in scores of thousands in the marshes and deserts at the journey's end where they perished in the same manner as the Young Turks had settled the problem of the pariah dogs of Constantinople".<sup>94</sup>

The expression "Turkish method" appeared on the title and in the article written by C E W Bean in 1915.<sup>95</sup>

## **5.7 Conclusion**

Over the years 1915-1923, the regular Australian newspaper reader would have clearly understood that the Turkish government had planned and was carrying out the extermination of the Armenian population. The "Turkish method" of exterminating Armenians, mentioned many times in the papers, corresponds to the principles of UNCG, giving the reader the same notion to the events of WWI as we do today when we use the word genocide:

- Mass killing, intended to destroy a group, is genocide.
- Deportation of millions under lashes to uninhabited deserts and starving them to death is genocide.
- Torture, rape, sexual violence, intended to destroy a group, is genocide.

- Forcibly abducting Armenian young women and girls as slaves and concubines and forcing them not to have children within their own ethnic group is genocide.
- Removing Armenian children of both sexes and raise them as Turks is genocide.

In addition, from the samples presented in this chapter, it is apparent that in at least two of the elements of UNCG, the Armenian and Jewish genocides differ from each other. While Nazi Germany's policy was total extermination of Jews, Gypsies and others, the Young Turks' idea of total extermination included several exceptions:

- To selected few, Turks gave the choice to convert to Islam and save their lives.
- They spared under aged children who would not remember their parents and nationality and raised them as Turks.
- Turks forcibly converted to Islam young women and girls and forced them to live in harems as wives and concubines.

Turks did not spare dozens of thousands of young women, girls and children out of compassion- they were merely continuing the practice of strengthening their race by using the young and best elements the targeted group had to offer.

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<sup>1</sup> Over the past two decades, every year in April, it has become customary for the US president to issue a statement remembering the killing of Armenian civilians during WWI. Turkish government and its lobbying groups in USA work hard to insure that the dreaded word is not mentioned. As long as the message does not use the word “genocide” they are pleased, even though the letters usually mention the one and a half million victims. Armenians on the other hand insist that the word “genocide” is included in the presidential message and their lobbying groups, the Armenian Assembly of America and the Armenian National Committee of America, work tirelessly to pressure the White House to include the word “genocide” in the message (See Appendix copies of messages of US president George W. Bush).

<sup>2</sup> (1) *British Foreign Office Dossier on Turkish War Criminals*, AAIC, La Verne, California, 1991.

(2) Yeghiayan V. 1990, *The Armenian Genocide and the Trials of the Young Turks*. La Verne, California: American Armenian International College, 1990, XXVI.

<sup>3</sup> Alfred de Zayas, *Memorandum on the Genocide Against the Armenians 1915-1923 and the Application of the 1948 Genocide Convention*.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.un.org/law/icc/prepcomm/prepjun.htm>

<sup>5</sup> [www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/p\\_genoci.htm](http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/p_genoci.htm)

<sup>6</sup> Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, Chapter 22, pg. 3. (Internet edition)

<http://raven.cc.ukans.edu/~libsite/wwi-www/morgenthau/Morgen22.htm>

<sup>7</sup> 12 May 1915: AGE, *Turkish Horrors, Fearful Butchery of Christians*. ARG, *Christians Butchered, Massacres in Armenia*. BC, *Turkish Horrors, War on the Christians*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Massacres in Armenia*. REG, *Massacres of Armenians*. SMH, *Turkish Atrocities, Minister Crucified*.

<sup>8</sup> 24 Feb. 1915: AGE, *Atrocities in Armenia*. ARG, *Fearful Cruelties, Armenians Massacred*. BC, *Turkish Atrocities*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Massacre of Armenians*. REG, *The Brutal Turk, Massacre of Armenians*. SMH, *The Turks, Women Massacred*.

<sup>9</sup> 24 July 1915: AGE, *Exterminating the Armenians, Thousands Thrown into Rivers*. ARG, *Armenian Massacres, Hideous Turkish Deeds, Thousands Slaughtered*. BC, *Turkish Atrocities, Wholesale Massacres of Armenians*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Outrages Baffle Description*. REG, *Armenians Butchered*.

<sup>10</sup> See the full article in the Appendix.

<sup>11</sup> 6 Sep. 1915: AGE, *Submarine Crew Lands*. ARG, *British Submarine Crew Lands*. BC, *Turkish Massacre Ismid set on Fire, Whole Population Murdered*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocity, Fire and the Sword, Wholesale Massacre*. REG, *Turks Massacring Christians*.

<sup>12</sup> 11 Sep. 1915: AGE, *Exterminating Armenians, Turks' Diabolical Cruelty, Villagers Burnt Alive*. ARG, *Armenian Atrocities, How the Turks Act: Inhabitants Burnt Alive*. BC, *Massacres of Armenians, Wholesale Methods*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Diabolical Cruelty, People Burnt Alive*. REG, *Armenian Horrors, SMH, Armenians Massacred*.

<sup>13</sup> *Armenian Massacres, Women and Children Burned*, ARG, 22 Jan. 1916.

<sup>14</sup> *The Armenian Massacres, Responsibility of Germany, Nearly 1,000,000 Perish*, AGE, 08 Oct. 1915.

<sup>15</sup> 20 May 1896: AGE, *A Terrible Holocaust, Turkish Atrocities in Armenia, 3000 Burned Alive*. ARG, *Armenian Horrors, A Fearful Holocaust, 3000 Christians Burnt to Death*. MCY, *Frightful Massacre in Asiatic Turkey, Eight Thousand Victims*. REG, *Turkey's Troubles, A Fearful Holocaust* (See Copy in Appendix).

<sup>16</sup> 19 Sep. 1922: ARG, *Unhappy Smyrna, Homeless, Hungry Populace*. BC, *Terrible Scenes, Situation in Smyrna*. MCY, *Scenes at Smyrna, Refugees Within Burning Churches*. REG, *Smyrna's Tragedy, Scenes "Beggars Description"*. SMH, *Smyrna Ablaze, Stories of Massacre*.

<sup>17</sup> 06 Jan. 1919: ARG, *Butchered Armenians, 1,500,000 Victims*. BC, *Massacres of Armenians, Children Die of Hunger*. MCY, *Armenian Massacres, Victims Number 1,500,000*. REG, *The Armenian Horrors*. SMH, *Armenia. Turkish Atrocities*.

<sup>18</sup> *Armenian Horrors, Black Deeds of Turks*, ARG, 15 March 1919.

<sup>19</sup> 30 July 1915: ARG, *Murderous Turks, Christians Massacred*, BC, *Germans in Turkey, "An Unmitigated Curse"*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Wholesale Massacres*. REG, *Massacres in Asia Minor*. SMH, *Asiatic Turkey, Massacre of Christians*.

<sup>20</sup> 28 Sep. 1915: AGE, *The Unspeakable Turk, Extermination of Armenians*. ARG, *Atrocities in Armenia, Wholesale Massacres*. BC, *The Unspeakable Turk, Exterminating the Armenians*. MCY, *Massacre of Armenians, Awful Tales of Cruelty*. REG, *Barbaric Turk, Wiping Out Armenians*. SMH, *The Armenians, Dreadful Massacres*.

<sup>21</sup> *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, chapter 24, p.8 (Internet edition).

<sup>22</sup> 17 Jan. 1916: AGE, *The Armenian Atrocities*, ARG, *Armenian Massacres, Peasantry Slaughtered*. BC, *Murdering a Nation, Massacre of Armenians*. MCY, *Atrocities in Armenia, Wholesale Massacres by the Turks*. REG, *Destruction of Peasantry*. SMH, *The Armenians, Wholesale Massacre*.

<sup>23</sup> 15 Dec. 1914: AGE, *Turks and Christians, Threats of Massacre, Suspects Hanged Without Trial*. ARG, *Turkish Outrages Corpses on Lamp-Posts*. BC, *Armenian Refugees, A Terrible Position*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Terrible Plight of Christians in Armenia*. REG, *Christians in Terror*. SMH, *The Turks at Erzerum, Plight of Christians*.

<sup>24</sup> 21 June 1915: AGE, *Armenian Plotters Executed*. ARG, *Armenian Independence, Alleged Intriguers Shot by Turks*. BC, *Independent Armenia, 20 Armenians Executed*. MCY, *Trouble in Constantinople, Alleged American Intrigue*. REG, *Armenians Executed*.

<sup>25</sup> 5 August 1915: AGE, *Atrocities in Armenia, Driven into the Desert to Die*. ARG, *Sufferings of Armenians, 40,000 Murdered by Turks*. BC, *Cilician Horrors, 40,000 Armenians Perish*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Massacres in Armenia*. REG, *Driven to the Desert*.

<sup>26</sup> 16 Dec. 1915: ARG, *Vile Turk, Treatment of Armenians*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Wiping Out of Armenians*. REG, *Wiping Out the Armenians, Million Supposed Perish*. SMH, *The Armenians, Awful Sufferings*.

<sup>27</sup> *Morgenthau's Story*, chapter 24, p.8 (Internet edition).

<sup>28</sup> *Armenian Massacres, Women and Children Burned*, ARG, 22 Jan. 1916.

<sup>29</sup> 15 May 1916: AGE, *Massacres at Trebizond*. BC, *Turkish Atrocities at Trebizond*. MCY, *State of Trebizond, Hideous Massacres by the Turks*. REG, *Little Human Targets*. SMH, *Trebizond, Armenians Massacred by the Turks*.

<sup>30</sup> 22 July 1916: AGE, *Massacre of Armenians, Evidence Against Germans*. ARG, *Armenian Horrors, German Officers Implicated*. BC, *Massacres of Armenians, Responsibility Traced to Germans*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Slaughter of Armenians*. REG, *Destroying a Nation*. SMH, *The Armenians, Details of Massacres*.

<sup>31</sup> Gullett, *The Australian Imperial Force in Sinai and Palestine 1914-1918*, Sydney 1923, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Murdering a People*, REG, 12 Feb. 1916.

Endnotes continued on the next page

- <sup>33</sup> ARG, 23 Feb. 1916.
- <sup>34</sup> Political wing of Young Turks.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, Chapter 22, p.3 (Internet edition).
- <sup>36</sup> *Armenian Massacres, Women and Children Burned*, ARG, 22 Jan. 1916.
- <sup>37</sup> *Armenian Atrocities, Women Driven Like Cattle*, ARG, 26 Nov. 1915. Similar scenes of beating are described also by Ambassador Morgenthau, Chapter XXIV, pg. 3 (Internet edition).
- <sup>38</sup> *Armenian Atrocities*. AGE, 8 Oct. 1915.
- <sup>39</sup> 16 Dec.1915: AGE, *Fate of Armenians, 1,000,000 Perish*. ARG, *Vile Turks, Treatment of Armenians*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Wiping Out of Armenians*. REG, *Wiping Out the Armenians, Million Supposed Perished*. SMH, *The Armenians, Awful Sufferings*, 17 Dec. 1915. BC, *Destroying a People*.
- <sup>40</sup> *Armenian Massacres, Women and Children Burned*, ARG, 22 Jan. 1916.
- <sup>41</sup> 25 Aug. 1916: AGE, *The Atrocious Turk, Horrors in Armenia*. ARG, *Armenian Horrors, Even Germans Protest*. BC, *Atrocities in Armenia, What the Germans Permitted*. MCY, *Armenian Horrors, Appeal of German Teachers*. REG, *Armenian Massacres, Even Germans Shocked*.
- <sup>42</sup> *A Tragedy*, editorial, SMH, 12 August 1922.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, Chapter 22, p. 6 (Internet edition).
- <sup>44</sup> *Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Kosovo: Rape as a Weapon of "Ethnic Cleansing"*, Human Rights Watch, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2000/fr/y/>.  
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*Serb officers backed Kosovo gang rapes*, BBC News, 21 March, 2000.
- <sup>45</sup> See the UN press release on the Tribunal ruling: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/1998/19980902.af94.html>.
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- <sup>47</sup> *The Armenian Massacres, Responsibility of Germany, Nearly 1,000,000 People Perish*, AGE, 8 October, 1915.
- <sup>48</sup> 24 Feb. 1915: AGE, *Atrocities in Armenia*. BC, *Turkish Atrocities, Massacre of Armenians*. MCY, *Russo Turkish War, Turkish Atrocities*. SMH, *The Turks, Women Massacred*.
- <sup>49</sup> *Horrors of Armenia, Plain Strewn with Corpses*, ARG, 29 April 1915. *Horrors of Armenia, Plain Strewn with Corpses*, REG, 1 May 1915. *Armenian Massacres, Scenes of Butchery*, AGE, 2 June 1915.
- <sup>50</sup> 3 August 1915: AGE, *Atrocities in Armenia, Record of Terrible Cruelties*. ARG, *Armenian Atrocities, Greek Women tortured*. BC, *The Armenian Horrors, Details of the Massacres*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Massacre of Armenians*. REG, *Armenian Massacres*. SMH, *Armenian Massacres*.
- <sup>51</sup> Niepage, Martin 1916, *The Horrors of Aleppo*, T. fisher Unwin LTd London.
- <sup>52</sup> *Armenian Atrocities, Women Driven Like Cattle*, ARG, 26 Nov. 1915.
- <sup>53</sup> *Armenian Problem, Appeal to the United States*, ARG, 22 Oct. 1915.
- <sup>54</sup> *Armenian Massacres*. REG, editorial 23 Sep. 1915.
- <sup>55</sup> 25 Sep. 1915: AGE, *Turmoil in Constantinople. Armenian Girls Sold as Slaves*. ARG, *Distress in Constantinople. Armenians Sold as Slaves*. BC, *Christians Terrorised. Armenians Sold into Slavery*. MCY, *The Conditions at Constantinople. Sale of Armenian Slaves*. REG, *Cheap Girls. Life in Constantinople*.
- <sup>56</sup> 12 February 1916: AGE, *More Armenians Massacred. Girls Sold in Open Market*. ARG, *More Armenian Atrocities. Women Sold Openly in Turkey*. BC, *Wiping Out a Nation. Murdering the Few Remaining Armenians*. MCY, *Massacre of Armenians. Women and Girls Sold*. REG, *Unhappy Armenians, Wiping Out Remnant*. SMH, *The Armenians. Massacres Recommended*.
- <sup>57</sup> See full text in the Appendix. ARG 2 December 1915, MCY 21 December 1915.
- <sup>58</sup> 28 Sep. 1915: AGE, *The Unspeakable Turk, Extermination of Armenians*. ARG, *Atrocities in Armenia, Wholesale Massacres*. BC, *The Unspeakable Turk, Exterminating the Armenians*. MCY, *Massacre of Armenians, Awful Tales of Cruelty*. REG, *Barbaric Turks, Wiping Out Armenians*. SMH, *The Armenians, Dreadful Massacres*.
- <sup>59</sup> 23 Sep. 1915: AGE, *Armenian Atrocities, Ten Thousand Drowned*. ARG, *Armenian Massacres, Ghastly Turkish Work*. BC, *Wholesale Massacres, Wiping Out the Armenians*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Systematic Slaughter of Armenians*. REG, *Armenian Massacres, "Extirpating Christianity."* SMH, *Armenian Massacres, Lord Bryce's Appeal*.
- <sup>60</sup> *Armenian Atrocities, Girls Sold for Two Dollars*, ARG, 19 Jan. 1918.
- <sup>61</sup> 22 Sep. 1915: AGE, *Slaughter of Armenians, Appeal to America to Protest*. ARG, *Armenian Massacres, Appeal to United States*. BC, *The Slaughter of Armenians, Appeal by Viscount Bryce*. MCY, *Massacre of Armenians, Appeal to People of America*. REG, *Protest Against Massacres*.
- <sup>62</sup> *Armenian Atrocities*, AGE, 8 Oct. 1915.
- <sup>63</sup> *Plight of Armenia*, ARG, 19 August 1922.
- <sup>64</sup> *Armenian Problem. Appeal to United States*. ARG, 22 Oct. 1915.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ambassador Morgenthau's Memoires*, Chapter 24, p.8 (Internet edition).
- <sup>66</sup> *Armenian Massacres, Women and Children Burned*, ARG, 22 Jan. 1916.
- <sup>67</sup> *A Tragedy*, SMH, editorial, 12 August 1922.
- <sup>68</sup> 5 August 1915: AGE, *Atrocities in Armenia, Driven into the Desert to Die*. ARG, *Sufferings of Armenians, 40,000 Murdered by Turks*. BC, *Cilician Horrors, 40,000 Armenians Perish*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Massacres in Armenia*. REG, *Driven to the Desert*.
- <sup>69</sup> 11 Sep. 1915: AGE, *Exterminating Armenians, Turks' Diabolical Cruelty*. ARG, *Armenian Atrocities, How the Turks Act*. BC, *Massacres of Armenians, Wholesale Methods*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Diabolical Cruelty*. REG, *Armenian Horrors, "After All, It's War."* SMH, *Armenians Massacred*.
- <sup>70</sup> 23 Sep. 1915: AGE, *Armenian Atrocities, Ten Thousand Drowned*. ARG, *Armenian Massacres, Ghastly Turkish Work*. BC, *Wholesale Massacres, Wiping Out the Armenians*. MCY, *Turkish Atrocities, Systematic Slaughter of Armenians*. REG, *Armenian Massacres, editorial, Armenian Massacres, "Extirpating Christianity"*, SMH, *Armenian Massacres, Lord Bryce's Appeal*.
- <sup>71</sup> *Armenian Atrocities, Women Driven Like Cattle*, ARG, 26 Nov. 1915.
- <sup>72</sup> *Areas where Armenians were deported*, [www.mfa.gov.tr/Yayinlar/Wrm-osm/chapter1.htm](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/Yayinlar/Wrm-osm/chapter1.htm).
- <sup>73</sup> A Turkish institute specifically created to deny the Armenian Genocide.
- <sup>74</sup> Tacar Y. Pulat, *The Analysis of the Alleged Armenian Genocide from the Legal and Ethical Perspective*, <http://www.eraren.or.../turyazingozersoykiryapidhukahinpytacar.ht>.

Endnotes continued on the next page

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- <sup>75</sup> *Armenian Problem, Appeal to the United States*, ARG, 22 Oct. 1915.
- <sup>76</sup> For the text of Permanent Peoples' Tribunal verdict see ANI website: [www.armeniangenocide.org](http://www.armeniangenocide.org) or Zoryan Institute website: [www.zoryaninstitute.org](http://www.zoryaninstitute.org).
- <sup>77</sup> *The Armenian Question*, Yerevan 1996 (in Armenian).
- <sup>78</sup> 21 August 1916: AGE, *Sufferings of Armenians, Resort to Cannibalism*. ARG, *Armenian Horrors, Parents Eat Children*. M CY, *Armenian Horrors, Further Shocking Revelations*. REG, *Armenians Driven to Cannibalism*. SMH, *The Armenians, Horrible Sufferings*.
- <sup>79</sup> 12 Sep. 1916: AGE, *Suffering Armenians, 30,000 Starving People*. ARG, *Plight of Armenians, Thousands Starving*. BC, *The Persecuted Armenians, Horrible Atrocities*. M CY, *The Armenians, Their terrible Sufferings*. REG, *Starving Armenians*, SMH, *Armenian Horrors, 30,000 Starving*.
- <sup>80</sup> 25 August 1916: AGE, *The Atrocious Turk, Horrors in Armenia, German Teachers' Appeal*. ARG, *Armenian Horrors, Even Germans Protest, Berlin Ignore Appeal*. BC, *Atrocities in Armenia, What the Germans Permitted*. M CY, *Armenian Horrors, Appeal of German Teachers*. REG, *Armenian Massacres, Even Germans Shocked*.
- <sup>81</sup> 19 Feb. 1917: AGE, *Atrocities in Armenia, Many Thousands of Victims*. ARG, *Armenian Horrors*. BC, *Atrocities on Armenians, Germany's Noble Ally, Wiping out a Population*. M CY, *Armenian Atrocities, Shocking Revelations*. REG, *Armenian Massacres, 60,000 Dead at One Spot*.
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- <sup>84</sup> 23 Sep. 1915: AGE, *Armenian Atrocities, Ten Thousand Drowned*. ARG, *Armenian Massacres, Ghastly Turkish Work*. BC, *Wholesale Massacres, Wiping Out the Armenians*. M CY, *Turkish Atrocities, Systematic Slaughter of Armenians*. REG, *Armenian Massacres, "Extirpating Christianity"*. SMH, *Armenian Massacres, Lord Bryce's Appeal*.
- <sup>85</sup> *Armenian Horrors, Story of Eye-Witness*, ARG, 2 Dec. 1915. *Germany's Ally, The "Turkish Method,"* M CY, 21 Dec. 1915.
- <sup>86</sup> 28 Sep. 1915: AGE, *The Unspeakable Turk, Extermination of Armenians*. ARG, *Atrocities in Armenia, Wholesale Massacres*. BC, *The Unspeakable Turk, Exterminating the Armenians*. M CY, *Massacre of Armenians, Awful Tales of Cruelty*. REG, *Barbaric Turks, Wiping Out Armenians*. SMH, *The Armenians, Dreadful Massacres*.
- <sup>87</sup> *The Unspeakable Turk, Pitiabale Plight of Greeks*, ARG, 22 August 1916.
- <sup>88</sup> Special troops made out of released criminals from prisons, for the sole purpose of exterminating the Armenians.
- <sup>89</sup> 11 Sep. 1915: AGE, *Exterminating Armenians, Turks' Diabolical Cruelty, Villagers Burnt Alive*. ARG, *Armenian Atrocities, How the Turks Act, Entire Village Obliterated*. BC, *Massacres of Armenians, Wholesale Methods*. M CY, *Turkish Atrocities, Diabolical Cruelty, People Burnt Alive*. REG, *Armenian Horrors*, SMH, *Armenians Massacred*.
- <sup>90</sup> 23 Sep. 1915: AGE, *Armenian Atrocities, Ten Thousand Drowned, Thrown into Sea from Boats*. ARG, *Armenian Massacres, Ghastly Turkish Work, 10,000 Cast into Sea*. BC, *Wholesale Massacres, Wiping Out the Armenians, Appalling Work of the Turks*. M CY, *Turkish Atrocities, Systematic Slaughter of Armenians, Half-A-Million Killed*. REG, *Armenian Massacres, Extirpating Christianity*. SMH, *Armenian Massacres, Lord Bryce's Appeal*.
- <sup>91</sup> 28 Sep. 1915: AGE, *The Unspeakable Turk, Extermination of Armenians, Dreadful Story of Atrocities*. ARG, *Atrocities in Armenia, Wholesale Massacres, Awful Tale of Cruelty*. BC, *The Unspeakable Turk, Exterminating the Armenians, Awful Stories of Cruelty*. M CY, *Massacre of Armenians, Awful Tales of Cruelty*. REG, *Barbaric Turks, Wiping Out Armenians*. SMH, *The Armenians, Dreadful Massacres by the Turks*.
- <sup>92</sup> *Exterminating Christianity*, M CY, 28 Sep. 1915.
- <sup>93</sup> *Armenians, Half a Million Killed, Blood-Curdling Horrors*, ARG, 29 Nov. 1915.
- <sup>94</sup> *Murdering a People*, REG, 12 Feb. 1916.
- <sup>95</sup> *Germany's Ally, "Turkish Method," An Armenian's Simple Tale*, M CY, 21 Dec. 1915 (See Appendix for the full text).

# Chapter 6 Australia's Response to the Armenian Genocide

## 6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed in details the reports of the extermination of Armenians as they appeared in the Australian press. It discussed the terrible fate of the victims- the death marches, torture, kidnapping, forced conversions, starvation, slavery and rape. After grasping the magnitude of the disaster inflicted on Armenians, the question that comes into one's mind is what was the reaction from Australians? The thesis would be incomplete without discussing, though briefly, the reaction of the Australian public to the reports of the extermination of Armenians.

From newspaper reports, it was apparent that in Victoria a relief movement had started in 1915 and gradually spread to most states<sup>1</sup> after the end of WWI. Who was organising the relief efforts? Surely not Armenians who totalled only a few dozen scattered across Australia. Certainly, they were Australians. But did the deep divisions within the Australian society between Anglicans, Protestants and Catholics affect in any way the relief efforts in Australia? Which section of the community had been more active? What information did the newspapers give about

these unknown, compassionate Australians who, under difficult circumstances, devoted their time and effort to organise fund raising campaigns, appealed to the public for their compassion, organised lectures and employed a new medium, the movies, to raise funds, to help the remnants of a little known nation thousands of kilometres away?

## **6.2 Armenian Relief Fund and Friends of Armenia**

Australians responded to the extermination of the Armenians with the creation of a relief fund (Armenian Relief Fund) and a friendship organisation (Friends of Armenia). Since no research has been done on the subject and even the existence of these organisations is still unknown to the Australian Armenian community and also to scholars of Armenian Genocide, my observations are based only on the articles that I found in the newspapers I researched for my thesis. Most of these articles were printed in the *ARG* and *REG*. Only a few appeared in the *AGE*, *SMH* and fewer in *MCY*.

The Armenian Relief Fund was first mentioned in the *ARG* at the end of 1915, while Friends of Armenia appeared in the *ARG* late 1917. Both organisations were based in Melbourne, then the federal capital of Australia.

At a later stage, branches were created throughout Australia. Offices were set up in Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide and respected figures in the community led the organisations. Starting early 1920's, the organisation coordinated the efforts of various branches in different states by creating a centralised structure and from 1922 appeals for donations were made under the name of Australasian Armenian Relief Fund, which included relief efforts from New Zealand.

Until real research is carried out and the archives of Friends of Armenia and Armenian Relief Fund found (if still in existence), it is not possible by just reading the articles to know:

- When Friends of Armenia and Armenian Relief Fund were established in Melbourne.
- If Friends of Armenia was an independent organisation but created on the model of British Friends of Armenia.<sup>2</sup>
- If the organisation was just a branch of Friends of Armenia of Britain.
- The internal structure of the organisation and the division of duties between Armenian Relief Fund and Friends of Armenia.
- Membership details.
- Total amount of funds raised.
- When both organisations ceased their operations.



Nevertheless, the activities of Armenian relief can be divided broadly into three periods:

- 1915-1916
- 1917-1921
- 1922 and beyond

In the first period, letters to the editor appeared in the *ARG* by Miss Searle who made emotional appeals to the public. One of the first appeals for funds in the name of Armenian Relief Fund appeared in the *ARG* in 1915. In a letter addressed to the editor and titled, *Armenia's Martyrdom*, Miss Searle, secretary of the fund, wrote:

“Those who remember the accounts sent by me to the press in this and other states may wonder that, even among so many more popular claims, I have refrained from making any appeal since the war began. Even now it is chiefly the hope that many on the long list of old subscribers to the relief funds with which I have ever since been connected, both in London and Armenia itself, may be glad to know that the old channel of communication is still open, and I shall be most thankful to receive and forward any contributions, however small, to “The Friends of Armenia”.<sup>3</sup>

A few months later, Miss Searle again pleaded for help:

“It is since May 15 of last year that over one million (Armenians) have been destroyed. The miserable remnant, which remained, is still being hunted to death. While thousands of refugees in other lands are perishing for lack of food, must I plead again in vain for these hapless sufferers? Will not liberal Melbourne spare some crumbs of help from its rich giving to the more popular funds, or deny itself a few picture shows from their weekly harvest of over £100,000?”.<sup>4</sup>

It is almost tangible the frustration of Miss Searle, Turks were exterminating a whole nation with unimaginable cruelty and yet most of the population’s sympathies lied with the popular funds. Wartime charitable funds in Melbourne that appeared regularly in the papers were: “Australian Red Cross Society”, “Lord Mayor’s Appeal”, “Polish Relief Fund”, “Serbian Relief Fund”, “Allies’ Button Fund”, “Australian Patriotic Fund”, “Russian Refugee Appeal Fund”, “Blind Soldiers’ Appeal” and many others. These were some of the most popular funds that Miss Searle was probably referring to and donations to these funds appeared daily in the *ARG*.

Two years later the *AGE* referring to Miss Searle stated: “At the end of 1916 the work of helping Armenia was taken over from Miss M. E. Searle, who in the course of some years had raised and forwarded to London about £300”.<sup>5</sup> This reference shows the limited success that Miss Searle had in raising funds for the survivors.

The second period was characterised by a more active and successful relief effort. The papers did not give any information on why the relief work was taken over from Miss Searle, but the change was for the better and it was definitely for the benefit of Armenians. Between the end of 1916 and early 1917 the new members of Armenian Relief Fund must have done a good preparatory work because on 21 April 1917 the first major appeal was launched in Melbourne, with the concerted efforts of Friends of Armenia, the Anglican and other churches with the patronage of Melbourne's Lord Mayor.

The Sunday of 22 April 1917 was dedicated to Armenians as "Armenia Sunday". The *ARG* announced to Melbournians that: "Tomorrow will be observed throughout the State as Armenia Sunday. The Anglican Archbishop of Melbourne and other heads of Churches have commended the appeal to their people".<sup>6</sup> On the same page, there was an appeal by Sir D.V.Hennessy, the Lord Mayor of Melbourne who endorsed the appeal:

"I gladly accede to the request made to me by several prominent citizens of Melbourne, and by the Victorian Friends of Armenia Committee, to open a fund for the relief of the remnant of Armenia. Many of these poor people are dying through starvation in Mesopotamian and Arabian deserts, whilst others who are returning to

Armenia are in urgent need of help and the re-establishment of their desolated homes".<sup>7</sup>

Later reports indicated that "Armenia Sunday" had been a success. The following day, 23 April 1917 *ARG* reported, "The appeal met with a ready success".<sup>8</sup> The *AGE* in December of the same year reported that "on 22<sup>nd</sup> April Sunday Armenia was organised throughout the State. Sermons were preached and collections taken up, the appeal resulting in over £2000 being contributed".<sup>9</sup>

In 1918, a branch of Armenian Relief Fund was opened in Sydney *SMH* reported about the meeting that had taken place in the Town Hall<sup>10</sup> where the Lord Mayor of Sydney was appointed as the president of the fund. Haroutiun Balakian,<sup>11</sup> an Armenian from Melbourne made an appeal on behalf of Armenians. Balakian had joined the Friends of Armenia committee in Melbourne two years earlier.

In January 1918 there was a fresh "appeal to the churches, on behalf of the Council of Churches" was a request to read the "cablegram sent by the Lord Mayor's Committee, London" to "His Excellency the Governor-General...to be read from the pulpits of the churches". It was an appeal "to all religious bodies in Australia...regarding Sunday, February 3 (1918), as a day for intercessions and collections, wherever possible, on behalf of

Armenia”.<sup>12</sup> The statement encouraged readers to send donations to W H Edgar, MLC, and the treasurer of Armenian Relief Fund in Melbourne.

It was evident the strong cooperation and coordination of relief efforts between Britain and Australia. Friends of Armenia’s fundraising activities in Melbourne had the highest support from London Lord Mayor’s Fund. It also indicated that major fundraising drives were directed from London using the highest governmental channels. This message from Lord Mayor’s Committee was addressed to the Queen’s representative in Australia, the Governor General (See full text in the Appendix).

In 1918 Dr Alexander Leeper,<sup>13</sup> the first warden of Trinity College in Melbourne was appointed as president of Friends of Armenia, replacing the first president of the organisation, Rev. A. R. Ebbs.<sup>14</sup> In his diary, 2 July 1918, Dr Leeper wrote: “Asked 2 join Friends of Armenia”.<sup>15</sup>

In 1919 in a letter to the editor of the *ARG*, the treasurer of Friends of Armenia, W. H. Edgar, appealed again to Melbournians: “The present plight of the Armenian peoples constitutes one of the greatest tragedies in the history of mankind ...our committee is therefore placing another urgent appeal before the generous public of Victoria”.<sup>16</sup> The editorial of The *ARG* of

the same day supported the appeal made on behalf of Friends of Armenia:

“Australians enjoying the comforts of life in conditions of peace can form no idea of the sufferings endured by the Armenian people. This Christian country in the storm centre of Europe has for years been the scene of Turkish atrocities and of the rivalries of other countries...men, women, and children who have been spared from Turkish butchery are in want of the barest necessities of life. Their tragic condition makes an irresistible appeal, which, despite the many calls of charity and humanity, cannot be disregarded”.<sup>17</sup>

Even though the extermination of the Armenians was widely reported, it appears that the appeals had encountered some difficulties. In May 1919 the president of Friends of Armenia, Dr A. Leeper, in a letter to the editor gave one of the reasons of this reluctance:

“There is a reason to fear that the success of the appeal for the unhappy Armenians is being seriously hindered by a false impression that at Baku a body of Armenian soldiers acted treacherously towards the Allies. The statement is utterly unfounded”.<sup>18</sup>

The article in question was printed in September 1918. It reported how British soldiers after fighting with Turkish troops, had evacuated Baku and “Armenian troops, who were expected to

cooperate with the British, acted treacherously”. It also reported how Armenians refused to fight with the British forces commanded by General Dunsterville.<sup>19</sup>

*BC* reported the same news with a similar title: *Evacuation of Baku, Treachery of the Armenians*. The articles about “Armenian treachery” had many inaccuracies and it must have been quite apparent even to the public. In fact, right under the article of the *ARG*, 21 September 1918, a letter written by a certain Horace E Wooten, rightly indicated that:

“The sufferings of the Armenian nation under Turkish rule have been so unspeakable that it would obviously be the height of folly, at a stage of the war with victory for the Allies clearly in view, to thus cast away their sole chance of salvation by turning to their hereditary foe when that foe’s cause is all but lost”.<sup>20</sup>

About a month later, another article of the *ARG* revealed the “anxiety of the Armenian community in Australia to know the facts of the Baku situation”. The Lord Mayor of Melbourne had telegraphed to London requesting more clarification about the reported “treachery of the Armenians of Baku”. The news from London was encouraging. It revealed that: “The Baku Armenians were an isolated remnant” and that “the policy of the Allies towards Armenia remains unaltered”.<sup>21</sup>

It is outside the scope of the thesis to delve into the historical accuracies or falsehoods of the reports of “Armenian treachery”, but Armenians do not remember fondly British presence in the Caucasus in the period shortly before and after the Armistice. British forces were involved in local politics and lured by oil sided with the Tatars (modern day Azeris) and even gave control of the Armenian populated region of Karabagh to the Tatars. On 20 September 1918, British forces executed 20 Bolshevik commissars. Their leader was an Armenian by the name of Stepan Shahumian.

Despite the small complications and difficulties, Friends of Armenia must have continued its work for the relief of Armenians since in June 1919 the funds sent by Friends of Armenia to the Lord Mayor of London had already reached £10,000.<sup>22</sup> Two months later, the relief funds reached £11,000.<sup>23</sup>

The third period was the most successful and fruitful relief period and coincided with the arrival to Australia in May 1922 of Dr Lincoln Wirt commissioner for Near East Relief.<sup>24</sup> Reporting Dr Wirt’s arrival *ARG* wrote: “Dr Wirt has recently returned from the interior of Turkey...he reports conditions there as being no better than they were at the close of the war”.<sup>25</sup> In this period, more branches were opened throughout Australia and New Zealand.



In July 1922, Dr Wirt travelled to Sydney and New Zealand (*ARG*, 19 August 1922) to organise and coordinate the relief work and to set up branches of Armenian Relief Fund. Efforts were also made to centralise the relief work. Unlike the other periods, collected funds were not sent to London but spent in Australia buying goods and shipping them directly to the Armenian refugees. Newspaper reports also indicated that friends of Armenia was directly involved in the management of an Armenian orphanage in Lebanon.

Friends of Armenia also had its women's auxiliary group. In 1922, *ARG* reported on how the women's auxiliary of the Armenian Relief Committee held a general meeting to organise a campaign to raise funds for Armenian relief.<sup>26</sup>

In 1922 Dr Wirt reached the culmination of his mission's success when three ships loaded with donations were sent from Australia to the Armenian refugees. During a ceremony at Prince's Pier in Port Melbourne, Archbishop Lees blessed the Hobson's Bay which was carrying "the first consignment of 100 tons of flour" donated by Melbournians<sup>27</sup> (See photo in the Appendix).

Delighted from his mission in Australia Dr Wirt stated:

“It far exceeded my expectations. I have never seen anything like the generosity of the Australian worker. I look upon it all as more beautiful than anything else in my life. I did not believe that any people on earth would have done what Australia has done...during my stay in this country 10 different committees have been formed, and all are hard at work; and we estimate that in the next few months we shall have collected £25,000 worth in money or food”.<sup>28</sup>

NSW’s contribution was leather, tinned milk, and large quantity of clothing and woollen material.<sup>29</sup> South Australia’s contribution was food and clothing.<sup>30</sup>

In September 1922, the last chapter of the Armenian Genocide unfolded when the nationalist soldiers of Mustapha Kemal occupied the city of Smyrna. They burned the city’s Armenian and Greek quarters, massacred thousands of Greeks and Armenians and expelled the rest from the city. The two ships sent for the relief of the Armenian refugees did not reach their destination of Port Said (Egypt);<sup>31</sup> instead, their contents were distributed to the latest Greek and Armenian refugees who had escaped Smyrna.

Simultaneous to the relief efforts, Dr Wirt had tried to involve Australians to take charge of an orphanage in Lebanon. He announced to members of Armenian Relief Fund about the establishment of the orphanage in 1922. He also informed that

Miss Hilda King, from Victoria, was appointed in charge of food supplies and two Australians, Mr and Mrs Knudson assisted her.<sup>32</sup>

Two weeks later, in a long article, about the Australian orphanage, *REG* introduced Mr and Mrs Knudson as “New Zealanders”.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps the Knudson’s were New Zealanders but residing in Australia.

On 14 December 1922, a delegation of Australian Armenian Relief Fund met in Melbourne and among other things decided to accept the offer of Miss Gordon to become a nurse at the orphanage in Lebanon. The article also mentioned that there were “several New Zealanders already on the staff of this orphanage”.<sup>34</sup> The same report but with more details and spread over an entire column was printed in *MCY* three days later.<sup>35</sup>

When reading the material related to Friends of Armenia, it strikes the reader that there was no mention of the Catholic Church of Australia. This imbalance was certainly related to the problems in Ireland and the trouble with Catholics and Sinn Fein. The president of Friends of Armenia, Alexander Leeper, was very active campaigner against Sinn Fein, and hardly any Catholic would have cooperated with Dr Leeper in helping the Armenians.

To gauge the tension between the two groups it is interesting to read the letter to the editor sent by an anonymous member of Armenian Relief Fund.

The writer was complaining about reports that: “The Adelaide Roman Catholic Archbishop had stated that the deeds committed by the soldiers of the British Government were greater than the Armenian atrocities”. The writer based on the reports of Lord Bryce expressed its full indignation ending his/her letter with the words: “If the Roman Catholic Bishop of Adelaide has really made the statement referred to, he has been guilty of such gross exaggeration as hardly seems credible in a man professing Christianity”.<sup>36</sup>

The mainstream Australian press was biased on the Irish question and was firmly pro-British. If the Australian Catholic Church had undertaken separate relief work to aid the Armenians, the information could be obtained researching only catholic press, since there was no information on catholic aid in the mainstream Australian press.

The presence of Dr Wirt brought a marked change in the way Armenian Relief Fund operated to that date in Australia. While during and after the war the organisation worked closely with London Mayor’s Fund and sent all the collected donations to

London, after Dr Wirt's arrival they started helping Armenian refugees directly, bypassing London. Dr Wirt's arrival to Australian shores brought also a marked change in the way Friends of Armenia collected donations. He employed new methods including the use of documentaries.

The article of the *ARG* that announced the arrival to Australia of Dr Wirt mentioned also that the same "evening, at 9 o'clock, in St Paul's Cathedral Chapter House, Dr L Wirt will show the three-reel moving picture entitled, "Alice in Hungerland" taken by the International Film Company's official photographer during a recent tour through Armenia and the Caucasus".<sup>37</sup> Enquiries to find more details about this movie remained fruitless. It appeared no one had ever heard of "Alice in Hungerland". Dr Wirt showed the documentary in many localities during fundraising drives in Melbourne.

In 1920, approximately two years before Dr Wirt's arrival in Melbourne and the screening of "Alice in Hungerland", the film "Auction of Souls"<sup>38</sup> was screened in Melbourne. It was the first movie about the Armenian Genocide and it was made in the USA in 1919. The movie was based on the autobiography of Aurora (Arshaluys) Mardiganian a 19-year-old survivor of the Armenian Genocide who had played herself in the movie. Only a segment of twenty minutes remained of the original movie. It depicted the

suffering of Armenians during the genocide, burning of churches, killings, forced marches and rape of women during the deportations and concluded with the crucifixion of naked Armenian women. A real horror movie of the time, and extraordinary to show crucified and naked women in the 1920's.

Although this was not a documentary but a movie based on the accounts of a survivor, there was evidence that the movie was used to appeal for funds. The movie was shown "under the auspices of the committee of the Sydney Armenian Relief Fund".<sup>39</sup> In a letter addressed to the editor of the *Herald* Dr Alexander Leeper wrote:

"The latest reports tell us that the remnant left under Ottoman rule is threatened with extermination. Money is desperately needed... It is felt by the "Friends of Armenia" that the film now being shown may powerfully help their cause... The management has generously promised a share of the receipts for the benefit of the Armenian Fund... Those who after seeing the film may feel their hearts moved with pity will perhaps wish to send a subscription to the Armenian Fund..."<sup>40</sup>

There was also reference to the screening of another documentary by Rev. J. E. Cresswell "the Australasian national secretary for the Armenian Relief Fund".<sup>41</sup> Rev Cresswell had:

“Returned from an extensive tour of the Near East...A film will be privately screened illustrating the relief work in which Australia is taking part in Armenia. Mr Cresswell was able to obtain some interesting photographs, which will be shown and explained for the first time at this meeting”.<sup>42</sup>

The photographs and the documentary film brought by Rev. Creswell were first hand evidences collected by an Australian source. While CEW Bean and *AGE*'s correspondent in Middle East collected eyewitness accounts, Rev Creswell visited Armenia and Middle East and collected visual evidence.

In this period, advertisements started appearing in newspapers appealing for donations. They mainly appeared in *REG* and others in *ARG* (See samples of the advertisements in the Appendix).

### **6.3 Conclusion**

Indeed articles published in the Australian press on the relief efforts from Australia, had historical value, not only for Armenians but also for Australians, since all the protagonists were Australians. Despite the fact that Armenians were a little known nation compared to many European nations who suffered during the war, like Belgium and France, compassionate Australians dedicated their time and effort to alleviate the

sufferings of the survivors of the genocide. However, their tireless work and dedication remains unrecognised. Their archives, if ever found, would reveal a treasure of documents on the Armenian Genocide and relief efforts organised in Australia.

Members of Friends of Armenia, who assisted the Armenian orphanage in Antelias Lebanon, witnessed first hand the plight of the survivors and heard their horror stories. Other members of Friends of Armenia accompanied the relief ships to oversee the distribution to the refugees and the survivors. Their correspondences or diaries, if kept, could contain valuable material on the Armenian Genocide. If Rev. J C Creswell's documentary material is ever found it will surely contain further valuable documentary evidence from an Australian source on the plight of the survivors of the Armenian Genocide.

Because of major divisions within the Australian society, mainly between Anglicans, Protestants and Catholics, the latter did not cooperate directly with Friends of Armenia and Armenian Relief Fund. This was not surprising considering the tension in Ireland and its repercussions in Australia. Many of the prominent members of Friends of Armenia, including its president Dr Alexander Leeper and the long-time treasurer W H Edgar MLC, were Irish Protestants. While tensions ran high on the Irish question during and after WWI, it was not realistic that Dr



Mannix,<sup>43</sup> the Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, and Dr Alexander Leeper would have cooperated on Armenian relief while being at odds with each other on the Irish problem.

Despite the obvious difficulties, Armenian Relief Fund progressed gradually from the work of one or two concerned individuals to an organisation with dozens of branches and sub-branches across Australia and possibly also in New Zealand. The success they achieved was due to the determination, the tireless efforts of members of Friends of Armenia, the Anglican, Presbyterian and other churches who had lent their full support to help the survivors.

While most of the reports on the Armenian Genocide were from overseas sources, the material on the relief work was exclusive to the Australian press. The main information- events, dates, names of people, on Friends of Armenia and Armenian Relief Fund- were only found in newspapers, making them the primary source of important documents on the Armenian Genocide and the relief work undertaken in Australia to aid the survivors.

The material for this chapter was very limited and the chapter was kept short because of unavailability of the material.

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<sup>1</sup> I have not studied newspapers in WA and Northern Territories, and the six newspapers I studied do not give any information about the two named states.

Endnotes continued on the next page

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- <sup>2</sup> The organisation of Friends of Armenia of Great Britain was established in London in 1897, after the massacre of Armenians at the hands of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1894-1896.
- <sup>3</sup> *Armenia's Martyrdom, To the Editor of the Argus*, ARG, 9 Dec. 1915.
- <sup>4</sup> *Oppressed Nations, A Tragic Trinity, Plight of Armenia*, ARG, 24 Feb. 1915.
- <sup>5</sup> *Help for Armenia*, AGE, 5 Dec. 1917.
- <sup>6</sup> *Armenia Sunday*, ARG, 21 April 1917.
- <sup>7</sup> *Appeal For Distressed Armenia*, ARG, 21 April 1917.
- <sup>8</sup> *Armenia Sunday*, ARG, 23 April 1917.
- <sup>9</sup> *Help for Armenia – Over £3000 raised*, AGE, 5 December 1917.
- <sup>10</sup> *Armenian Relief Fund*, SMH, 13 December 1918.
- <sup>11</sup> Haroutiun Garabet Balakian was born in Tokat, Asia Minor, on 1 August 1868. He arrived in Melbourne on July 20 1897, probably escaping the February – March 1897 massacres in his hometown of Tokat by Sultan Abdul Hamid. He was a carpet merchant with an office at 346 Flinders St. Melbourne. Starting 1916 he was actively involved in fundraising activities with Friends of Armenia. In 1919, he compiled the book: *Armenia the Martyr Nation of Christendom* (E. W. Cole, Book Arcade, Melbourne). Most probably the first book published in Australia by an Armenian. He was naturalised on 1 August 1920 and died the 28 October 1946 in the Melbourne suburb of Eltham.
- <sup>12</sup> *Suffering Armenia – An Appeal to the Churches*, ARG, 22 January 1918.
- <sup>13</sup> For information about Dr Leeper's life refer to the book: Pointer John 1997, *Doubts and Certainties, A Life of Alexander Leeper*, Melbourne University Press.
- <sup>14</sup> *The Armenians* (To the Editor), *The Church of England Messenger*, 23 August 1918.
- <sup>15</sup> Diary of Dr Leeper (manuscript), Leeper Library, Trinity College.
- <sup>16</sup> *Armenia – To the Editor of The Argus*, ARG, 29 April 1919.
- <sup>17</sup> Editorial, ARG, 29 April 1919.
- <sup>18</sup> To the Editor of *Argus*, 7 May 1919.
- <sup>19</sup> *Baku Evacuated by Allied Force, Armenian Treachery, English Lose Heavily*, ARG, 21 Sep. 1918.
- <sup>20</sup> *Position of Armenians*, ARG, 21 Sep. 1918.
- <sup>21</sup> *Allies and Armenia, No Change in Policy*, ARG, 10 October 1918.
- <sup>22</sup> *Friends of Armenia*, ARG, 14 June 1919.
- <sup>23</sup> *Friends of Armenia Fund*, ARG, 21 August 1919.
- <sup>24</sup> For more information on Near East Relief see the website of Near East Foundation: [www.near-east.org](http://www.near-east.org).
- <sup>25</sup> *Armenian Relief*, ARG, 3 July 1922.
- <sup>26</sup> *Plight of Armenia, Dr. Wirt's Successful Mission*, ARG, 19 August 1922, *Ragged Armenians, Cast-Off Clothing Wanted*, ARG, 24 August 1922. *Starving Armenian Children*, ARG, 26 August 1922.
- <sup>27</sup> *Armenian Relief, Victoria's First Contribution*, ARG, 5 Sep. 1922. *Armenian Relief, Flour from Victoria*, ARG, 6 Sep. 1922.
- <sup>28</sup> *Armenian Relief, Victoria's First Contribution*, ARG, 5 Sep. 1922.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>30</sup> *Armenian Relief, First Local Shipment*, REG, 1 Nov. 1922. Also, *Armenian Relief, Meeting of the State Delegates, The Australian orphanage*, MCY, 30 Dec. 1922.
- <sup>31</sup> Port Said was the site of refugee camps where a large number of Armenian refugees were living.
- <sup>32</sup> *Fugitives From the Turks, Relief From Australia*, ARG, 2 December 1922.
- <sup>33</sup> *Near East Tragedy, Appalling Conditions in Armenia*, REG, 18 December 1922.
- <sup>34</sup> *Armenian Relief*, ARG, 27 December 1922.
- <sup>35</sup> *Armenian Relief, Meeting of the Delegates, The Australian Orphanage*, MCY, 30 December 1922.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ireland and Armenia*, ARG, 27 September 1920.
- <sup>37</sup> *Armenian Relief*, ARG, 3 July 1922.
- <sup>38</sup> Also referred to as *Ravished Armenia* from the book with the same title.
- <sup>39</sup> *Auction of Souls*, *Punch*, 19 Feb. 1920.
- <sup>40</sup> *Aid for Armenia*, *Herald*, 28 Feb. 1920.
- <sup>41</sup> *Suffering in Armenia, Appeal for Australian Help*, ARG, 15 August 1923.
- <sup>42</sup> *Armenian Orphans*, ARG, 9 August 1923.
- <sup>43</sup> Dr Danniell Mannix 1863-1963. Became Archbishop of Melbourne in 1917 for life. During WWI he strongly campaigned against conscription.

## Chapter 7 Conclusion

It is a coincidence that only hours separate two dates so important to the Armenian (24 April 1915, Armenian Genocide) and Australian nations (25 April 1915, Anzac landing at Gallipoli), and the only people who have conscientiously reported both events were contemporary Australian journalists.

Today's media approach the subject of the Armenian Genocide cautiously, often expressing doubts about the veracity of the events by using the word "alleged" or giving equal coverage to the Turkish denial arguments (section 2.5.1) which is in stark contrast to the reports and editorials of the period, which were written with conviction and without reservations about the truthfulness of the events as explained in Chapter 5.

The subject of the massacres of Armenians was not a novelty for Australian journalists since the topic of Turkish atrocities against the Armenians was an international news item starting mid 1890's. Many Australian veteran journalists must have covered also the previous mass killing of Armenians in 1909 and mid 1890's (section 3.3.2). But the news coming out of Ottoman Turkey starting 1915 left no doubt that the intention of the Young Turk government (section 3.3.3) was more sinister, and the

magnitude of the killings not comparable to the previous massacres.

Thus, two decades before the adoption of the UNCG and the creation of the word “genocide” by Lemkin (section 2.2), Australian journalists were faced with a new type of crime and, left to their own ingenuity, had to deal with the definition of genocide. In many instances they succeeded in defining it with more powerful sentences than the current overused word genocide. For example the opening sentence of the editorial of *MCY*: “There is no room for doubt that the Turks are making a determined effort to wipe the Armenian people of the face of the earth”,<sup>1</sup> does not leave any confusion or doubt about the meaning of the sentence and encapsulates the essence of the word genocide (section 2.3).

Even if I had taken the first element of UNCG’s definition and classified the news reports under that title (section 5.2), the evidence would have been overwhelming and conclusive that the crime of genocide was indeed committed and that Australian press had covered the events adequately. The strong bonds that linked Australia on all levels of society to Great Britain affected the orientation of Australian journalists (section 4.2). I have no doubt that a research in the British press will reveal the same visible trend in the Australian press that the main target of war

propaganda was the Germans, while Turks became the focus of the press' attention mainly in connection with the Armenian Genocide and not because they were at war with the country.

Whatever the limitations, Australian journalists not only had adequately covered the Armenian Genocide as described in Chapter 5, but with their reports and editorials had also laid the groundwork for a successful relief effort and could legitimately claim their share of success in bringing about the Armenian Relief Fund.

Chapter 6 discussed the relief efforts by Australians and their sympathies at the tragic fate of the Armenians. If the Ottoman Turkish government had not attempted to exterminate the Armenians but only "relocated" them, as claimed by the Turkish government, it is not possible that Australians, themselves under financial strain caused by the war, would have raised funds, sent relief ships and sponsored an orphanage in Lebanon with volunteers from Australia and New Zealand.

Another descriptor used in the media today, as mentioned in chapter 1, is the word "young turk" applied as a complimentary term. Is there any indication that its use originated from WWI era when the Young Turk government ruled the Ottoman Empire? Is it possible that the press of WWI reported Young Turks'

extermination of Armenians and at the same time used the words, which personified the evil, to compliment fellow Australians?

The problems and questions discussed in sections 1.2 and 7.1 had concerned me for many years and at the same time had motivated me to begin the research to try and find the answers.

## **7.1 Conclusions about the research problem**

One of the reasons that led me to this research was the continual use of the expression “young turk” by today’s Australian media. I still cannot understand how Australians can use the term in a positive manner while continuing to commemorate the Anzacs who fought the armies of the Young Turks’ government at Gallipoli and Palestine. During my research, I could not find any reference to “young turk” used by the press in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as a complimentary phrase. On the contrary, the press of WWI often directly accused Young Turk leaders of the extermination of Armenians. Unquestionably, the modern day usage of the word as a complimentary phrase does not have its roots in the Australian press of 1915-1923.

During WWI Australians, including British migrants, were familiar with the fact that Turks had massacred large numbers of Armenians. Starting from mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, Australian

newspapers echoing British and the international press, had regularly reported the widespread massacres of Armenians in Ottoman Turkey. A partial research in the *ARG* revealed that between May and December of 1896 the paper had printed 81 articles and editorials, on the ongoing massacre of Armenians by the hands of the Turks.<sup>2</sup> In comparison, only 42 articles appeared in the same paper during the height of the deportations and massacres between May and December 1915. The massacres of 1896 were localized atrocities while during 1915 the entire Armenian population was deported and exterminated and should have received much wider coverage. Thus, even the allusion of any war propaganda is pointless.

As the thesis documented, for seven years newspapers had brought home the litany of violence against a people who were expelled from their ancestral homeland, massacred with axes, swords, knives, burnt to death, hanged, drowned, raped, sold as slaves, starved to death and exterminated with unimaginable cruelty. The difference between the news reports of mid 19<sup>th</sup> century to 1909 and 1915-1923 was in the wordings. While the editorials and the reports of 1896 discussed the mass killings of Armenians and lamented the atrocities, the WWI reports clearly indicated that it went far beyond the usual massacre and the purpose was total extermination. If the press had made only a passing reference to the extermination of Armenians or printed

articles that did not explain the full reality of what was happening, they would have given to their readers the impression of another massacre of Armenians, but not of their genocide.

In the absence of the word “genocide” and “ethnic cleansing”, newspapers gave the meaning of the yet unnamed crime against humanity by using special expressions as discussed in section 2.3. Decades before the adoption of UNCG and the international acceptance of the word “genocide” Australian newspapers printed all of the elements of UNCG that today we take as a guide to define genocide. The wide coverage of the Armenian Genocide and the wordings of the editorials testify that Australian editors and journalists had a clear understanding that the Turkish government was carrying out the total extermination of the Armenian population. The information printed in the Australian newspapers does not support in any way the denial arguments of the Turkish government and the accounts printed in the Australian newspapers correspond with the reports of eyewitnesses and survivors of the genocide.

Although the Australian press of 1915-1923 used extensively the word “Christian” to identify the Armenians, there were no indications that religion had played any part in reporting the Armenian Genocide for several reasons:



- The Australian press had used the same method to identify Armenians during the massacres of 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- During WWI, Germans, who professed Christianity, were the main targets of war propaganda.
- The press used the same expression to identify Greeks and other Christian minorities.
- The press did not identify the Turkish government with their religion, thus there were no titles or references accusing the Muslim government of killing Christian Armenians. The absolute majority of the articles and editorials accused the Turkish government and the Turks of exterminating the Armenians and not the vague word “Muslim”.

After two years of research and reading hundreds of articles and editorials, it is evident to me that the attitude of the Australian press of 1915-1923 was distinctly different from today’s media. The difference between news reports printed, without reservations, between 1915-1923 and today’s media, that raises doubt by giving equal coverage to the Armenian Genocide and Turkish denial, can be summarized thus:

- The extermination of Armenians between 1915-1923 was a current event. People also remembered the widespread massacres of 1890’s and the massacres of 1909 in the city

of Adana. Thus, back then the evidence of genocide was irrefutable. Today the Australian media and population are distanced by almost a century from the tragic events and only members of the Australian Armenian community keep the memory of the massacres and genocide alive.

- Between 1915-1923, the plight of the survivors and orphans of the genocide was a palpable current tragedy witnessed by many Australians. Today, instead of refugee camps in Lebanon and Syria, there are thriving Armenian communities.
- During WWI Ottoman Turkey was an enemy of Australia. Today it is a friendly country with an embassy and consulates in various cities throughout Australia and a large Turkish community. Armenia does not have a representation in Australia and the Armenian community is much smaller than the Turkish one. Thus, Turks have more advantage to spread their message of denial.
- Only the stories of the Anzac had transcended time, left their mark on Australian identity and remembered from generation to generation. The reports of the Armenian Genocide as other atrocities of the war, not directly affecting Australians, had stayed only with the generation that had been touched by them.

The reason why very often in today's Australian media the word "alleged" appears has several reasons:

- Ignorance about the facts of the Armenian Genocide.
- Fear of the inevitable retaliation from the Turkish side.
- Reprint of articles from outside sources without alterations.
- Failure of the Armenian community to successfully publicize its case.
- Strengthening of the Turkish community in Australia.

The use of the word "alleged" to describe the Armenian Genocide is not only unacceptable but also highlights the dangers of how easily the genocide of a nation could become "alleged" if the perpetrator is determined enough to pursue to the end its genocidal policies to obliterate any trace of existence of the persecuted people from human memory.

In 1984, the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal after its deliberations on the Armenian Genocide in Paris, concluded that the Turkish government had committed genocide against the Armenian people:

"The specific intent to destroy the group as such, which is the special characteristic of the crime of genocide, is also established. The reports and documentary evidence supplied point clearly to a policy of methodical extermination of the Armenian people, revealing the

specific intent referred to in Article II of the Convention of December 9, 1948”.<sup>3</sup>

While putting the final touches to the thesis a decision by an international organisation further strengthened the argument of the thesis.

The Turkish Armenian Reconciliation Commission<sup>4</sup> (TARC) had asked the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) to investigate whether the UNCG is applicable to the events of WWI.

ICTJ concluded that: “The Events, viewed collectively, can be said to include all of the elements of the crime of genocide as defined in the Convention, and legal scholars as well as historians, politicians, journalists and other people would be justified in continuing to so describe them.”<sup>5</sup>

Australian newspapers during WWI and the chaotic period after the Armistice did not only record the historical events of the time but also the daily record of the state they represented. Thus, they recorded the relief efforts of Armenians in various Australian state capitals. Their contribution in this regard is extremely valuable. They are the only easily accessible source where researchers can gather vital information and further their

research. They recorded functions, fundraising activities and published appeals for donations on behalf of Armenian survivors and orphans, encouraged readers to send donations and contributed to the relief efforts as the only public medium of the time.

Anyone intent to write the history of Australia's contribution to the relief efforts have to rely on information printed in the Australian press.

The donations raised by the Armenian Relief Fund for a people with whom Australians had little or no contact is proof that the reports printed in the Australian papers had been effective enough to raise public awareness of the gravity of the situation. This, despite the fact that during the war years, government had sponsored war propaganda against Germans and directed the public to sympathize with the mainly Belgian victims of German aggression. Reports printed four months after the end of the war indicated the disparity between the constant barrage of reports of German atrocities in Belgium and figures tabled in the French Parliament, which indicated that: "During the war 6000 Belgians had died as the result of German ill treatment, while 125,000 men were deported".<sup>6</sup>

While appeals for the Belgians were a daily feature in newspapers between 1914-1918, they disappeared soon after the war ended. Instead the relief efforts for Armenians took a boost once people realized the enormity of the tragedy afflicting the Armenians. Starting in 1922, the press gave wide coverage to the tragedy of the Greek population. Advertisements for funds appeared in the papers to raise funds for the stricken Greeks and Armenians. The relief work was the direct result of the genocide against Christian minorities in Asia Minor. In the first instance reports of widespread massacres appeared in the papers, then articles on the plight of the survivors, followed by articles on the relief efforts from Australia.

Thus the Australian press, in general, adequately covered the extermination of Armenians. The newspaper reader of any capital city in Australia would have had the same understanding on what was happening to the Armenians as we today when we use the words "Armenian Genocide". They would not have had the impression that the Turkish government was "relocating" the Armenians with paternal loving care. In this respect, the views of Australian journalists and the public of the period converge with Armenian views that the events of WWI were state sponsored genocide.

The main problem for current Australian journalists lies in the difficulty of accessing the reports written by their counterparts of early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The material remains on microfilm in major libraries and it is not logical to expect that whenever the need arises, journalists would rush to libraries and spend countless hours trying to find what Australian journalists of 1915-1923 had written on the Armenian Genocide. For practicality and ease of use it is necessary that modern journalists have in their disposition a reference book on the topic of the Armenian Genocide and the Australian press of the time, with a list of articles, editorials, reports of Australian correspondents that appeared in the Australian press of 1915-1923. This would facilitate the answer to any queries derived from Turkish denial.

## **7.2 Implications of the research**

The events of WWI have a very special place in Australian and Armenian history. On one hand, the bloodshed of WWI helped create young Australia's national identity. On the other they destroyed ancient Armenian culture and presence in historical Armenia. Many historical events overlap both nations' histories, yet no serious attempt has been made to study and analyze the different aspects of these crucial historical facts, which include:

- Fate of Armenian POW's at Gallipoli.

- The devastating effect of the Anzac withdrawal from Gallipoli on the Armenian Genocide.
- Anzac prisoners of war in Turkey who witnessed the Armenian Genocide.
- AIF soldiers and officers who witnessed massacres of Armenians in Persia and modern day Azerbaijan (Example: Captain Stanley Savige, founder of Legacy, in 1918 in Persia and Azerbaijan).
- The lack of research in the National Archives of Australia and state archives for documents related to the Australian connection to the Armenian Genocide.
- The role the Australian press in disseminating news of the Armenian Genocide.
- The Australian response to the Armenian Genocide, with the establishment of branches of Friends of Armenia and Armenian Relief Fund throughout Australia and the Australasian orphanage in Antelias Lebanon sponsored by Armenian Relief Fund.

The analysis of six major newspapers revealed that the Australian regular newspaper reader of 1915-1923 was aware that:

- Armenians were living on their historical homeland and Turks had oppressed them for centuries.



- Starting mid-1800's Sultan Abdul Hamid, also called "Abdul the Damned", had ordered the massacre of Armenians that had killed more than 100,000 people.
- Massacres had taken place in the city of Adana in 1909.
- The Young Turk government had organized the deportations and the massacres with the aim of totally exterminating the Armenian race from the Ottoman Empire.

The research has also revealed that:

- Australian press covered adequately the Armenian Genocide.
- Australian press received most of their articles from London.
- Limited number of articles appeared in the papers having as their source Australian correspondents in the Middle East. The articles were unique to the Australian papers and have great historical value since all were first hand accounts of eyewitnesses.
- Newspapers printed most of the articles on the Armenian Genocide on the same day.
- There were articles exclusive only to one newspaper.
- At the height of the massacres, editors dedicated editorials to the ongoing extermination of Armenians.

- Newspapers used special expressions and words to convey to the reader the meaning of the word “genocide”.
- The six newspapers, used for this research, printed the main elements that today we use to define genocide.
- Australians were involved in the international relief efforts to help the survivors of the genocide.

Although the main theme of my research was the analysis of the articles on the Armenian Genocide, I consider the main achievement of this thesis to be the uncovering of articles that relate to Australia’s contribution to the relief efforts. The research revealed the previously unknown fact that Australians had established a relief fund and a friendship society to support the survivors of the genocide. Distinguished members of the Australian community, archbishops, lord mayors, members of parliament, religious personalities had worked tirelessly for the success of the relief efforts and had laid the strong foundations for friendship between the two nations.

### **7.3 Implications for further research**

The study of the Armenian Genocide based on news accounts of Australian press would help Australian journalists to better understand the historical truth of the events of WWI. This issue

would not fade away and without the correct information on hand many journalists are bound to continue the mistakes of shedding doubt on the events by giving wide coverage to the deniers of the genocide. A publication on the Armenian Genocide based on articles printed in the Australian press of the time, enhanced by more articles revealing the real concern of Australians and the efforts they put to help the survivors and the orphans, will be powerful enough to dissipate prevalent doubts.

The press of 1915-1923 contained detailed information enabling further research. The titles of over 1000 articles on the Armenian Genocide and Australian relief are provided in the Appendix, which I believe is the most comprehensive list of articles from the Australian press. Thus, the foundation is laid and it is possible to trace the people involved in establishing and managing Friends of Armenia and Armenian Relief Fund.

Taking the articles as a guide it is possible to find their archives, and further the research on the two organizations. As mentioned in Chapter VI many members of Armenian Relief Fund had served in the orphanage in Lebanon. They might have left important documents, photographs, memoirs, diaries related to the orphans and survivors of the Armenian Genocide. These are first hand archival materials, still untouched, which are related to the Armenian Genocide from Australian sources.

Future research should include more newspapers and widen the research to include the Assyrians and Greeks, thus enhancing the chances of finding additional reports from Australian sources that will further advance our knowledge of the special contribution of Australian journalists in reporting the genocide of Christian minorities in Turkey and relief efforts from Australia, with the ultimate aim of eradicating Turkish government's denial and historical revisionism in Australia.

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<sup>1</sup> See section 2.3.3, Wipe out.

<sup>2</sup> See titles of articles in the Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> For the text of Permanent Peoples' Tribunal verdict see ANI website: [www.armeniangenocide.org](http://www.armeniangenocide.org) or Zoryan Institute website: [www.zoryaninstitute.org](http://www.zoryaninstitute.org)

<sup>4</sup> TARC was a non-governmental private group established to promote Armenian-Turkish friendship and dialogue. The formation of the organisation was officially announced on 9 July 2001 in Vienna. The group stopped its work on the issue of the legal aspect of the genocide when the Turkish members after agreeing to sign the application to the ICTJ, unilaterally reneged on the agreement and withdrew their support for the application.

<sup>5</sup> To see the full text of ICTJ's decision:

[http://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.244/current\\_ca.../affirmation\\_detail.htm](http://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.244/current_ca.../affirmation_detail.htm)

<sup>6</sup> 31 March 1919: *AGE, Belgium's War Sacrifices. BC, Toll on Belgium, Deaths and Deportations.*

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# Appendix



## 1. Titles of articles on the extermination of Armenians

This section includes titles of editorials and news reports, on the Armenian Genocide, that I found in the six newspapers I researched. The articles include reports on massacres, deportations, persecutions, famine or any condition of the Armenian population resulting from the actions of the Turkish government (Ottoman or Mustapha Kemal).

Though the majority of articles relate to the Armenian Genocide, a number of them mention only the massacre of “Christians” which might include Armenians, Assyrians or Greeks; other articles mention Armenians and Greeks. In addition, a number of articles and editorials, while not dedicated to the Armenians, made a reference to the extermination of Armenians or Christians. The articles of September - December 1922, relate to Greek and Armenian refugees. The majority of the refugees were Greeks.

The symbols next to each title reflect the content of the article:

- (A) The news report mentions Armenia or Armenians
- (CH) The news report mentions Christians
- (G) The news report mentions Greeks
- (N) The news report does not give any details about the victims of Turkish massacres, but from the locality of the atrocity it is certain that the victims were Armenians, Greeks or other Christians
- (REF) In the news report or editorial there is a reference to the massacre of Armenians or Christians
- (REL) The article, while not dedicated to the massacres of Armenians, relates to the Armenian Genocide
- (RFG) The article mentions only refugees without further details
- (T) Massacre of Armenians by the hands of Tatars (modern day Azeris in Azerbaijan) with or without the participation of Turkish troops

The numerical symbols in any cell ((1), (2)), refers to a separate article with a separate title.

Articles with a different source, even if printed on the same day and on the same page are placed on a separate line and separate cell.

## 1.1 *The Age*

<b>THE AGE 1915 – 1923 TITLES OF ARTICLES ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	TURKS AND CHRISTIANS THREATS OF MASSACRE SUSPECTS HANGED WITHOUT TRIAL (A), (G)		December 15, 1914	7
2	ARMENIANS TERRORISED (A)		December 26, 1914	9
3	FIGHTING IN ASIA MINOR TURKS RETIRE WITH HEAVY LOSSES (A)		December 31, 1914	5
4	FORCING THE DARDANELLES THREAT OF MASSACRE DISCOUNTED (CH)		January 12, 1915	7
5	RUSSIANS IN ARMENIA (A)		January 15, 1915	7
6	FIGHTING IN THE CAUCASUS (A)		January 30, 1915	11
7	ANTI CHRISTIAN CAMPAIGN (CH)		February 22, 1915	9
8	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA (A)		February 24, 1915	9
9	RIOTING IN CONSTANTINOPLE THE CITY'S GUNS DISMOUNTED (A)		March 13, 1915	11
10	MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS (CH)		March 23, 1915	9
11	MASSACRES IN ARMENIA MISSIONARIES IN DANGER (A)		May 11, 1915	7
12	TURKISH HORROR (A), (CH) FEARFUL BUTCHERY OF CHRISTIANS MINISTER CRUCIFIED AND BISHOP HANGED		May 12, 1915	9
13	GERMAN SAVAGERY OFFICIAL REPORT PREPARED EXCESSES OF KURDS EQUALLED (A), (REF)		May 13, 1915	7
14	ARMENIANS MASSACRED VICTIMS NUMBER 60,000 (A)		May 19, 1915	9
15	THE MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)		May 24, 1915	10
16	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY CAST ON TURKISH GOVERNMENT (A)		May 25, 1915	7
17	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)		June 2, 1915	13
18	ARMENIAN PLOTTERS EXECUTED (A)		June 21, 1915	9
19	TURKEY'S SERIOUS POSITION ANARCHY IN CONSTANTINOPLE (A)		July 21, 1915	9
20	EXTERMINATING THE ARMENIANS (A)		July 24, 1915	11
21	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA RECORD OF TERRIBLE CRUELTIES (A), (G)		August 3, 1915	7
22	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA DRIVEN INTO THE DESERT TO DIE (A)		August 5, 1915	7
23	TURKEY FOR THE TURKS ENVER PASHA'S POLICY (A), (REF)	LONDON	August 9, 1915	7
24	TURKS' INHUMANITY DENOUNCED (A)		August 21, 1915	11
25	SUBMARINE CREW LANDS (A), (G) DAMAGES BRIDGE ON TURKISH COAST		September 6, 1915	7

26	70,000 ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)		September 10, 1915	7
27	EXTERMINATING ARMENIANS TURKS DIABOLICAL CRUELTY VILLAGERS BURNT ALIVE (A)		September 11, 1915	11
28	THE TURCO BULGARIAN TREATY "PRICE OF BURLGARIAN NEUTRALITY" (A)		September 13, 1915	9
29	SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS APPEAL TO AMERICA TO PROTEST (A)		September 22, 1915	9
30	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES TEN THOUSAND DROWNED THROWN INTO SEA FROM BOATS LORD BRYCE'S STIRRING APPEAL (A)		September 23, 1915	9
31	DESTROYING THE ARMENIANS TURKS CONFISCATE PROPERTY (A)		September 24, 1915	7
32	TURMOIL IN CONSTANTINOPLE ARMENIAN GIRLS SOLD AS SLAVES (A)		September 25, 1915	11
33	SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS OVER 1,000,000 VICTIMS OF TURKISH INHUMANITY (A)		September 27, 1915	7
34	THE UNSPEAKABLE TURK EXTERMINATION OF ARMENIANS DREADFUL STORY OF ATROCITIES (A)		September 28, 1915	7
35	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES GERMAN DIPLOMAT'S DENIAL (A)		September 29, 1915	9
36	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES ENCOURAGED BY GERMAN CONSULS (A)		October 1, 1915	9
37	THE ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA UNITED STATES INTERVENTION (A)		October 4, 1915	7
38	MASSACRES MUST CEASE AMERICAN NOTE TO TURKEY (A)		October 6, 1915	9
39	(1) THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES RESPONSIBILITY OF GERMANY NEARLY 1,000,000 PEOPLE PERISH (2) ARMENIAN ATROCITIES (A)		October 8, 1915	7
40	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A) MOST WICKED THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN		October 11, 1915	10
41	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES INDIGNATION IN AMERICA (A)		October 12, 1915	7
42	ARMENIAN MASSACRES POPE WRITES TO SULTAN (A)		October 14, 1915	7
43	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS MAJORITY REPORTED KILLED (A)		October 16, 1915	13
44	MASSACRES IN ARMENIA NOTHING EQUAL IN HISTORY (A)		October 18, 1915	10
45	TO AVENGE MASSACRES ARMENIAN VOLUNTEER CORPS (A), (REF)		October 20, 1915	9
46	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS COUNTER ALLEGATIONS BY TURKS (A)		October 23, 1915	11
47	TURKS AND ARMENIANS DEFENCELESS PEOPLE MASSACRED (A)		October 26, 1915	7

48	TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS SEIZURE OF PROPERTY (A)	AGE'S SPECIAL CORRESPON- DENT	October 27, 1915	10
49	ARMENIANS BUTCHERED AUTHENTICATED REPORTS GERMANS ASSIST THE TURKS (A)		November 29, 1915	7
50	THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES TURKS LAY SIEGE TO MOUSA DAGH KEPT AT BAY FOR 53 DAYS (A)	AGE'S SPECIAL CORRESPON- DENT	December 8, 1915	13
51	FATE OF ARMENIANS - 1,000,000 PERISH HORRIFYING TALES OF SUFFERING (A)		December 16, 1915	7
52	DAY OF INTERSESSION IN BRITAIN (A),(REF)		January 4, 1916	5
53	THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES (A)		January 17, 1916	9
54	MORE ARMENIANS MASSACRED GIRLS SOLD IN OPEN MARKET (A)		February 12, 1916	11
55	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES WARNING FROM AMERICA (A)		February 21, 1916	7
56	TREBIZOND MENACED (REF)		February 22, 1916	7
57	ARMENIANS IN ERZEROUM 40,000 MASSACRED (A)	LONDON	March 10, 1916	7
58	MILLION ARMENIANS MASSACRED TURKISH GUILT CONFIRMED (A)		April 17, 1916	7
59	MASSACRES AT TREBIZOND (A)		May 15, 1916	7
60	MORE ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)		May 23, 1916	7
61	ARMENIANS IN TURKEY TWO MILLION MASSACRED (A)		June 23, 1916	5
62	THE ARMENIAN HORRORS GERMAN PROFESSORS APPEAL (A)		July 8, 1916	11
63	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS CONDEMNED MEN BURN PRISON (A)		July 19, 1916	7
64	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS EVIDENCE AGAINST GERMANS (A)		July 22, 1916	13
65	SUFFERINGS OF ARMENIANS RESORT TO CANNIBALISM (A)	NEW YORK	August 21, 1916	7
66	THE ATROCIOUS TURK HORRORS IN ARMENIA GERMAN TEACHER'S APPEAL IGNORED BY BERLIN FOREIGN OFFICE (A)	LONDON	August 25, 1916	7
67	UNEASINESS IN TURKEY PANIC IN CONSTANTINOPLE (A)	LONDON	September 7, 1916	5
68	SUFFERING ARMENIANS 30,000 STARVING PEOPLE (A)	NEW YORK	September 12, 1916	5
69	EXODUS OF 25,000 ARMENIANS (A)		October 27, 1916	7
70	SUFFERING OF ARMENIANS (A)	WASHINGTON	November 30, 1916	7
71	ARMENIANS TORTURED HORRIFYING MASSACRES (A)	LONDON	January 2, 1917	5
72	FAMINE IN ARMENIA (A)		January 25, 1917	5
73	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA MANY THOUSANDS OF VICTIMS EXHAUSTION AND ILL-TREATMENT (A)		February 19, 1917	7

74	THE SUFFERINGS OF ARMENIANS (A)		February 27, 1917	5
75	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES MALES OVER NINE YEARS KILLED (A)		June 22, 1917	7
76	ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)	NEW YORK	March 6, 1918	9
77	TURK EXCESSES AT TREBIZOND THE POPULAITON MASSACRED (A)	LONDON	March 12, 1918	7
78	TURKISH ACTIVITIES IN ASIA MINOR (REF)		March 18, 1918	7
79	WOMEN SLAVES FROM CAUCASUS (N)		March 21, 1918	7
80	ERZERUM ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)		April 6, 1918	13
81	RUSSIAN NOTE TO GERMANY PROTEST AGAINST TURK EXCESSES GERMANY'S RESPONSIBILITY (A)	LONDON	April 15, 1918	7
82	ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)		June 10, 1918	5
83	ARMENIA'S DISTRESS (A)		August 19, 1918	5
84	MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS (CH)	NEW YORK	September 2, 1918	8
85	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (T)	LONDON	November 4, 1918	7
86	TURKEY NOW POWERLESS BRITISH MINISTER'S STATEMENT (A)	LONDON	November 21, 1918	5
87	FLIGHT OF TURKISH LEADERS (A)	LONDON	November 26, 1918	5
88	TURKISH REFUGEES HARBOURED (A)		November 27, 1918	9
89	ANTI-ENTENTE DISORDERS IN TURKEY (A), (REF)	LONDON	December 28, 1918	9
90	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS KIAMIL PASHA ARRESTED (A), (G)		January 27, 1919	5
91	TURKISH PROFITEERS (A), (G)	LONDON	February 10, 1919	5
92	TURKISH TYRANT'S END (A)	LONDON	February 17, 1919	5
93	INSTIGATOR OF MASSACRES LIMAN SANDERS TO BE TRIED (A)	LONDON	February 25, 1919	5
94	WILL THE TURK BE DRIVEN FROM EUROPE? (A), (G)		March 20, 1919	7
95	ARMENIA APPEALS FOR FOOD (A)		March 31, 1919	5
96	THE SITUATION IN TURKEY (A)		April 19, 1919	8
97	SOVIET REVOLUTION IN TURKEY (REL)		April 24, 1919	7
98	UNFORTUNATE ARMENIANS THOUSANDS STARVED TO DEATH (A)		April 25, 1919	7
99	TURKISH MINISTER'S FLIGHT (REL)		May 31, 1919	13
100	ARMENIAN MASSACRES AMERICAN WARNING DRAWS PROTEST (A)	WASHINGTON	August 29, 1919	7
101	GENERAL CABLES (A)	WASHINGTON	August 30, 1919	15
102	VON SANDERS A PRISONER TO BE PLACED ON TRIAL (A)	ROME	September 1, 1919	7
103	MASSACRES OF CHRISTIANS AMERICA WARNS TURKEY (CH)	LONDON	September 12, 1919	7
104	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (1) 8000 MORE VICTIMS (2) RED CROSS APPEALS TO POWERS (A)	LONDON WASHINGTON	February 19, 1920	7
105	ARMENIAN MASSACRES TURKISH IRREGULARS PUNISHED (A)	LONDON	February 27, 1920	7

106	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)		March 1, 1920	7
107	TURKS SLAUGHTER ARMENIANS FRENCH TROOPS DRIVEN BACK (A)	WASHINGTON	March 3, 1920	9
108	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS ACTION TAKEN BY ALLIES MESSAGE TO CONSTANTINOPLE (A)	LONDON	March 8, 1920	7
109	FRENCH TROOPS FOR CILICIA (A)	PARIS	March 9, 1920	7
110	ARMENIANS IN CILICIA (A)	LONDON	March 10, 1920	9
111	REBELLIOUS TURKEY MORE ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)	LONDON	March 11, 1920	7
112	ALLIES AND TURKEY NATIONALIST TO FORM CABINET (REL)	LONDON	March 12, 1920	7
113	ALLIES AND TURKEY DISCIPLINARY MEASURE (REF)	LONDON	March 13, 1920	13
114	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)		March 15, 1920	7
115	THE TURKISH TREATY WILSON'S NOTE TO THE ALLIES (A)	WASHINGTON	April 1, 1920	7
116	COMMUNISM AT BAKU TARTARS AND ARMENIANS FIGHT (A)	LONDON	May 3, 1920	7
117	TURKISH ATROCITIES CHRISTIANS MURDERED NIGHTLY (CH)	ATHENS	September 8, 1920	9
118	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	November 3, 1920	7
119	TURKS IN ARMENIA TWO GEORGIAN TOWNS TAKEN (A)	LONDON	November 22, 1920	5
120	TALAAAT PASHA SHOT DEAD AN ARMENIAN'S REVENGE (A)	BERLIN	March 17, 1921	7
121	AN ARMENIAN REVENGE WHY TALAAAT PASHA WAS KILLED ASSASSIN'S PATHETIC STORY (A)	BERLIN	March 18, 1921	7
122	MASSACRES IN THE ORIENT OFFICIALLY DIRECTED HOW GOVERNMENTS SETTLE DISPUTES (T)	CONSTANTINOPLE	October 11, 1921	7
123	TURKISH ATROCITIES (N)	ATHENS	November 25, 1921	8
124	ANOTHER ASSASSINATION EX-GENERAL VIZIER OF TURKEY (REL)	ROME	December 8, 1921	8
125	TURKS ENTER ADANA (CH) CHRISTIANS TO BE ENROLLED IN ARMY	LONDON	December 9, 1921	7
126	CHRISTIANS MOLESTED BY TURKS (CH)	ATHENS	December 24, 1921	9
127	TURKISH LEADERS MURDERED FIFTEEN ARMENIANS ARRESTED (REL)	BERLIN	April 20, 1922	7
128	TURKISH ATROCITIES SYSTEMATIC EXTERMINATION OF CHRISTIANS (CH), (G)	LONDON	May 17, 1922	9
129	THE UNSPEAKABLE TURK LIGHT ON ARMENIAN MASSACRES SENSATIONAL DISCLOSURE GRAND VIZIER'S INSTRUCTIONS (A)	LONDON	May 30, 1922	7
130	TURKISH ATROCITIES AMERICA AGREES TO INQUIRY (N)	NEW YORK	June 5, 1922	7
131	DJEMAL PASHA MURDERED (REL)	LONDON	July 27, 1922	9
132	EFFORT TO AVOID MASSACRE (CH)		September 7, 1922	9

133	REFUGEES IN SMYRNA MASSACRE BY TURKS FEARED (A), (G)		September 14, 1922	7
134	(1) SMYRNA "FAIRLY QUIET" (A), (CH), (G) (2) EXECUTION OF ARMENIANS AND GREEKS		September 15, 1922	9
135	GREAT FIRE IN SMYRNA ALL BUT TURKISH QUARTER IN FLAMES 1000 DEAD (A), (G)		September 16, 1922	13
136	(1) THE DESTRUCTION OF SMYRNA (2) A TURKISH PROTEST (A), (G) (3) AMERICAN AID FOR REFUGEES (RFG)	NEW YORK	September 18, 1922	7
137	ANOTHER TOWN IN FLAMES MUTILATED BODIES LIE IN STREETS(A), (G)		September 19, 1922	9
138	(1) EXODUS FROM CONSTANTINOPLE (CH), (G) (2) LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSISTS REFUGEES (RFG)	LONDON	September 21, 1922	9
139	(1) FATE OF SMYRNA CHRISTIANS (CH) (2) BRITISH POLICY SUPPORTED (CH)		September 22, 1922	9
140	A CHRISTIAN APPEAL (A), (CH)		September 25, 1922	9
141	REFUGEES ORDERED TO LEAVE SMYRNA (RFG)		September 27, 1922	13
142	REFUGEES FROM SMYRNA (RFG)		September 28, 1922	7
143	ARMENIAN CHIEFTAINS ARRESTED (A)		September 29, 1922	9
144	TO END TURKISH OUTRAGES AMERICA AIDS THE ALLIES (REL)	WASHINGTON	October 3, 1922	9
145	ALL REFUGEES LEAVE SMYRNA (RFG)		October 6, 1922	9
146	(1) TURKS ARREST CHRISTIANS IN CONSTANTINOPLE (CH) (2) AID FOR NEAR EAST RELIEF (RFG)	WASHINGTON	October 11, 1922	11
147	RELIEF FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES (RFG)		October 12, 1922	9
148	(1) CHRISTIANS SENT TO THE INTERIOR (CH). (2) PITIABLE PLIGHT OF REFUGEES (CH)		October 14, 1922	13
149	TURKS UNCOMPROMISING NEW TURKISH RULE PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS THOUSANDS IN FLIGHT (CH)	LONDON	November 14, 1922	9
150	REFUGEES FROM ASIA MINOR AN APPEAL TO AUSTRALIA (CH)		November 20, 1922	9
151	GREAT TREK FROM ANATOLIA CHILDREN LEFT TO THEIR FATE (CH)		November 30, 1922	9
152	(1) PANIC AT CONSTANTINOPLE APPEAL BY THE VATICAN (CH) (2) BRITISH TAKE STRONG ACTION (A)		December 7, 1922	9
153	(1) PINPRICKS AT CONSTANTINOPLE (A), (G) (2) HOPELESS PLIGHT OF REFUGEES (RFG) (3) NON-TURKISH REFUGEES SUGGESTED HOME IN DOMINIONS (RFG)		December 8, 1922	9
154	ISMET MUST DECIDE TREATMENT OF MINORITIES (A)	LONDON	December 15, 1922	11
155	ARMENIAN REFUGEES FOR AMERICA (A)	WASHINGTON	January 11, 1923	9

156	CHRISTIANS IN TURKEY AN AMNESTY GRANTED (CH)	LAUSANNE	January 13, 1923	13
157	ARMENIAN ORPHANS FOR USA (A)	WASHINGTON	January 15, 1923	9
158	ELEVEN CHRISTIANS EXECUTED (CH)		January 16, 1923	9
159	THE GENTLE TURK AGAIN FUGITIVE CHRISTIANS KILLED (CH)	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	January 18, 1923	9
160	GENERAL CABLES (A)		January 25, 1923	10
161	NEW HOMES FOR ARMENIANS SOVIET RUSSIA'S OFFER (A)	NEW YORK	February 1, 1923	9
162	A HOME FOR ARMENIANS THIRTY THOUSAND TO BE ADMITTED (A)		February 7, 1923	11
163	TURKISH TREATMENT OF ARMENIANS (A)	WASHINGTON	March 5, 1923	9
164	HUGE DRIVE OF ARMENIANS (A)		August 18, 1923	13



## 1.2 *The Argus*

<b>THE ARGUS 1915 – 1923</b>				
<b>TITLES OF ARTICLES ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE</b>				
	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	TURKS MURDER CHRISTIANS (CH)		November 25, 1914	9
2	TURKISH OUTRAGES CORPSES ON LAMP-POSTS (A), (G)		December 15, 1914	7
3	TURKS REPULSED MASSACRE OF VILLAGERS (N)		December 31, 1914	5
4	TURKS AS ENEMIES POSITION OF CHRISTIANS MASSACRE THREATENED (CH)		January 12, 1915	7
5	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A), (CH)	PETROGRAD	January 15, 1915	7
6	HOW GERMANY'S ALLY FIGHTS MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)		January 30, 1915	19
7	FEARFUL CRUELITIES ARMENIANS MASSACRED FORCED TO LEAP INTO ABYSS (A)		February 24, 1915	9
8	IN TURKISH CAPITAL PANIC IN CHRISTIAN QUARTERS (A), (CH)		March 13, 1915	19
9	CHRISTIANS MASSACRED (CH)		March 23, 1915	7
10	HORRORS OF ARMENIA PLAIN STREWN WITH CORPSES FEARFUL TREATMENT OF WOMEN (A)		April 29, 1915	7
11	ARMENIA ONE GREAT GRAVE (A)		May 6, 1915	5
12	TURKS IN ARMENIA DELAYED BY REBELLION WHOLESALE MASSACRES (A)		May 11, 1915	9
13	CHRISTIANS BUTCHERED MASSACRES IN ARMENIA HIDEOUS OUTRAGES BY TURKS (A), (CH)		May 12, 1915	9
14	OUTRAGES IN BELGIUM "A NARRATIVE OF MURDER" (A), (REF)		May 13, 1915	7
15	ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)		May 19, 1915	9
16	MODERN HERODS MASSACRES IN ARMENIA (A)	PETROGRAD	May 24, 1915	9
17	ARMENIAN MASSACRES ALLIES ISSUE STATEMENT PORTE HELD RESPONSIBLE (A)		May 25, 1915	7
18	ARMENIAN INDEPENDENCE (A) ALLEGED INTRIGUERS SHOT BY TURK		June 21, 1915	9
19	ARMENIAN MASSACRES HIDEOUS TURKISH DEEDS THOUSANDS SLAUGHTERED WOMEN AND CHILDREN SHOT (A)	PETROGRAD	July 24, 1915	17

20	MURDEROUS TURKS CHRISTIANS MASSACRED ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA (A), (CH) GERMANS OFFER ENCOURAGEMENT		July 30, 1915	7
21	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES GHASTLY STORIES GREEK WOMEN TORTURED (A), (G)	PARIS	August 3, 1915	7
22	SUFFERINGS OF ARMENIANS 40,000 MURDERED BY TURKS (A)		August 5, 1915	7
23	SIDELIGHTS OF WAR HARD-DRIVEN ARMENIANS (A)		August 20, 1915	5
24	BULGARIA ABHORS MASSACRES (A)		August 21, 1915	19
25	IN SEA OF MARMORA BRITISH SUBMARINE CREW LANDS (N)		September 6, 1915	7
26	ARMENIAN MASSACRES TURKS SLAUGHTER 70,000 PEOPLE (A)		September 10, 1915	7
27	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES HOW THE TURKS ACT ENTIRE VILLAGE OBLITERATED (A)		September 11, 1915	17
28	ARMENIAN MASSACRES BULGARIA PLEADS WITH TURKEY (A)		September 13, 1915	7
29	ARMENIAN MASSACRES APPEAL TO UNITED STATES (A)		September 22, 1915	9
30	ARMENIAN MASSACRES GHASTLY TURKISH WORK 10,000 CAST INTO SEA "GERMANY ALONE CAN STOP IT" (A)		September 23, 1915	7
31	TURKS AND ARMENIANS WAR AGAINST CHRISTIANS GERMANY TAKES NO ACTION (A)		September 24, 1915	7
32	ARMENIANS SOLD AS SLAVES ALL CHRISTIANS TERRORISED (A), (CH)		September 25, 1915	17
33	ARMENIAN MASSACRES AMERICA TO TAKE ACTION IMMIGRATION SCHEME SUPPORTED (A)		September 27, 1915	7
34	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA WHOLESALE MASSACRES AWFUL TALE OF CRUELTY FATE OF WOMEN (A)		September 28, 1915	7
35	ARMENIAN MASSACRES DENIED BY BERNSTORFF REPORTS "PURE INVENTIONS" (A)		September 29, 1915	9
36	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES GUILT OF GERMANS (A)		October 1, 1915	7
37	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES AMERICA MAKES OFFER WILL TAKE ALL THE HOMELESS (A)		October 4, 1915	9
38	ARMENIAN MASSACRES AMERICA AND TURKEY WARNING TO THE PORTE (A)		October 6, 1915	9

39	ARMENIAN HORRORS RESPONSIBILITY OF GERMANS DISCUSSED IN LORDS 800,000 PEOPLE MASSACRED (A)		October 8, 1915	7
40	(1) ARMENIAN MASSACRES HORROR IN DENMARK UNITED STATES LOOKED TO (2) GERMANY'S GUILT (3) ARMENIAN MASSACRES FEELING IN AMERICA (4) APPEAL BY MR BALFOUR (A)		October 11, 1915	9
41	ARMENIAN OUTRAGES (1) FRESH CASES REPORTED AMERICA'S FUTILE PROTEST (2) POPE APPEALS TO SULTAN (A)		October 14, 1915	7
42	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES NURSES AND DOCTORS REQUIRED (A)		October 16, 1915	19
43	BELGIUM AND ARMENIA WORST CRIMES FOR 400 YEARS (A)		October 18, 1915	9
44	ASIA MINOR MASSACRES ARMENIANS WILL AVENGE CORPS TO ASSIST ALLIES (A)		October 20, 1915	9
45	THE WAR DAY BY DAY TURKISH CRIMES IN ARMENIA ARMENIAN PROBLEM APPEAL TO THE UNITED STATES (A)		October 22, 1915	5
46	MILLION ARMENIANS EXILED TURKS MAKE COUNTER-CHARGES (A)		October 23, 1915	19
47	ARMENIAN HORRORS FULLY CONFIRMED GERMANY'S GUILT (A)		October 26, 1915	7
48	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES (1) WOMEN DRIVEN LIKE CATTLE (2) WHOLE VILLAGES DEPORTED (3) TREATED LIKE WILD ANIMALS (4) THOUSANDS HOMELESS (A)		November 26, 1915	5
49	ARMENIANS HALF A MILLION KILLED (1) BLOOD-CURDLING HORRORS (2) "EVERY MAN WAS KILLED" (3) BABIES FLUNG INTO FLAMES (A)		November 29, 1915	7
50	ARMENIAN HORRORS STORY OF EYE-WITNESS (1) REVOLTING TALE OF CRUELTY (2) THE MARKET OF WOMEN (3) THE WOMEN OF ZILCH (A)	CEW BEAN	December 2, 1915	5
51	VILE TURKS-TREATMENT OF ARMENIANS ONE MILLION VICTIMS PERISH (A)		December 16, 1915	9
52	ARMENIANS RESCUED AFTER 53 DAYS' SIEGE TURKS SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED (A)		December 21, 1915	7
53	EDITORIAL (A), (REF)		January 1, 1916	8
54	INTERCESSION SERVICE BISHOP URGES PREPAREDNESS (A), (REF)		January 4, 1916	7

55	ARMENIAN MASSACRES PEASANTRY SLAUGHTERED (A)		January 17, 1916	9
56	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A) (1) WOMEN AND CHILDREN BURNED (2) BUTCHER BATTALIONS (3) EVERY MAN KILLED FIGHTING (4) MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN FIGHT		January 22, 1916	5
57	MORE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES WOMEN SOLD OPENLY IN TURKEY (A)		February 12, 1916	17
58	(1) AMERICA THREATENS TURKEY (A) PROTEST AGAINST ARMENIAN HORRORS (20 FURTHER MASSACRES AT ERZERUM		February 21, 1916	7
59	ARMENIAN CAMPAIGN RUSSIANS SWEEP ON ARMENIAN MASSACRES AMERICAN PROTEST UNOFFICIAL (A)		February 22, 1916	7
60	NO TITLE (A)	EDITORIAL	February 23, 1916	8
61	CZAR'S ARMY - ADVANCE IN ARMENIA (A)	LONDON	March 10, 1916	7
62	ARMENIAN HORRORS ONE MILLION VICTIMS A GERMAN ADMISSION (A)		April 17, 1916	7
63	THE ASIATIC TURK - HIS AWFUL CONDUCT MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS BABIES USED FOR TARGET PRACTICE (A)	LONDON	May 15, 1916	8
64	SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS AT TREBIZOND AND ERZERUM MANY THOUSANDS MASSACRED (A)		May 23, 1916	7
65	ARMENIAN MASSACRES TWO MILLION VICTIMS RESULT OF FRENCH INQUIRIES (A)		June 23, 1916	7
66	ARMENIAN MASSACRES "GREATEST CRIME IN HISTORY" (A)		July 8, 1916	20
67	MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS (A) SHOCKING DEEDS BY TURKS ARMENIAN STUDENTS BOUND AND SHOT		July 19, 1916	9
68	ARMENIAN HORRORS GERMAN OFFICERS IMPLICATED EVIDENCE OBTAINED ON THE SPOT (A)		July 22, 1916	19
69	ARMENIAN HORRORS PARENTS EAT CHILDREN (A)		August 21, 1916	7
70	ARMENIAN HORRORS EVEN GERMANS PROTEST BERLIN IGNORES APPEAL (A)	LONDON	August 25, 1916	7
71	PLIGHT OF ARMENIANS THOUSANDS STARVING (A)		September 12, 1916	7
72	ATROCIOUS TURKS PERSECUTED ARMENIANS HIDEOUS SCENES AT ALEPPO GERMANY'S RESPONSIBILITY (A)	NEW YORK	September 21, 1916	7
73	LUCKY ARMENIANS 25000 ESCAPE FROM TURKISH GRIP (A)		October 27, 1916	7
74	AMERICANS IN TURKEY MORE ARMENIAN HORRORS (A)		November 30, 1916	7

75	FIENDISH TURKS THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES EYE-WITNESSE'S HIDEOUS STORY (A)		January 2, 1917	7
76	ARMENIAN HORRORS THOUSANDS DYING OF STARVATION (A)		February 19, 1917	7
77	ARMENIAN HORRORS THE GHASTLY TRUTH (A)		February 27, 1917	7
78	BUTCHERED ARMENIANS MORE TURKISH HORRORS (A)		June 22, 1917	7
79	SOIL OF ARMENIA (A)		January 12, 1918	5
80	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES GIRLS SOLD FOR TWO DOLLARS (A)		January 19, 1918	6
81	AMERICAN WAR NEWS (A)		March 6, 1918	9
82	TURKS AT TREBIZOND MASSACRE AND OUTRAGE (A)		March 12, 1918	5
83	ARMENIAN WOMEN SOLD RUSSIAN SOLDIERS LOOT (A)		March 21, 1918	7
84	TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS WOMEN BOUND TO RAILWAY LINE (A)		April 6, 1918	17
85	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES RUSSIA BLAMES GERMANY (A)		April 15, 1918	7
86	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)		June 10, 1918	7
87	BRITISH AT BAKU (REF)		August 19, 1918	7
88	MORE TURKISH MASSACRES (CH)		September 2, 1918	5
89	TURKS MURDERING CHRISTIANS (CH)		September 13, 1918	7
90	HORRORS OF BAKU THOUSANDS MASSACRED HOSPITAL PATIENTS SLAUGHTERED (T)		November 4, 1918	7
91	FREEDOM FOR ARMENIANS INSISTED UPON BY ALLIES (A)		November 21, 1918	7
92	"YOUNG TURKS" IN BERLIN DEMAND FOR EXTRADITION (A)		November 26, 1918	5
93	"YOUNG TURKS" FUGITIVES SHELTER AFFORDED BY GERMANY (A)		November 27, 1918	9
94	TURKS BEING INCITED HATRED OF ALLIES AND ARMENIANS (A)		December 28, 1918	7
95	BUTCHERED ARMENIANS 1,500,000 VICTIMS (A)		January 6, 1919	5
96	RESPONSIBILITY FOR MASSACRES (A)		January 27, 1919	7
97	TURKISH OPRESSORS (A), (G)		February 10, 1919	5
98	GENERAL CABLES (A)		February 17, 1919	5
99	ARMENIAN MASSACRES VAN SANDERS TO BE TRIED (A)		February 25, 1919	5
100	ARMENIAN HORRORS BLACK DEEDS OF TURKS (A)		March 15, 1919	8
101	PERSECUTION BY TURKS PROTEST TO ALLIES (A), (G)		March 20, 1919	7
102	ARMENIANS STARVING (A)		March 31, 1919	5
103	RISINGS IN EAST - TURKEY DISTURBED (REF)		April 19, 1919	15

104	TURKS IN REVOLT BOLSHEVIKS BID FOR POWER (REF)		April 24, 1919	5
105	ARMENIANS BEING STARVED (A)		April 25, 1919	7
106	TURKISH WAR MAKERS TO BE BROUGHT TO ACCOUNT (REL)		May 31, 1919	19
107	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A) U.S.A. ADMIRAL WARNS TURKEY INTERFERENCE RESENTED BY FRANCE		August 29, 1919	7
108	AMERICA AND TURKEY INTERFERENCE ALLEGED (A)		August 30, 1919	19
109	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA VON SANDERS TO BE TRIED (A)		September 1, 1919	7
110	TURKISH MASSACRES WARNING BY UNITED STATES COMMOTION IN CONSTANTINOPLE (CH)	LONDON	September 12, 1919	7
111	SLAUGHTERED ARMENIANS GHASTLY WORK OF TURKS (A)		February 19, 1920	7
112	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)	LONDON	February 27, 1920	7
113	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)		March 1, 1920	7
114	TURKS SLAY ARMENIANS (1) FRENCH RELIEF FORCE REPULSED (A)	LONDON	March 3, 1920	11
115	TERMS FOR TURKEY REMNANT OF EMPIRE (A)	LONDON	March 8, 1920	7
116	DISCIPLINING TURKEY CONTROL OF CAPITAL (REF)	<i>APA</i>	March 10, 1920	11
117	MASSACRED BY TURKS 15 000 IN ASIA MINOR MORE TROOPS MAY BE SENT (A)		March 11, 1920	7
118	DEALING WITH TURKEY WARNING BY WILSON (REF), (CH)		March 12, 1920	7
119	ALLIES AND TURKS SERIOUS SITUATION (REF)		March 13, 1920	21
120	PEACE PROBLEMS DEALING WITH TURKS (A)	LONDON	March 15, 1920	7
121	TURKISH OUTRAGES MALTREATMENT OF CHRISTIANS (CH), (G)		March 16, 1920	7
122	TURKEY'S FATE - VIEWS OF MR WILSON MUST LEAVE EUROPE INDEPENDENCE FOR ARMENIA (A)	LONDON	April 1, 1920	7
123	THE BAKU REGION (A)		May 3, 1920	7
124	ARMENIANS SLAUGHTERED (A), (CH) BRUTAL TURKISH GENERAL'S DEED		September 8, 1920	9
125	TURKS BREAK OUT AGAIN (A)		November 3, 1920	9
126	ARMENIANS OVERCOME TURKISH DEMANDS AND THREATS (A)		November 22, 1920	7
127	ARMENIAN'S REVENGE TURKISH EX-VIZIER ASSASINATED (A)	BERLIN	March 17, 1921	7
128	PLEDGE TO DYING MOTHER WHY TALAAT PASHA WAS SLAIN (A)	BERLIN	March 18, 1921	7
129	GENERAL CABLES (A)		March 25, 1921	8

130	MURDER OF VIZIER (1) YOUNG MAN ACQUITTED (A) (2) REPORTED MASSACRE OF GREEKS (A), (G)	LONDON	June 6, 1921	7
131	ARMENIAN MASSACRES HORRORS OF TURKISH RULE (A), (T)	CONSTANTINOPLE	October 11, 1921	7
132	VICTIMS OF ASSASSINS TURKS FOLLOWED TO BERLIN (A)	BERLIN	April 20, 1921	7
133	GENERAL CABLES (REL)		December 8, 1921	7
134	TURKISH BARBARITY EXTERMINATION OF CHRISTIANS (CH)		17-May-1922	11
135	TURKISH SAVAGERY (A) MASSACRE INSTRUCTIONS "ARMENIANS MUST BE EXTERMINATED"	LONDON	May 30, 1922	7
136	TURKISH ATROCITIES (N) AMERICA PREPARED TO INVESTIGATE	NEW YORK	June 5, 1922	7
137	CHRISTIANS IN DANGER TURKS CRAFTY PLANS (CH)		September 13, 1922	11
138	UGLY INCIDENTS IN SMYRNA (A), (G)	LONDON	September 14, 1922	7
139	KEEP OUT OF EUROPE VICTORIOUS TURKS WARNED (A), (CH)	LONDON	September 15, 1922	9
140	SMYRNA BURNING DREADFUL DEVELOPMENT SUPPOSED TURKISH CRIME (A), (G)	LONDON	September 16, 1922	25
141	PROTEST AGAINST MASSACRE (A), (G)	ATHENS	September 18, 1922	7
142	UNHAPPY SMYRNA HOMELESS, HUNGRY POPULACE "SCENES BEGGAR DESCRIPTION" (A), (G)		September 19, 1922	7
143	TURKISH MASSACRES FURTHER ATROCITIES FEARED (CH) REFUGEES FROM SMYRNA HELP FOR LEAGUE OF NATIONS	CONSTANTINOPLE GENEVA LONDON	September 21, 1922	9
144	THE TERRIBLE TURK (CH) OUTSPOKEN AMERICAN OVERWHELMING EVIDENCE OF SMYRNA	LONDON	September 22, 1922	9
145	(1) LESSON OF TURK'S MASSACRE (2) POLICING OF NEAR EAST (CH)		September 25, 1922	11
146	GENERAL CABLES (A)		September 29, 1922	12
147	(1) PLIGHT OF REFUGEES (2) TURKS ARREST CHRISTIANS (CH)		October 11, 1922	11
148	TURKISH DEPORTATIONS (CH)	ATHENS	October 14, 1922	25
149	(1) REFUGEES FROM ANATOLIA (CH) (2) TURKISH PEACE PACT (TO THE EDITOR)		October 16, 1922	7
150	FLIGHT OF REFUGEES HARROWING SCENES (A), (CH)	ATHENS	November 15, 1922	11
151	DEBATE IN COMMONS (A), (CH) SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS WORK FOR LEAGUE OF NATIONS	LONDON	November 27, 1922	9
152	FLIGHT FROM ANATOLIA "WILL SHOCK THE WORLD" (CH)		November 30, 1922	9
153	EVACUATION OF CHRISTIANS AMERICAN PROTEST (CH)	NEW YORK	December 4, 1922	9

154	(1) TERROR IN CONSTANTINOPLE POPE'S APPEAL FOR CHRISTIANS CONCLUSIVE BRITISH METHODS (A), (CH)	LAUSANNE LONDON	December 7, 1922	9
155	AT BLACK SEA PORTS (CH) PLIGHT OF REFUGEES ANGORA GOVERNMENT'S INHUMANITY	LONDON	December 8, 1922	11
156	NEAR EAST MINORITIES QUESTION OF PROTECTION (CH)		December 14, 1922	11
157	GRAVE WARNING TO TURKS MINORITIES MUST BE SAFE (CH), (REL)	LAUSANNE	December 15, 1922	11
158	GENERAL CABLES (A)		January 11, 1923	9
159	REFUGEES FROM TURKS (A), (G)		January 15, 1923	10
160	CHRISTIANS HANGED (CH)		January 16, 1923	9
161	CHRISTIANS EXECUTED (CH)		January 18, 1923	7
162	ARMENIAN REFUGEES AMERICA REFUSES ADMISSION (A)	WASHINGTON	January 25, 1923	7
163	ARMENIAN REFUGEES NEW HOMES IN RUSSIA (A)	WASHINGTON	February 1, 1923	9
164	FLOW TO AMERICA FOREIGN MARGIN REDUCED (A)	WASHINGTON	February 7, 1923	19
165	NEAR EAST REFUGEES PERMANENT HOMES WANTED (CH)		April 4, 1923	9
166	REFUGEES FROM THE TURKS (A)		August 4, 1923	29
167	DRIVE OF ARMENIANS (A)		August 18, 1923	25



### 1.3 *The Brisbane Courier*

<b>THE BRISBANE COURIER 1915 – 1923 TITLES OF ARTICLES ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	ARMENIAN REFUGEES A TERRIBLE POSITION (A), (G)	PETROGRAD	December 15, 1914	7
2	MASSACRE IN ARMENIA KURDS TERRORISING THE POPULATION (A)	PETROGRAD	December 26, 1914	7
3	CAMPAIGN AGAINST TURKEY RUSSIAN SUCCESSES ATROCITIES BY TURKS (A)	PETROGRAD	December 31, 1914	7
4	THE BALKAN STATES (CH) TURKS' THREAT TO MASSACRE CHRISTIANS	LONDON	January 12, 1915	7
5	FIGHTING IN PERSIA MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS (A), (CH)	PETROGRAD	January 15, 1915	8
6	THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN TURKS MASSACRE ARMENIANS (A)	PETROGRAD	January 30, 1915	5
7	A THREATENED MASSACRE NON MOSLEMS IN PALESTINE (N)	CAIRO	February 22, 1915	7
8	TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	PETROGRAD	February 24, 1915	7
9	CONSPIRACY DISCOVERED DEPOT OF BOMBS SEIZED (A)	SOFIA	March 13, 1915	5
10	TURKISH ATROCITIES 60 CHRISTIAN FAMILIES MASSACRED (CH)	ATHENS	March 23, 1915	6
11	MASSACRES IN ARMENIA KURDS ON THE WAR PATH TURKS UNDER DJEMAL PASHA (A)	PETROGRAD	May 11, 1915	7
12	TURKISH HORRORS WAR ON THE CHRISTIANS (A), (CH) REVOLTING MURDERS BY KAISER'S ALLY	LONDON	May 12, 1915	7
13	THE GERMAN KURDS ASIATIC BARBARISM EXCELLED REPORT ON ATROCITIES (REF)	LONDON	May 13, 1915	7
14	THE MASSACRING TURK SIX THOUSAND ARMENIANS KILLED (A)	LONDON	May 19, 1915	7
15	ARMENIAN MASSACRES WHOLE VILLAGES DEVASTATED (A)	PARIS	May 24, 1915	7
16	TURKISH SAVAGERY MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS ALLIES WARN TURKISH MINISTERS (A)	LONDON	May 25, 1915	7
17	INDEPENDENT ARMENIA 20 ARMENIANS EXECUTED (A)	AMSTERDAM	June 21, 1915	7
18	TURKS GETTING DESPERATE ANARCHY IN CONSTANTINOPLE (A)	ROME	July 21, 1915	7
19	TURKISH ATROCITIES WHOLESALE MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS THE KAISER'S DEEDS OUTDONE 9000 WOMEN AND CHILDREN SHOT	PETROGRAD	July 24, 1915	5

	WHOLE DISTRICTS WIPED OUT (A)			
20	(1) GERMANS IN TURKEY APPALLING MASSACRES DUE TO GERMAN INFLUENCE (A), (CH) (2) TURKS IN PALESTINE HARDSHIPS OF CHRISTIANS (CH)	LONDON ROME	July 30, 1915	7
21	THE ARMENIAN HORRORS DETAILS OF MASSACRES (A), (G)	ATHENS	August 3, 1915	7
22	CILICIAN HORRORS 40,000 ARMENIANS PERISH DRIVEN INTO THE DESERT TO DIE (A)	ROME	August 5, 1915	7
23	TURKEY FOR THE TURKS ENVER BEY AND THE MASSACRES OF CHRISTIANS (A), (CH), (G)	ATHENS	August 7, 1915	7
24	THE MURDERED ARMENIANS REQUIEM SERVICES IN BULGARIA TURKS EXECRATED (A)	SOFIA	August 21, 1915	5
25	TURKISH MASSACRE - ISMID SET ON FIRE WHOLE POPULATION MURDERED (A), (G)	ATHENS	September 6, 1915	7
26	THE KAISER'S ALLY TURKISH HORRORS 70,000 ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)	ROME	September 10, 1915	7
27	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS WHOLESALE METHODS "AFTER ALL IT IS WAR!" (A)	LONDON	September 11, 1915	5
28	POSITION OF ARMENIANS (A) DEPUTATION TO THE BULGARIAN PREMIER	SOFIA	September 13, 1915	7
29	THE SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS APPEAL OF VISCOUNT BRYCE (A)	NEW YORK	September 22, 1915	7
30	(1) ARMENIANS ACTIVE TURKS KEPT OFF FROM JULY TILL SEPTEMBER (2) WHOLESALE MASSACRES WIPING OUT THE ARMENIANS APPALLING WORK OF THE TURKS (A)	PARIS LONDON	September 23, 1915	7
31	DESTROYING A NATION TURKS ELIMINATING ARMENIANS MASSACRE AND EXILE (A)	LONDON	September 24, 1915	7
32	IN CONSTANTINOPLE - LIFE INTOLERABLE CHRISTIANS TERRORISED ARMENIANS SOLD INTO SLAVERY (A), (CH)	PARIS	September 25, 1915	5
33	ARMENIAN MASSACRES TURKS' WAR OF EXTERMINATION 450,000 MURDERED (A)	WASHINGTON	September 27, 1915	7
34	THE UNSPEAKABLE TURK EXTERMINATING THE ARMENIANS AWFUL STORIES OF CRUELTY SCENES UNPARALLELED IN HISTORY (A)	LONDON	September 28, 1915	7
35	THE ARMENIAN HORRORS COUNT BERNSTORFF'S DENIAL (A)	WASHINGTON	September 29, 1915	7
36	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES ENCOURAGED BY GERMAN CONSULS (A)	LONDON	October 1, 1915	7

37	THE DOOMED ARMENIANS MUNIFICENT OFFER FROM AMERICA (A)	LONDON	October 4, 1915	7
38	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES UNITED STATES STIRRED A NOTE FOR TURKEY (A)	WASHINGTON	October 6, 1915	7
39	ARMENIAN MASSACRES IS GERMANY PRIVY! WHO CAN RESTRAIN THE TURKS? AN APALLING DEATH TOLL (A)	LONDON	October 8, 1915	7
40	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES DANISH HORROR-APPEAL TO AMERICA (A)	LONDON	October 11, 1915	7
41	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES CRITICISM OF GERMAN ACTION (A) THE MOST HORRIBLE INCIDENT OF THE WAR	LONDON	October 12, 1915	7
42	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS OPERATIONS RESUMED (A) AMERICAN REPRESENTATION UNHEADED	LONDON	October 14, 1915	7
43	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES NEED FOR RELIEF (A)	LONDON	October 16, 1915	5
44	ARMENIAN MASSACRES "WORST IN HISTORY" MANSION HOUSE FUND OPENED (A)	LONDON	October 18, 1915	7
45	ARMENIAN RISING TO AVENGE THE MASSACRES WILL FIGHT FOR THE ALLIES (A)	PETROGRAD	October 20, 1915	7
46	OVER 1,000,000 ARMENIANS EXILED THREE QUARTERS KILLED OR ENSLAVED BY TURKS (A)	WASHINGTON	October 23, 1915	5
47	ARMENIAN HORRORS - FULLY CONFIRMED HUMAN WOLVES AMONG (A) DEFENSIBLE BEINGS	LONDON	October 26, 1915	7
48	TURKISH MASSACRES UNPARALLELED ATROCITIES ARMENIANS EXTERMINATED WOMEN AND CHILDREN BURNT ALIVE (A)	LONDON	November 29, 1915	7
49	DESTROYING A PEOPLE THE ARMENIAN TRAGEDY A MILLION HAVE PERISHED (A)	LONDON	December 17, 1915	7
50	ARMENIAN HORRORS - RESCUE OF REFUGEES A THRILLING ACCOUNT (A)	LONDON	December 21, 1915	7
51	INTERCESSION DAY OBSERVED THROUGHOUT AUSTRALIA (REF)	LONDON	January 4, 1916	7
52	MURDERING A NATION MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS BRUTALITY OF THE TURKS (A)	LONDON	January 17, 1916	7
53	WIPING OUT A NATION - MURDERING THE FEW REMAINING ARMENIANS (A)	GENEVA	February 12, 1916	5
54	(1) MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (2) ARMENIAN ATROCITIES AN AMERICAN PROTEST (A)	WASHINGTON	February 21, 1916	7
55	THE MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS UNITED STATES PROTEST "UNOFFICIAL" (A)	WASHINGTON	February 22, 1916	7
56	TURKISH ARMIES CUT OFF (A)	PETROGRAD	February 22, 1916	7

57	ARMENIANS AT ERZEROUM WHOLESALE MASSACRE (A)	PETROGRAD	March 10, 1916	7
58	ARMENIAN MASSACRES UPWARDS OF 1,000,000 (A)	AMSTERDAM	April 17, 1916	7
59	TURKISH ATROCITIES AT TREBIZOND (A)	PETROGRAD	May 15, 1916	7
60	ARMENIAN MASSACRES TURKISH METHODS (A)	BUCHAREST	May 23, 1916	7
61	THE GERMAN CONSCIENCE TROUBLED OVER ARMENIANS (A)	COPENHAGEN	July 8, 1916	5
62	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS MORE TURKISH ATROCITIES (A)	PARIS	July 19, 1916	7
63	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS RESPONSIBILITY TRACED TO GERMANS (A)	PARIS	July 22, 1916	5
64	HORRORS IN ARMENIA CANNIBALISM AND STARVATION (A)	NEW YORK	August 21, 1916	7
65	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA WHAT THE GERMANS PERMITTED (A)	LONDON	August 25, 1916	7
66	TURKEY'S POSITION ADVOCATES OF A SEPARATE PEACE (A)	LONDON	September 7, 1916	7
67	THE PERSECUTED ARMENIANS HORRIBLE ATROCITIES - 30,000 STARVING (A)	NEW YORK	September 12, 1916	7
68	TURKISH ATROCITIES HORRIBLE TREATMENT OF ARMENIANS (A)	NEW YORK	September 21, 1916	7
69	THE SUFFERING ARMENIANS (A)	WASHINGTON	October 5, 1916	7
70	EXODUS OF ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	October 27, 1916	7
71	THE GUILDHALL BANQUET A DISTINGUISHED GATHERING (REF)	LONDON	November 11, 1916	5
72	PERSECUTED ARMENIANS TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS (A)	LONDON	November 30, 1916	7
73	ARMENIAN MASSACRES HORRIFYING STORIES MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN HORRIBLY MUTILATED (A)	LONDON	January 2, 1917	6
74	ATROCITIES ON ARMENIANS GERMANY'S NOBLE ALLY WIPING OUT A POPULATION (A)	PARIS	February 19, 1917	7
75	ARMENIAN MASSACRES A TERRIBLE PICTURE (A)	LONDON	June 22, 1917	7
76	THE UNSPEAKABLE TURK MASSACRE IN ARMENIA (A)	NEW YORK	March 6, 1918	7
77	THE TERRIBLE TURK MASSACRE AT TREBIZOND (A)	PETROGRAD	March 12, 1918	7
78	FIGHTING IN ARMENIA TURKS RECAPTURE ERZERUM (A)	LONDON	March 18, 1918	6
79	SLAVERY REVIVED (REF) RUSSIAN SOLDIERS BUY AND SELL WOMEN	NEW YORK	March 20, 1918	8
80	THE TERRIBLE TURK MASSACRE OF 8000 ARMENIANS A BISHOP MURDERED (A)	ROME	March 26, 1918	5
81	THE TERRIBLE TURK MASSACRE OF 8000 ARMENIANS A BISHOP MURDERED (A)	ROME	April 6, 1918	5

82	MASSACRES IN ARMENIA RUSSIAN NOTE TO BERLIN (A)	LONDON	April 15, 1918	8
83	THE SUFFERING ARMENIANS MASSACRES BY TURKS (A)	LONDON	June 10, 1918	7
84	ARMENIANS AND TURKS A HALF-HEARTED PEACE (A)	NEW YORK	August 19, 1918	
85	CHRISTIAN REFUGEES MASSACRES BY THE TURKS (CH)	NEW YORK	September 2, 1918	7
86	TURKS MURDERING CHRISTIANS (CH)		September 14, 1918	5
87	TURKEY AND THE WAR (A), (REF)	EDITORIAL	October 12, 1918	4
88	SURRENDER OF TURKEY (A), (REF)	EDITORIAL	November 2, 1918	4
89	TARTARS MASSACRE ARMENIANS HOSPITAL PATIENTS ATTACKED (A), (T)	STOCKHOLM	November 4, 1918	10
90	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS PUTTING THE CURB OF TURKEY (A)	LONDON	November 21, 1918	7
91	TURKISH REFUGEES (A) EXTRADITION FROM GERMANY DEMANDED	COPENHAGEN	November 26, 1918	7
92	TURKS IN GERMANY THE EXTRADITION DEMANDED (A)	ROTTERDAM	November 27, 1918	7
93	TURKISH ATROCITIES AGITATORS AT WORK (A)	LONDON	December 30, 1918	7
94	(1) MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS CHILDREN DIE OF HUNGER TWO THOUSAND WOMEN BURNED TO DEATH (2) PERPETRATING A FINAL MASSACRE (A)	PARIS AMSTERDAM	January 6, 1919	7
95	REPORTED ARRESTS (A), (G)	ATHENS	January 27, 1919	8
96	NEW TURKISH RULE ARRESTS AT CONSTANTINOPLE (A), (G)	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	February 10, 1919	7
97	TURKISH OFFICER'S SUICIDE (A)	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	February 17, 1919	7
98	ARMENIAN MASSACRES BRINGING OFFENDERS TO BOOK (A)	PARIS	February 25, 1919	7
99	PERSECUTIONS BY TURKS (A), (G)	LONDON	March 20, 1919	7
100	AN ARMENIAN APPEAL (A)		March 31, 1919	7
101	RISING IN TURKEY - MASSACRES FEARED (A)	LONDON	April 19, 1919	5
102	STARVING ARMENIANS DYING IN TENS OF THOUSANDS (A)	NEW YORK	April 25, 1919	7
103	AMERICAN INTERFERENCE FRENCH IRRITATION CAUSED (A)	WASHINGTON	August 29, 1919	7
104	AMERICAN WARNING TO TURKEY (A)	WASHINGTON	August 30, 1919	5
105	NOTORIOUS GERMAN GENERAL (A)	ROME	September 1, 1919	7
106	WARNING TO TURKEY MASSACRES TO CEASE (CH)	ATHENS	September 12, 1919	7
107	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	ATHENS WASHINGTON	February 19, 1920	7
108	GRAVE ARMENIAN SITUATION (A)		February 27, 1920	5
109	FUTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE NAVAL AND MILITARY OCCUPATION (A)	LONDON	March 10, 1920	7
110	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)	LONDON	March 11, 1920	7

111	TURKISH SITUATION SUPREME COUNCIL'S ACTION AN ANXIOUS OUTLOOK (REF)	LONDON	March 13, 1920	5
112	TURKISH PEACE TREATY THE FUTURE OF ARMENIA (A)	LONDON	March 15, 1920	7
113	TURKISH PERSECUTIONS (CH)	LONDON	March 16, 1920	7
114	KING OF SYRIA (A)	WASHINGTON	April 1, 1920	7
115	TARTARS AND ARMENIANS (A), (T) FOUR HUNDRED PERSONS MASSACRED	LONDON	May 3, 1920	7
116	PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS (CH)	ATHENS	September 8, 1920	7
117	MASSACRED ARMENIANS ANOTHER TUKISH ATROCITY (A)	LONDON	November 3, 1920	7
118	THREAT TO ARMENIANS GEORGIAN STATE ENDANGERED (A)	PARIS	November 22, 1920	7
119	TALAAAT BEY ASSASINATED (A) A BERLIN ST TRAGEDY-REVENGE THE MOTIVE	BERLIN	March 17, 1921	7
120	TALAAAT BEY'S ASSASSIN CONFESSION IN HOSPITAL "HAPPY AND UNREPENTANT" (A)	BERLIN	March 18, 1921	7
121	OUTRAGES ON ARMENIANS APPALLING EVIDENCE (A)	LONDON	June 6, 1921	7
122	CRIME REVENGED REVELATIONS AT COURT MARTIAL (A)	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	October 11, 1921	7
123	TURKISH ATROCITIES - 30,000 REFUGEES (N)	ATHENS	November 25, 1921	6
124	BERLIN MURDERS FIFTEEN ARMENIANS ARRESTED (A)	BERLIN	April 20, 1922	7
125	ARMENIAN MASSACRES TURKISH SAVAGERY (A)	LONDON	May 30, 1922	7
126	TURKISH CRUELTY PROPOSED JOINT ENQUIRY AMERICAN DECISION (A), (G)	NEW YORK	June 5, 1922	7
127	DEATH OF DJEMAL PASHA MURDERED AT TIFLIS (N), (REL)	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	July 27, 1922	5
128	(1) CHRISTIANS TERRIFIED (2) ANTI CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT (CH)	LONDON	August 14, 1922	5
129	CHRISTIANS TERRIFIED (CH)	LONDON	September 14, 1922	5
130	EXECUTIONS INCREASING (A), (G)	LONDON	September 15, 1922	5
131	(1) TURKISH FEROCITY SCENES OF HORROR AT SMYRNA (CH) (2) BISHOP MURDERED (CH) (2) MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	ATHENS	September 16, 1922	7
132	A TERRIBLE FIRE OUTBREAK IN SMYRNA ONE THOUSAND DEAD (A), (G)	LONDON	September 16, 1922	7
133	(1) RELIEF FOR REFUGEES (RFG) (2) DAMAGE IN SMYRNA TURKISH MASSACRES (N)	WASHINGTON ATHENS	September 18, 1922	7
134	WHY THE EMPIRE STANDS READY (CH)	EDITORIAL	September 19, 1922	6
135	TERRIBLE SCENES (A), (G) SITUATION IN SMYRNA-TALES OF REFUGEES	ATHENS	September 19, 1922	7

136	HELP FOR REFUGEES LEAGUE NATION'S ACTION (RFG)	GENEVA	September 21, 1922	5
137	CHRISTIANS FLEEING EXODUS FROM CONSTANTINOPLE (CH), (G)	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	September 21, 1922	5
138	(1) TURK OPPRESSION DEPORTING CHRISTIANS (CH) (2) AN AMERICAN'S VIEWS (CH)	LONDON	September 22, 1922	5
139	(1) SMYRNA OUTRAGES (A), (G) (2) "A WANDERING BARBARIAN" THE TURK AND HIS ATROCITIES (A), (CH) (3) AMERICAN CHURCHES (N) (4) TURKISH MASSACRES (CH)		September 25, 1922	7
140	(1) ORDERED TO QUIT REFUGEES IN SMYRNA (2) APPEAL FOR SECOUR (RFG)	LONDON GENEVA	September 27, 1922	5
141	SMYRNA REFUGEES (RFG)	LONDON	September 28, 1922	5
142	AN ASSASSINATION SEQUEL (A)	PARIS	September 29, 1922	5
143	SMYRNA REFUGEES (RFG)	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	October 3, 1922	7
144	RELIEVING DESTRESS (N)	WASHINGTON	October 5, 1922	4
145	EVACUATION OF SMYRNA (CH)		October 6, 1922	6
146	THE NEAR EAST (CH)	EDITORIAL	October 9, 1922	6
147	(1) RELIEVING DESTRESS (N) (2) TURKS ARREST CHRISTIANS (CH)	WASHINGTON	October 11, 1922	5
148	HELPING REFUGEES (RFG)	LONDON	October 12, 1922	7
149	CHRISTIAN REFUGEES (CH) HARROWING DETAILS-IN A PITIABLE PLIGHT	LONDON	October 14, 1922	7
150	REFUGEES FROM ANATOLIA (RFG)	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	October 16, 1922	5
151	THE NEAR EAST - GRAVE SITUATION CONSTANTINOPLE STREETS UNSAFE CHRISTIAN POPULATION IN FILGHT (CH)	LONDON	November 14, 1922	5
152	A GREAT TREK (A), (G) REFUGEES FROM ANATOLIA HARROWING SCENES IN THE STREETS	ATHENS	November 15, 1922	5
153	A GREAT TREK - CHRISTIAN REFUGEES FLIGHT FROM ANATOLIA (CH)	LONDON	November 30, 1922	5
154	AMERICAN PROTESTS THE CHRISTIAN EXODUS (CH)	NEW YORK	December 4, 1922	7
155	FIRM ACTION INCIDENTS IN CONSTANTINOPLE (A)	LONDON	December 7, 1922	5
156	NOTE FROM VATICAN CHRISTIANS IN CONSTANTINOPLE (A), (CH)	LAUSANNE	December 7, 1922	5
157	SORE STRAITS PLIGHT OF REFUGEES (RFG)	LONDON	December 8, 1922	5
158	TURKS DENY REPORTS (CH)	LAUSANNE	December 8, 1922	5
159	PASSPORT QUESTION (A), (G)	LONDON	December 8, 1922	5
160	QUESTION OF OVERSEAS SETTLEMENT (RFG)	LONDON	December 8, 1922	5
161	IMMIGRATION - AMERICAN SCHEME 100,000 ARMENIANS (A)	WASHINGTON	January 11, 1923	7

162	ARMENIAN ORPHANS EMIGRATION TO AMERICA SENATE'S DECISION (A)	WASHINGTON	January 15, 1923	9
163	CHRISTIANS EXECUTED (CH)	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	January 16, 1923	7
164	CHRISTIANS EXECUTED (CH)	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	January 18, 1923	5
165	ARMENIAN ORPHANS MIGRATION PROPOSAL DEFEATED (A)	WASHINGTON	January 25, 1923	5
166	FLEEING ARMENIANS AMERICAN LEGISLATOR'S PROPOSAL (A)	WASHINGTON	February 1, 1923	5
167	ARMENIAN REFUGEES TO BE ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES (A)	WASHINGTON	February 7, 1923	5
168	DRIVEN FROM HOME TURKISH ATROCITIES UNFORTUNATE ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	August 18, 1923	7



#### 1.4 *The Mercury*

<b>THE MERCURY 1915 – 1923 TITLES OF ARTICLES ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	TURKISH ATROCITIES (CH) TERRIBLE PLIGHT OF CHRISTIANS IN ARMENIA	PETROGRAD	December 15, 1914	5
2	KURDISH OUTRAGES MASSACRES IN ARMENIA (A), (G)		December 26, 1914	5
3	THE TURKS AGGRESSIVE INVASION OF RUSSIAN TERRITORY MASSACRE OF THE INHABITANTS (A)	PETROGRAD	December 31, 1914	5
4	ANTI-CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT MURDER OF GREEKS IN ASIA MINOR (CH), (G)		January 11, 1915	5
5	FORCING THE DARDANELLES AN EXTRAORDINARY GERMAN WARNING (CH)	LONDON	January 12, 1915	5
6	PROGRESS OF THE TURKS MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS (A)	LONDON	January 15, 1915	5
7	TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	PETROGRAD	January 30, 1915	5
8	RUSSO-TURKISH WAR TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	PETROGRAD	February 24, 1915	5
9	EXODUS FROM CONSTANTINOPLE (A), (CH)		March 13, 1915	5
10	MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS OUTRAGE BY TURKS (CH)	ATHENS	March 23, 1915	5
11	TURKEY AND THE ARMENIANS WHOLESALE MASSACRES AMERICANS IN DANGER (A)	PETROGRAD	May 11, 1915	5
12	TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRES IN ARMENIA FEARFUL OUTRAGES (A), (CH)	LONDON	May 12, 1915	5
13	GERMAN BARBARISM OUTRAGES IN BELGIUM (REF)		May 13, 1915	6
14	TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRES IN ARMENIA (A)	PETROGRAD	May 19, 1915	5
15	THE TRIUMPH OF THE ALLIES THE PORTE MADDENED MASSACRES IN ARMENIA (A)	PARIS	May 25, 1915	5
16	ASSASSINATION RAMPANT TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO BE HELD RESPONSIBLE (A)	LONDON	May 26, 1915	5

17	TROUBLE IN CONSTANTINOPLE ALLEGED AMERICAN INTRIGUES (A)		June 21, 1915	5
18	SITUATION IN TURKEY PLOT AGAINST THE GERMANS (CH)	ROME	July 21, 1915	5
19	TURKISH ATROCITIES OUTRAGES BAFFLE DESCRIPTION WHOLESALE SLAUGHTER (A)	PETROGRAD	July 24, 1915	5
20	TURKISH ATROCITIES WHOLESALE MASSACRES ENCOURAGED BY THE GERMANS (A)	LONDON	July 30, 1915	5
21	THE TURKS IN PALESTINE HATRED OF CHRISTIANS (CH)	ROME	July 30, 1915	5
22	TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS DREADFUL DETAILS (A)	ATHENS	August 3, 1915	5
23	TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRES IN ARMENIA DRIVEN INTO DESERT TO DIE (A)	PARIS	August 5, 1915	5
24	"TURKEY FOR THE TURKS" ENVER PASHA'S ALLEGED REMARKS (REF)	ATHENS	August 9, 1915	6
25	TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRED ARMENIANS APPEAL TO BULGARIA (A)	SOFIA	August 21, 1915	6
26	TURKISH ATROCITY (A), (CH), (G) FIRE AND SWORD - WHOLESALE MASSACRE	ATHENS	September 6, 1915	5
27	DISORDER AT SMYRNA TURKISH IRREGULARS PLUNDERING (CH)		September 9, 1915	5
28	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA WHOLESALE MASSACRES (A)	ROME	September 10, 1915	5
29	TURKISH ATROCITIES - DIABOLICAL CRUELTY PEOPLE BURNT ALIVE (A)	LONDON	September 11, 1915	5
30	THE ARMENIANS REPRESENTATIONS BY BULGARIA (A)	SOFIA	September 13, 1915	5
31	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS APPEAL TO PEOPLE OF AMERICA (A)	NEW YORK	September 22, 1915	5
32	TURKISH ATROCITIES SYSTEMATIC SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS HALF A MILLION KILLED (A)	LONDON	September 23, 1915	5
33	DISASTER AVERTED RESCUE BY FRENCH CRUISERS (A)	PARIS	September 23, 1915	5
34	THE MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS DESTROYING THE NATION (A)	LONDON	September 24, 1915	5
35	THE CONDITIONS AT CONSTANTINOPLE SALE OF ARMENIAN SLAVES (A), (CH)	PARIS	September 25, 1915	5
36	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS SLAIN APPEAL TO AMERICA (A)	WASHINGTON	September 27, 1915	5
37	EXTERMINATING CHRISTIANS (A)	EDITORIAL	September 28, 1915	4
38	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS AWFUL TALES OF CRUELTY THOUSANDS KILLED AND DEPORTED (A)	LONDON	September 28, 1915	5

39	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS A GERMAN DENIAL (A)	WASHINGTON	September 29, 1915	5
40	EDITORIAL (REF)		September 29, 1915	4
41	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA ENCOURAGED BY THE GERMANS STREETS RUN WITH BLOOD (A)	LONDON	October 1, 1915	5
42	THE MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS GENEROUS AMERICAN OFFER (A)	LONDON	October 4, 1915	6
43	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA AMERICAN THREAT TO TURKEY (A)	WASHINGTON	October 6, 1915	5
44	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)	EDITORIAL	October 8, 1915	4
45	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA THE WORK OF EXTERMINATION 800,000 PEOPLE MASSACRED (A)	LONDON	October 8, 1915	5
46	THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES GREAT INDIGNATION IN DENMARK APPEAL TO AMERICA (A)	COPENHAGEN	October 11, 1915	6
47	THE WORST WORLD HAS SEEN GERMAN CULPABILITY (A)	LONDON	October 11, 1915	6
48	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA NOTHING MORE HORRIBLE GERMAN CULPABILITY (A)	LONDON	October 12, 1915	5
49	INDIGNATION IN AMERICA TURK MERELY FOLLOWING THE TEUTON (A)	NEW YORK	October 12, 1915	5
50	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA (A) AMERICAN PROTEST - UNHEADED BY TURKEY	WASHINGTON	October 14, 1915	5
51	QUESTION IN THE COMMONS SIR EDWARD GREY'S STATEMENT (A)	LONDON	October 14, 1915	5
52	THE SLAUGHTER RESUMED (A) RESULT OF BULGARIAN ENTRY INTO THE WAR	WASHINGTON	October 14, 1915	5
53	THE POPE'S PROTEST PERSONAL LETTER TO THE SULTAN (A)	ROME	October 14, 1915	5
54	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA THE NEED FOR HELP (A)	LONDON	October 16, 1915	5
55	INTERNATIONAL CRIMES BELGIUM AND ARMENIA (A)	LONDON	October 18, 1915	5
56	AVENGING THE MASSACRES ARMENIANS ANXIOUS TO RISE (A)	PETROGRAD	October 20, 1915	5
57	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES OVER 1,000,000 EXILED THREE-FOURTH MASSACRED (A)	WASHINGTON	October 23, 1915	5
58	THE ARMENIAN HORRORS WORST REPORTS CONFIRMED (A)	LONDON	October 26, 1915	5
59	TURKISH ATROCITIES (A)	EDITORIAL	November 29, 1915	4
60	TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS HALF A MILLION PEOPLE SLAIN THE BUTCHER BATTALIONS (A)	LONDON	November 29, 1915	5
61	TURKISH ATROCITIES WIPING OUT ARMENIANS SHOCKING REVELATIONS (A)	LONDON	December 16, 1915	5

62	THRILLING ARMENIAN ESCAPE THEY TAKE TO THE MOUNTAINS RESCUE BY FRENCH (A)	LONDON	December 21, 1915	5
63	GERMANY'S ALLY - THE TURKISH METHOD AN ARMENIAN'S SIMPLE TALE (A)	C W BEAN	December 21, 1915	6
64	DAY OF INTERCESSION (REF)		January 4, 1916	5
65	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA WHOLESALE MASSACRES BY THE TURKS (A)	LONDON	January 17, 1916	5
66	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS THE KILLING RESUMED WOMEN AND GIRLS SOLD (A)	GENEVA	February 12, 1916	5
67	THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES AMERICA THREATENS TURKEY MUSH AND SIVAS MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	WASHINGTON	February 21, 1916	5
68	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES THE REPORTED AMERICAN THREAT (A)	WASHINGTON	February 22, 1916	5
69	THE FALL OF ERZEROUM WHOLESALE MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	PETROGRAD	March 10, 1916	5
70	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES OVER A MILLION VICTIMS (A)	AMSTERDAM	April 17, 1916	5
71	STATE OF TREBIZOND HIDEOUS MASSACRES BY THE TURKS (A)	PETROGRAD	May 15, 1916	5
72	TURKISH BARBARITIES SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS THOUSANDS MASSACRED (A)	PETROGRAD	May 23, 1916	5
73	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS TWO MILLION SLAIN (A)	PARIS	June 23, 1916	5
74	THE ARMENIANS AN APPEAL IN GERMANY FOR FUNDS (A)	COPENHAGEN	July 8, 1916	8
75	TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	PARIS	July 19, 1916	5
76	TURKISH ATROCITIES SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS (A)	PARIS	July 22, 1916	7
77	ARMENIAN HORRORS FURTHER SHOCKING REVELATIONS (A)	NEW YORK	August 21, 1916	5
78	ARMENIAN HORRORS APPEAL OF GERMAN TEACHERS (A)	LONDON	August 25, 1916	5
79	THE ARMENIANS THEIR TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE PERISHING (A)	NEW YORK	September 12, 1916	5
80	TURKISH ATROCITIES (A) SHOCKING REVELATIONS FROM ARMENIA	NEW YORK	September 21, 1916	5
81	THE ARMENIANS RELIEF FROM AMERICA (A)	WASHINGTON	October 6, 1916	5
82	THE ARMENIANS A SUCCESSFUL EXODUS (A)	LONDON	October 27, 1916	5
83	MR ASQUITH (REF)		November 11, 1916	7
84	TURKISH ATROCITIES THOUSANDS OF ARMENIANS STARVING (A)	WASHINGTON	November 30, 1916	5
85	THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES SHOCKING REVELATIONS (A)	LONDON	January 2, 1917	5

86	FAMINE IN ARMENIA WOMEN AND CHILDREN BEING SOLD (N)	PETROGRAD	January 25, 1917	5
87	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES SHOCKING REVELATIONS (A)	PARIS	February 19, 1917	5
88	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES (A) EXTENT OF MASSACRES AND DEPORTATIONS	LONDON	February 27, 1917	5
89	ARMENIAN MASSACRES SURVIVORS DESCRIBE HORRORS COLD BLOODED SLAUGHTER (A)	LONDON	June 22, 1917	5
90	MESOPOTAMIA - THE KEY TO THE FUTURE BARBARISM OF THE TURKS (REF)		January 14, 1918	6
91	THE ARMENIANS REPORTED MASSACRE BY THE TURKS (A)	NEW YORK	March 6, 1918	5
92	TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRES AT TREBIZOND POPULATION WIPED OUT (A)	PETROGRAD	March 12, 1918	5
93	SLAVE RAIDS WOMEN BARTERED IN THE MARKETS (N)	NEW YORK	March 21, 1918	5
94	TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS SHOCKING DISCLOSURES (A)	ROME	April 6, 1918	7
95	TURKISH ATROCITIES (A) MARTYRDOM OF ARMENIA GERMANY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE HORROR	PETROGRAD	April 15, 1918	5
96	TURKISH ATROCITIES 10 000 ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)	MOSCOW	June 10, 1918	5
97	THE TURKISH WAR (A) ARMENIANS FORCED TO SIGN PEACE FEAR OF EXTERMINATION BY THE TURKS	BOSTON	August 19, 1918	5
98	TURKISH BARBARITIES MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS (CH)	NEW YORK	September 2, 1918	6
99	TURKS MURDERING CHRISTIANS IN PERSIA (CH)		September 13, 1918	5
100	TURKISH ATROCITIES DREADFUL MASSACRES AT BAKU WOMEN AND CHILDREN SLAIN (A)	STOCKHOLM	November 4, 1918	5
101	TURKEY'S SURRENDER ABSOLUTELY IN ALLIES POWER FUTURE OF ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	November 21, 1918	5
102	TURKS IN BERLIN THEIR EXTRADITION DEMANDED (A)	COPENHAGEN	November 26, 1918	5
103	FLIGHT OF MINISTERS TO GERMANY QUESTION OF EXTRADITION (A)	ROTTERDAM	November 27, 1918	5
104	TURKISH OUTRAGES MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	December 30, 1918	6
105	ARMENIAN MASSACRES VICTIMS NUMBER 1,500,000 (A)	PARIS	January 6, 1919	6
106	A FINAL MASSACRE (A)	LONDON	January 6, 1919	6
107	TURKEY'S DOWNFALL ARREST OF 50 YOUNG TURKS (A), (G)	LONDON	February 10, 1919	5
108	ARMENIAN MASSACRES SUICIDE OF THE INSTIGATOR (A)	CONSTANTINOPLE	February 17, 1919	5

109	MASSACRES OF SYRIANS AND ARMENIANS GERMAN GENERAL TO BE TRIED (A)	PARIS	February 25, 1919	5
110	ARAB RISING IN ASIA MINOR THE MOVEMENT SUPPRESSED (REL)	NEW YORK	March 18, 1919	4
111	PERSECUTION IN ASIA MINOR (A), (G)	LONDON	March 20, 1919	5
112	STARVING ARMENIANS TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS OF THE PEOPLE (A)	PARIS	March 31, 1919	5
113	CONDITIONS IN TURKEY (A)	LONDON	April 19, 1919	7
114	TURKEY A PRECARIOUS SITUATION DISORDERS AND ATROCITIES (CH)	LONDON	April 23, 1919	5
115	YOUNG TURK MINISTERS TRIED ON SEVERAL CHARGES (REL)	LONDON	April 24, 1919	5
116	TURKS ILL-TREAT THE ARMENIANS THOUSANDS STARVED TO DEATH (A)	NEW YORK	April 25, 1919	5
117	TURKISH ATROCITIES-ENVER PASHA AND TALAA PASHA TO BE PUNISHED (REL)	LONDON	May 31, 1919	7
118	ARMENIAN MASSACRES AMERICAN WARNING TO TURKEY (A)	WASHINGTON	August 29, 1919	5
119	ARMENIAN MASSACRES THE AMERICAN WARNING TO TURKEY (A)	WASHINGTON	August 30, 1919	6
120	GERMANY'S CRIMES GENERAL VON SANDERS PRISONER (A)	ROME	September 1, 1919	5
121	ARMENIA THE AMERICAN NOTE TO TURKEY (A)	ATHENS	September 12, 1919	2
122	TURKISH OUTRAGES (A) EIGHT THOUSAND ARMENIANS MASSACRED	ATHENS	February 19, 1920	5
123	PROTEST FROM GENEVA (A)	WASHINGTON	February 20, 1920	5
124	ARMENIAN MASSACRES STATEMENT IN HOUSE OF LORDS (A)	LONDON	February 27, 1920	5
125	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS ALLIES TAKE ACTION (A)	LONDON	March 1, 1920	5
126	TURKISH ATROCITIES MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	WASHINGTON	March 3, 1920	5
127	THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES REFERENCE IN HOUSE OF COMMONS STRONG ACTION MAY BE TAKEN (A)	LONDON	March 8, 1920	5
128	FALL OF TURKISH GOVERNMENT TURKS MAY REJECT THE TREATY (A)	LONDON	March 8, 1920	5
129	PROTECTING THE ARMENIANS DRASTIC ACTION BY THE ALLIES (A)	LONDON	March 10, 1920	5
130	TURKISH ATROCITIES (A) MASSACRE OF THOUSANDS OF ARMENIANS	LONDON	March 11, 1920	5
131	MILITARY MEASURES TAKEN (A)	LONDON	March 13, 1920	7
132	DEBATE IN HOUSE OF LORDS SPEECH OF LORD BRYCE (A), (CH)	LONDON	March 13, 1920	7
133	THE TURKISH TREATY FUTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE PROTECTING THE ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	March 15, 1920	5
134	FIGHTING IN ARMENIA FRENCH DEFEAT THE TURKS (A)	ATHENS	April 14, 1920	5

135	THE POSITION AT BAKU - FIGHTING BETWEEN TARTARS AND ARMENIANS (A), (T)	LONDON	May 3, 1920	5
136	SYRIA ARAB ATTACKS ON CHRISTIANS (CH)	CAIRO	May 17, 1920	4
137	MORE TURKISH ATROCITIES (CH)	ATHENS	September 8, 1920	5
138	TURKISH BARBARITIES MASSACRE OF 10 000 ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	November 3, 1920	5
139	FALL OF KARS (A) THREATENED MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS	PARIS	November 22, 1920	5
140	TALAAT PASHA MURDERED BY AN ARMENIAN CRIME OF REVENGE (A)	BERLIN	March 17, 1921	5
141	TALAAT PASHA'S MURDERER A CRIME OF REVENGE PRISONER'S CONFESSION (A)	BERLIN	March 18, 1921	5
142	TURKISH HORRORS IN 1915 TALAAT PASHA'S POLICY GERMAN GENERAL CHEKS MASSACRES (A)	LONDON	June 6, 1921	5
143	TURKISH ATROCITIES SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS TO ORDER A SON'S REVENGE (A)	CONSTANTINOPLE	October 11, 1921	5
144	THE NEAR EAST - MORE TURKISH ATROCITIES FLIGHT OF ARMENIANS (A)	ATHENS	November 25, 1921	7
145	TURKISH STATESMAN ASSASSINATED (A)	ROME	December 8, 1921	5
146	AVENGING THE MURDERED ARMENIANS ASSASSINATION OF A TURK IN BERLIN (A)	BERLIN	April 20, 1922	5
147	ARMENIAN MASSACRES LIGHT ON TURKISH METHODS PITILESS SAVAGERY REVEALED TERRIBLE INSTRUCTIONS (A)	LONDON	May 30, 1922	5
148	TURKISH ATROCITIES THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY AMERICA JOINS THE ALLIES (N)	NEW YORK	June 5, 1922	5
149	TURKISH ATROCITIES ALLIED COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION (CH)	LONDON	June 16, 1922	5
150	REPORTED MURDER OF TURKISH LEADER (REL)	CONSTANTINOPLE	July 27, 1922	5
151	TURKISH ATROCITIES TRAGIC STORY FROM ASIA MINOR WHOLESALE MURDER OF GREEKS (G)	LONDON	August 18, 1922	7
152	(1) TURKISH ATTACK ON CHRISTIANS SEVERAL DEATHS REPORTED (CH) (2) CHRISTIANS IN PERIL LEAGUE OF NATIONS POWERLESS	CONSTANTINOPLE	September 13, 1922	7
153	THE CAPTURE OF SMYRNA AVANGING MASSACRE BY GREEKS (A)	LONDON	September 14, 1922	5
154	TROUBLE IN THE BALKANS (CH)	EDITORIAL	September 15, 1922	4
155	AVANGING MASSACE BY GREEKS (A), (G) EXECUTION OF ARMENIANS AND GREEKS	LONDON	September 15, 1922	5
156	THE CAPTURE OF SMYRNA SAFETY OF THE CHRISTIANS (CH)	PARIS	September 15, 1922	5

157	DIABOLICAL ACT OF TURKS CITY OF SMYRNA SET ON FIRE A THOUSAND LIVES LOST (A), (G)	LONDON	September 16, 1922	7
158	(1) THE GRECO TURKISH WAR-SMYRNA BURNT (2) A GREEK PROTEST (3) TWO SQUARE MILES BURNED DAMAGE IN SMYRNA TURKISH MASSACRES (A), (G)	ATHENS	September 18, 1922	5
159	SCENES AT SMYRNA (A), (G) MUTILATED BODIES IN THE STREETS REFUGEES WITHIN BURNING CHURCHES	ATHENS	September 19, 1922	4
160	(1) A RECKLES MILITARY ENTERPRISE (A) (2) TURKISH HISTORY WRITTEN IN BLOOD (A), (CH)	LONDON	September 20, 1922	7
161	EXODUS OF CHRISTIANS FROM CONSTANTINOPLE (CH)	LONDON	September 21, 1922	5
162	THE OCCUPATION OF SMYRNA TURKS AND THE CHRISTIAN REFUGEES (CH)	LONDON	September 22, 1922	5
163	PROTECTION FOR ARMENIANS BRITISH EMPIRE APPEAL (A)	LONDON	September 25, 1922	5
164	PEACE WITH HONOUR? (CH)	EDITORIAL	September 27, 1922	6
165	SMYRNA REFUGEES AN APPEAL TO THE NATIONS (RFG)	GENEVA	September 27, 1922	7
166	THE SMYRNA REFUGEES AID FROM ALLIED NATIONS (RFG)	ATHENS	September 28, 1922	5
167	THE SMYRNA REFUGEES ASSISTANCE FROM CANADA (RFG)	GENEVA	September 30, 1922	7
168	THE RULE OF THE NEAR EAST (A), (G)	EDITORIAL	October 3, 1922	4
169	REFUGEES FROM SMYRNA (RFG) 177,000 WITHDRAWN FROM THE CITY	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	October 3, 1922	5
170	THE SMYRNA REFUGEES EVACUATION COMPLETED (RFG)	ATHENS	October 6, 1922	5
171	THE TURK IN HAND (CH)	EDITORIAL	October 10, 1922	4
172	THE TREACHEROUS TURK (CH)	EDITORIAL	October 11, 1922	6
173	TURKISH BAD FAITH THE NEUTRAL ZONE VIOLATED SITUATION STILL GRAVE (CH)	LONDON	October 11, 1922	6
174	THE SMYRNA REFUGEES RELIEF FROM GREAT BRITAIN (RFG)	LONDON	October 12, 1922	5
175	(1) TURKISH OUTRAGES AGAIN THE DEPORTATION OF CHRISTIANS (CH)	ATHENS	October 14, 1922	7
176	INCREDIBLE SUFFERINGS (CH)	LONDON	October 14, 1922	7
177	HELPLESS REFUGEES (CH)	ATHENS	October 16, 1922	7
178	TURKISH SAVAGERY THE ATROCITIES IN ANATOLIA MANY THOUSAND GREEKS PERISH (A), (G)		November 9, 1922	5
179	THE NEAR EAST (A)	EDITORIAL	November 9, 1922	4
180	THE ALLIES AND TURKEY SITUATION STILL GRAVE (CH)	LONDON	November 14, 1922	5



181	THE FLIGHT OF CHRISTIANS ROAD CHOCKED WITH REFUGEES HARROWING SCENES (A), (CH), (G)	ATHENS	November 16, 1922	5
182	CHRISTIAN REFUGEES TERRIBLE LOSS OF LIFE FEARED (CH)	LONDON	November 30, 1922	5
183	NOTE FROM THE POPE (A), (CH) APPEAL FOR PANIC STRICKEN CHRISTIANS	LAUSANNE	December 7, 1922	7
184	THE REFUGEES BRITISH MARINES TO THE RESCUE (A)	LONDON	December 7, 1922	7
185	ALLIES AND TURKS (A), (G)	EDITORIAL	December 29, 1922	4
186	MIGRATION THE AMERICAN RESTRICTIONS (A)	WASHINGTON	January 11, 1923	7
187	ARMENIAN ORPHANS MIGRATION TO UNITED STATES (A)	WASHINGTON	January 16, 1923	5
188	TURKISH OUTRAGE EXECUTION OF CHRISTIANS (CH)	CONSTANTINOPLE	January 18, 1923	7
189	ARMENIAN ORPHANS ENTRY INTO AMERICA BANNED (A)	WASHINGTON	January 25, 1923	5
190	FLEEING ARMENIANS NEW HOMES SOUGHT IN RUSSIA (A)	WASHINGTON	February 1, 1923	7
191	AMERICAN IMMIGRATION ADMISSION OF ARMENIANS (A)	WASHINGTON	February 7, 1923	7
192	THE ARMENIANS EXODUS FORCED BY THE TURKS DRIVEN FROM THEIR HOMES (A)	LONDON	August 18, 1923	9

1.5 *The Register*

<b>THE REGISTER 1915 - 1923</b>				
<b>TITLES OF ARTICLES ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	CHRISTIANS IN TERROR (CH)	PETROGRAD	December 15, 1914	5
2	MASSACRES IN ASIA MINOR (A), (G)	PETROGRAD	December 26, 1914	9
3	AGAINST THE TURKS SUCCESS IN ASIA MINOR (A)	PETROGRAD	December 31, 1914	5
4	RUSSIANS V. TURKS MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	PETROGRAD	January 14, 1915	5
5	OUTRAGES IN PERSIA (CH)	PETROGRAD	January 16, 1915	9
6	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	PETROGRAD	January 30, 1915	9
7	THE BRUTAL TURK MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	PETROGRAD	February 24, 1915	7
8	TURKISH CAPITAL RIOTS, MUTINY, REVOLT (A), (CH)	LONDON	March 13, 1915	9
9	TURKS "BORN IN BLOODSHED" (REF)		May 1, 1915	9
10	HORRORS OF ARMENIA PLAIN STREWN WITH CORPSES FEARFUL TREATMENT OF WOMEN (A)		May 1, 1915	10
11	ATTACKS ON ARMENIANS (A)	PETROGRAD	May 11, 1915	6
12	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS (A), (CH)	LONDON	May 12, 1915	7
13	MASSACRE IN BELGIUM (REF)		May 13, 1915	7
14	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	May 19, 1915	7
15	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)	LONDON	May 24, 1915	8
16	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS THE ALLIES' THREAT (A)	LONDON	May 25, 1915	8
17	ARMENIANS EXECUTED (A)	AMSTERDAM	June 21, 1915	8
18	CONSTANTINOPLE ANARCHY RAMPANT (A)	ROME	July 21, 1915	9
19	ARMENIANS BUTCHERED (A)	PETROGRAD	July 24, 1915	9
20	MASSACRES IN ASIA MINOR (A)	LONDON	July 30, 1915	9
21	PALESTINE'S PLIGHT (CH)	ROME	July 30, 1915	9
22	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A), (G)	ATHENS	August 3, 1915	7
23	DRIVEN TO THE DESERT (A)	ATHENS	August 5, 1915	7
24	TURKS AGAINST THEIR ALLIES (A), (CH), (G)	ATHENS	August 7, 1915	12
25	KAISER AND GREECE (A)	LONDON	August 21, 1915	10
26	TURKS MASSACRING CHRISTIANS (A), (G)		September 6, 1915	5

27	ARMENIANS KILLED IN THOUSANDS (A)		September 10, 1915	7
28	ARMENIAN HORRORS "AFTER ALL, IT'S WAR" (A)	LONDON	September 11, 1915	9
29	BULGARIA AND TURKEY (A)	NEW YORK	September 13, 1915	5
30	PROTEST AGAINST MASSACRES (A)	NEW YORK	September 22, 1915	8
31	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)	EDITORIAL	September 23, 1915	6
32	ARMENIAN MASSACRES EXTIRPATING CHRISTIANITY (A)	LONDON	September 23, 1915	8
33	SAVED BY THE FRENCH CRUISERS (A)	PARIS	September 23, 1915	8
34	UNHAPPY ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	September 24, 1915	5
35	CHEAP GIRLS LIFE IN CONSTANTINOPLE (A)	PARIS	September 25, 1915	9
36	ARMENIAN SLAUGHTER HALF A MILLION VICTIMS (A)	WASHINGTON	September 27, 1915	5
37	BARBARIC TURKS WIPING OUT ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	September 28, 1915	5
38	THE WAR (A)	EDITORIAL	September 29, 1915	6
39	WHITE WASHING THE TURKS (A)	WASHINGTON	September 29, 1915	8
40	TURKISH ATROCITIES GERMAN ENCOURAGEMENT (A)	LONDON	October 1, 1915	5
41	AMERICA AND ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	October 4, 1915	7
42	ARMENIAN MASSACRES AMERICAN THREAT TO TURKEY (A)	NEW YORK	October 6, 1915	8
43	ARMENIAN MASSACRES A FRIGHTFUL TOLL (A)	LONDON	October 8, 1915	5
44	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES STRONG APPEAL TO AMERICA (A)	LONDON COPENHAGEN	October 11, 1915	5
45	TO CHECK THE BARBARITIES (A)	LONDON	October 12, 1915	5
46	SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS AMERICA UNHEADED (A)	WASHINGTON ROME	October 14, 1915	5
47	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES (A)	LONDON	October 16, 1915	10
48	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)	LONDON	October 18, 1915	8
49	ARMENIANS ARMING (A)	PETROGRAD	October 20, 1915	7
50	TURKISH ACCUSATIONS (A)	WASHINGTON	October 23, 1915	10
51	"UNDESIRABLE ALIENS" (A)	LONDON	October 26, 1915	5
52	HORROR ON HORROR ATROCITIES AGAINST ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	November 29, 1915	5
53	WIPING OUT THE ARMENIANS MILLION SUPPOSED PERISHED (A)	LONDON	December 16, 1915	5
54	CHRISTIANS IN DISTRESS A THRILLING STORY (A)	LONDON	December 21, 1915	5
55	DAY OF INTERCESSION (A, REF)		January 4, 1916	5
56	DESTRUCTION OF PEASANTRY (A)	LONDON	January 17, 1916	5
57	MURDERING A PEOPLE (A)	EDITORIAL	February 12, 1916	8
58	UNHAPPY ARMENIANS WIPING OUT REMNANT (A)	GENEVA	February 12, 1916	9
59	TURKEY AND THE WAR (A, REF)	EDITORIAL	February 21, 1916	4
60	TURKS ATTEMPTS RALLY (A)	PETROGRAD	February 21, 1916	5

61	THREAT FROM AMERICA (A)		February 21, 1916	5
62	TAMING THE TURK (A, REF)	EDITORIAL	February 22, 1916	4
63	RUSSIANS' BRILLANT SUCCESS (A, REF)	PETROGRAD	February 22, 1916	5
64	SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS (A)	PETROGRAD	March 10, 1916	5
65	MILLION ARMENIANS KILLED (A)	AMSTERDAM	April 17, 1916	5
66	LITTLE HUMAN TARGETS (A)	PETROGRAD	May 15, 1916	5
67	ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)	PETROGRAD	May 23, 1916	5
68	ARMENIANS - TWO MILLIONS KILLED (A)	PARIS	June 23, 1916	6
69	GERMANS AND ARMENIANS (A)	COPENHAGEN	July 8, 1916	9
70	FURTHER TURKISH HORRORS (A)	BERNE-PARIS	July 19, 1916	7
71	DESTROYING A NATION (A)	PARIS	July 22, 1916	9
72	THE WAR (A)	EDITORIAL	July 28, 1916	4
73	ARMENIA - ITS IMPORTANCE TO RUSSIA (A)		July 28, 1916	7
74	ARMENIANS DRIVEN TO CANNIBALISM (A)	NEW YORK	August 21, 1916	6
75	ARMENIAN MASSACRES EVEN GERMANS SHOCKED (A)	AMSTERDAM	August 25, 1916	7
76	TURKS AND GERMANS ENCOURAGING THE SOLDIERS (A)	LONDON	September 7, 1916	5
77	STARVING ARMENIANS (A)	NEW YORK	September 12, 1916	5
78	ARMENIAN HORRORS GERMANY IMPEACHED BY GERMANS (A)	NEW YORK	September 21, 1916	5
79	AID FOR THE ARMENIANS (A)	WASHINGTON	October 5, 1916	6
80	ARMENIAN REFUGEES (A)	LONDON	October 27, 1916	10
81	THE GUILDHALL SPEECHES (A, REF)		November 11, 1916	8
82	ARMENIAN REFUGEES DESTITUTE (A)	NEW YORK	November 30, 1916	5
83	RACE EXTERMINATION THE BARBAROUS TURK (A)		January 2, 1917	5
84	FAMINE IN TURKISH ARMENIA (A)	PETROGRAD	January 25, 1917	5
85	ARMENIAN MASSACRES 60,000 DEAD AT ONE SPOT (A)	PARIS	February 19, 1917	5
86	THE TERRIBLE TURK WIPING OUT ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	February 27, 1917	5
87	ARMENIAN HORRORS THE UNSPEAKABLE TURK (A)	LONDON	June 22, 1917	6
88	TURKS AND TEUTONS (A, REF)	EDITORIAL	January 14, 1918	6
89	ABDUL THE DAMNED (A, REF)	EDITORIAL	February 13, 1918	6
90	MORE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES (A)	EDITORIAL	March 6, 1918	6
91	ANOTHER ARMENIAN MASSACRE (A)	NEW YORK	March 6, 1918	6
92	ARMENIANS CRUCIFIED (A)	PETROGRAD	March 12, 1918	5
93	WOMEN SLAVES IN RUSSIA (REL)	NEW YORK	March 21, 1918	7
94	ERZERUM MASSACRE (A)	ROME	April 6, 1918	5
95	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS (A)	PETROGRAD	April 15, 1918	5
96	TERRIBLE MASSACRE (A)	LONDON	June 10, 1918	5
97	ARMENIANS SIGNED PEACE (A)	BOSTON	August 19, 1918	6
98	MORE DEBITS TO TURKEY (CH)	NEW YORK	September 2, 1918	18

99	PERSIAN CHRISTIANS SLAIN (CH)	WASHINGTON	October 11, 1918	8
100	THE CRUMBLING ALLIANCE (A, REF)	EDITORIAL	October 31, 1918	4
101	THE BARBAROUS TURK (A)	STOCKHOLM	November 4, 1918	5
102	TURKEY UNDER ABSOLUTE CONTROL (A)	LONDON	November 21, 1918	5
103	TURKS' FLIGHT TO BERLIN (A)	COPENHAGEN	November 26, 1918	6
104	GERMANY A SANCTURARY (A)	ROTTERDAM	November 27, 1918	7
105	THE ARMENIAN HORRORS (A)	PARIS	January 6, 1919	8
106	DEFEAT NOT REALISED BELLICOSE INTERIOR FORCES (A),(G)	LONDON	January 27, 1919	6
107	ALLEGED TURKISH BARBARITIES (A),(G)		February 10, 1919	5
108	ARMENIAN PERSECUTOR'S FATE (A)	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	February 17, 1919	5
109	RINGING MURDERERS TO TRIAL (A)	LONDON	February 25, 1919	5
110	ARMENIANS PERSECUTED (A)	LONDON	March 20, 1919	8
111	ARMENIANS AT DEATH'S DOOR (A)	PARIS	March 31, 1919	6
112	TURKEY IN REVOLUTION (A)	LONDON	April 19, 1919	7
113	CHARGES AGAINST TURKISH LEADERS (REL)	LONDON	April 24, 1919	8
114	ARMENIANS BEING STARVED (A)	NEW YORK	April 25, 1919	8
115	TURKISH TROUBLES (REL)	LONDON	May 31, 1919	7
116	TURKISH PROTESTS AMERICAN EXPLANATION (A)	WASHINGTON	August 29, 1919	8
117	THE WARNING TO TURKEY (A)	WASHINGTON	August 30, 1919	10
118	VON SANDERS TO BE TRIED (A)	LONDON	September 1, 1919	8
119	A WARNING TO TURKEY (CH)	ATHENS	September 12, 1919	6
120	BRITAIN AND THE MIDDLE EAST (A, REF)	EDITORIAL	February 17, 1920	6
121	EUROPE'S SICK MAN (A)	EDITORIAL	February 19, 1920	6
122	MORE ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)	ATHENS WASHINGTON	February 19, 1920	7
123	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)	LONDON	February 27, 1920	7
124	CONSTANTINOPLE CESSPOOL RETURN OF THE TURK (REF)		February 28, 1920	11
125	PEACE CONFERENCE AND ARMENIA (A)	LONDON	March 1, 1920	6
126	THE TERRIBLE TURK (A) FIVE THOUSAND ARMENIANS MASSACRED		March 3, 1920	10
127	DEALING WITH THE TURK (REF) ALLIES IN SERIOUS CONSULTATION	LONDON	March 8, 1920	7
128	TURKEY AND ARMENIANS PROMPT MEASURES TAKEN (A)	LONDON	March 10, 1920	6
129	FUTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE PRESIDENT WILSON'S WARNING (REF)	LONDON	March 12, 1920	8
130	GREAT TURKISH CRISIS CONSTANTINOPLE TO BE OCCUPIED (REF)	LONDON	March 13, 1920	10
131	DEBATE IN HOUSE OF LORDS (A)	LONDON	March 13, 1920	10
132	THE PEACE OF ASIA VAST AND COMPLEX PROBLEMS (A)	LONDON	March 15, 1920	7
133	DARDANELLES OMENS TURKISH RISING PREDICTED (CH)	LONDON	March 16, 1920	8

134	THE TURKEY TROT (REF) LLOYD GEORGE FIRM AND OUTSPOKEN	LONDON	March 23, 1920	8
135	ALLEGED BOLSHEVISM AT BAKU (A), (T)	LONDON	May 3, 1920	7
136	THE BARBAROUS TURK OUTRAGES AGAINST CHRISTIANS (CH)	ATHENS	September 8, 1920	7
137	THE BRUTAL TURK MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	November 3, 1920	7
138	GEORGIAN REPUBLIC IMPERILLED (A)	PARIS	November 22, 1920	7
139	AN ARMENIAN'S REVENGE TALAAAT PASHA SLAIN (A)	APA	March 17, 1921	7
140	THE AVENGER OF BLOOD TALAAAT TRACKED FOR 10 YEARS (A)	APA	March 18, 1921	7
141	ARMENIAN HORRORS TERRIBLE STORIES REVIVED (A)	LONDON	June 6, 1921	7
142	ARMENIAN'S REVENGE FOR TURKISH MASSACRE: MINISTER MURDERED (A)	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	October 11, 1921	6
143	TURKISH ATROCITIES STARVING REFUGEES (N)	ATHENS	November 25, 1921	6
144	TURKISH PREMIER SLAIN (REL)	ROME	December 8, 1921	5
145	ARMENIAN VENDETTA TURK SHOT IN BERLIN (A)	BERLIN	April 20, 1922	8
146	THE TERRIBLE TURK LATE TALAAAT PASHA'S SAVAGERY "EXTERMINATE ALL ARMENIANS" (A)	LONDON	March 30, 1922	7
147	TURKISH ATROCITIES AMERICA JOINING IN ENQUIRY (A), (G)	NEW YORK	June 5, 1922	7
148	STILL THE TURK (A), (G) MURDERS OF CHRISTIANS PROCEEDING	LONDON	June 15, 1922	7
149	TURKISH MASSACRES INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION (REF)	LONDON	June 16, 1922	7
150	GEN. DJEMAL PASHA RUMOURED ASSASSINATION (REL)	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	July 27, 1922	7
151	EASTERN EMBROILMENTS (A), (G), REF)	EDITORIAL	September 14, 1922	10
152	COL. REPINGTON'S WARNING (A), (G)	LONDON	September 14, 1922	11
153	EXECUTIONS IN SMYRNA (A), (G)	LONDON	September 15, 1922	11
154	DESOLATION AND DEATH AT SMYRNA (A), (G)	LONDON	September 16, 1922	10
155	SHATTERED TREATY OF SEVRES (A), (CH)		September 18, 1922	7
156	ARROGANT ARMISTICE TERMS FULL REPARATIONS DEMANDED (A), (G)	PARIS	September 18, 1922	7
157	SMYRNA CITY DESTROYED MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	ATHENS	September 18, 1922	7
158	BRITAIN AND THE EASTERN QUESTION (A), (CH)	EDITORIAL	September 19, 1922	6
159	SMYRNA'S TRAGEDY SCENES "BEGGAR DESCRIPTION" (A), (G)	ATHENS	September 19, 1922	7
160	AUSTRALIA AND THE NEAR EAST CRISIS (CH)	EDITORIAL	September 20, 1922	6
161	(1) NEAR EAST RELIEF (RFG)	GENEVA	September 21, 1922	7

162	CHRISTIANS FLEEING FROM CONSTANTINOPLE (CH), (G)	CONSTAN- TINOPLE	September 21, 1922	7
163	CHRISTIANS AS PRISONERS (RFG)	LONDON	September 22, 1922	7
164	THE ISSUE WITH THE TURKS (A), (G)	EDITORIAL	September 25, 1922	6
165	MURDER OF ARMENIANS AN APPEAL FOR HELP (A)	LONDON	September 25, 1922	7
166	IN TURKISH HANDS A WOMAN'S IDEAL (A)		September 26, 1922	7
167	KEMAL AND THE REFUGEES (RFG)	GENEVA	September 27, 1922	8
168	LEAGUE HELP FOR REFUGEES 200,000 IN DISTRESS (RFG)	GENEVA	September 27, 1922	8
169	THE EUROPEAN IMBROGLIO (REF)		September 28, 1922	6
170	ARMENIAN AVENGERS (A)	PARIS	September 29, 1922	7
171	(1) THE FLIGHT FROM SMYRNA (2) EFFORTS TO END OUTRAGES (REL)	PARIS WASHINGTON	October 3, 1922	7
172	CHRISTIANS ARRESTED PROTEST BY ALLIES (CH)	LONDON	October 11, 1922	7
173	NEAR EAST RELIEF AMERICA ACTIVE (RFG)	WASHINGTON	October 11, 1922	7
174	RETURN OF THE TURK (A), (G)	EDITORIAL	October 12, 1922	6
175	FEEDING SMYRNA REFUGEES (RFG)	LONDON	October 12, 1922	7
176	PLIGHT OF CHRISTIAN REFUGEES NEARLY A MILLION DESTITUTE (RFG)	LONDON	October 14, 1922	9
177	MR LLOYD GEORGE'S DEFENCE (A), (G), (REF)	EDITORIAL	October 16, 1922	6
178	INHERITANCE OF TROUBLE MR LLOYD GEORGE'S DEFENCE (RFG)		October 16, 1922	7
179	TURKS AND ARMENIANS (A)	EDITORIAL	November 4, 1922	6
180	THE HORROR'S OF SMYRNA TURKS OUTDO THE GREEKS APPALLING SCENES (A), (G)		November 11, 1922	12
181	TURKISH SITUATION "STILL VERY GRAVE" (CH)	PARIS	November 14, 1922	6
182	ANATOLIAN FLIGHT TERRORS OF THE TREK (A), (G)	ATHENS	November 15, 1922	10
183	"WILL SHOCK THE WORLD" GREAT TREK OF CHRISTIANS THOUSANDS MAY PERISH (CH)	LONDON	November 30, 1922	7
184	KEMAL AND THE CHRISTIANS THE TRAGEDY OF ASIA MINOR (A), (G)		December 6, 1922	10
185	(1) "IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY" POPE AND CHRISTIANS (CH) (2) DETERMINED ACTION TAKEN	LONDON	December 7, 1922	9
186	(1) REFUGEES HELD UP (CH) (2) ANGORA AND THE CHRISTIANS A TURKISH DENIAL (CH)	LONDON LAUSANNE	December 8, 1922	11
187	TURKS AND CHRISTIANS CURZON'S STRAIGHT TALK THREAT TO LEAVE LAUSANNE (CH)	LAUSANNE	December 15, 1922	9
188	FAMINE STRICKEN PEOPLES CARLE ADVICES (A), (G), (RFG)		December 30, 1922	9

189	TURKS AND ARMENIANS (A)	EDITORIAL	January 4, 1923	6
190	TURKS AND ARMENIANS AN ANGRY DELEGATE (A)	LAUSANNE	January 8, 1923	7
191	ARMENIAN IMMIGRANTS A UNITED STATES BILL (A)	WASHINGTON	January 11, 1923	7
192	TREATING WITH THE TURKS DEALING WITH CHRITIANS (CH)	LAUSANNE	January 13, 1923	8
193	ARMENIANS FOR AMERICA (A)	WASHINGTON	January 15, 1923	8
194	TURKISH AFFAIRES BRITISH OFFICER MURDERED CHRISTIANS HANGED (CH)	CONSTAN- TINOPE	January 16, 1923	9
195	CHRISTIAN ESCAPEES EXECUTED (CH)	CONSTAN- TINOPE	January 18, 1923	8
196	GENERAL CABLES (A) UNITED STATES AND ARMENIAN MIGRANTS	NEW YORK	January 25, 1923	7
197	FLEEING ARMENIANS MOTION FOR AMERICAN HELP (A)	WASHINGTON	February 1, 1923	7
198	AMERICAN IMMIGRATION ADMISSION OF ARMENIANS (A)	WASHINGTON	February 7, 1923	8
199	SMYRNA REFUGEES (RFG) LABOUR DISAPPROVAL OF EXPENDITURE		February 28, 1923	9
200	INFERNO OF THE EAST (A), (G) WHAT A BISHOP SAW - A MOVING STORY		March 15, 1923	10
201	DRIVE OF ARMENIANS (A) REPORTED ACTION BY TURKISH TROOPS	LONDON	August 18, 1923	17



## 1.6 *The Sydney Morning Herald*

<b>THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD 1915 - 1923 TITLES OF ARTICLES ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	THE TURKS AT ERZERUM PLIGHT OF CHRISTIANS (A), (G)	PETROGRAD	December 15, 1914	9
2	KURDISH OUTRAGES (A)	PETROGRAD	December 26, 1914	5
3	TURKEY - RUSSIAN PROGRESS ENEM'S HEAVY LOSSES (A)	PETROGRAD	December 31, 1914	7
4	NOT A HOLY WAR CHRISTIAN AGAINST CHRISTIAN (CH)	LONDON	January 12, 1915	9
5	TURKEY IN ASIA ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)	PETROGRAD	January 14, 1915	9
6	TURKS IN PERSIA - BRAVE DEFENDERS (CH)		January 15, 1915	7
7	CHRISTIANS MASSACRED (CH)	ATHENS	January 23, 1915	9
8	ARMENIAN MASSACRES KURDISH SHEIKH JOINS RUSSIA (A)		January 30, 1915	15
9	THE TURKS "MASSACRE NON-MUSLIMS" (CH)		February 22, 1915	9
10	THE TURKS WOMEN MASSACRED (A)	PETROGRAD	February 24, 1915	11
11	CHRISTIANS MASSACRED (CH)		March 23, 1915	9
12	ARMENIAN RISING MASSACRES BY TURKS (A)	PETROGRAD	May 11, 1915	9
13	TURKISH ATROCITIES MINISTER CRUCIFIED (A), (CH)	LONDON	May 12, 1915	11
14	IN BELGIUM - GERMAN INHUMANITY (REF)		May 13, 1915	9
15	ARMENIANS MASSACRES BY TURKS (A)	LONDON	May 19, 1915	11
16	ARMENIA - TURKISH MASSACRES (A)	PARIS	May 24, 1915	8
17	ARMENIA TURKISH MASSACRES (A)		May 25, 1915	9
18	CONSTANTINOPLE-ARMENIANS EXECUTED (A)	AMSTERDAM	June 21, 1915	9
19	ANARCHY IN CONSTANTINOPLE (A)	ROME	July 21, 1915	11
20	TURKISH ATROCITIES (A)	PETROGRAD	July 24, 1915	13
21	ASIATIC TURKEY MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)		July 30, 1915	8
22	SYRIA - APPALLING SITUATION (CH)		August 2, 1916	11
23	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A), (G)	ATHENS	August 3, 1915	7
24	ADVANCE OF PEACE (A)		August 5, 1915	7
25	TURKEY MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS (A), (CH), (G)	ATHENS	August 7, 1915	14

26	BALKAN SITUATION (A)		August 21, 1915	13
27	SEA OF MARMORA RAILWAY BRIDGE DESTROYED (A), (G)	ATHENS	September 6, 1915	9
28	MISCELLANOUS ITEMS (A)	LONDON	September 10, 1915	7
29	ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)		September 11, 1915	17
30	THE BALKANS - BULGARIA'S ATTITUDE (A)	NEW YORK	September 13, 1915	9
31	REIGN OF TERROR IN ARMENIA 9000 WOMEN AND CHILDREN SHOT (A)		September 18, 1915	10
32	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)		September 22, 1915	11
33	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (1) LORD BRYCE'S APPEAL (2) RESCUED BY FRENCH (A)		September 23, 1915	9
34	ARMENIAN MASSACRES DESTROYING A NATION (A)		September 24, 1915	9
35	LIFE IN CONSTANTINOPLE (A)		September 25, 1915	17
36	THE ARMENIANS DREADFUL MASSACRES (A)		September 27, 1915	9
37	THE ARMENIANS DREADFUL MASSACRES -BY THE TURKS LITTERED WITH CORPSES (A)	LONDON	September 28, 1915	9
38	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES (A)		September 29, 1915	11
39	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES (A)		October 1, 1915	9
40	THE ARMENIANS - UNITED STATES OFFER (A)	LONDON	October 4, 1915	7
41	ARMENIAN MASSACRES UNITED STATES ACTION (A)	WASHING- TON	October 6, 1915	11
42	ARMENIA - A TURKISH SHAMBLE QUESTION IN LORDS (A)	LONDON	October 8, 1915	9
43	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (1) PROTEST FROM DENMARK (2) WHAT HAS GERMANY DONE? (A)	LONDON	October 11, 1915	9
44	ARMENIAN MASSACRES MR BALFOUR'S SUGGESTION (A)	LONDON	October 11, 1915	9
45	INDIGNATION IN AMERICA (A)	NEW YORK	October 11, 1915	9
46	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (1) HORROR AND INDIGNATION (2) PROTEST FROM THE POPE (A)	LONDON	October 14, 1915	9
47	THE ARMENIANS - TO FIGHT WITH ALLIES (A)	PETERS- BOURG	October 20, 1915	11
48	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)	LONDON	October 16, 1915	17
49	WORST IN HISTORY - INTERNATIONAL CRIMES BELGIUM AND ARMENIA (A)	LONDON	October 18, 1915	9
50	ARMENIANS - OVER A MILLION EXILED (A)	WASHING- TON	October 23, 1915	17
51	THE ARMENIANS - BUTCHERED BY TURKS LORD BRYCE'S INQUIRIES (A)	LONDON	November 29, 1915	9
52	ARMENIAN'S PLIGHT TYPHUS STRICKEN REFUGEES (A)		December 13, 1915	9
53	THE ARMENIANS - AWFUL SUFFERINGS (A)	LONDON	December 16, 1915	9
54	ARMENIANS - ESCAPE FROM TURKS PASTOR'S THRILLING ACCOUNT (A)	LONDON	December 21, 1915	9

55	DAY OF INTERCESSION CHURCH SERVICES (A, REF)		January 4, 1916	9
56	THE ARMENIANS WHOLESALE MASSACRE (A)		January 17, 1916	9
57	THE ARMENIANS MASSACRES RECOMMENCED (A)		February 12, 1916	17
58	THE RUSSIAN SUCCESS (A, REF)	EDITORIAL	February 18, 1916	6
59	ARMENIAN MASSACRES AMERICAN ATTITUDE (A)	WASHINGTON	February 22, 1916	7
60	KEY TO ARMENIA (A)		February 22, 1916	7
61	ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)		March 10, 1916	9
62	ARMENIANS - A MILLION MURDERED (A)	AMSTERDAM	April 17, 1916	9
63	TREBIZOND (A) ARMENIANS MASSACRED BY THE TURKS	PETROGRAD	May 15, 1916	9
64	ARMENIANS - MASSACRED BY TURKS (A)	LONDON	May 23, 1916	7
65	ARMENIANS - WHOLESALE MASSACRES (A)	LONDON	June 23, 1916	7
66	THE ARMENIANS GERMAN PROFESSORS' APPEAL (A)	LONDON	July 8, 1916	14
67	THE RUSSIANS IN ASIA (A, REF)	EDITORIAL	July 18, 1916	8
68	THE ARMENIANS - TURKISH MASSACRES (A)	LONDON	July 19, 1916	11
69	THE ARMENIANS - DETAILS OF MASSACRES DIRECTED BY GERMANS (A)	PARIS	July 22, 1916	13
70	GERMAN COMPLICITY IN ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)		July 22, 1916	14
71	THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE (A, REF)	EDITORIAL	July 28, 1916	6
72	THE ARMENIANS HORRIBLE SUFFERINGS (A)	NEW YORK	August 21, 1916	7
73	TURKEY'S FEARS INFLUENCE OF PRO-GERMANS (A)		September 7, 1916	7
74	ARMENIAN HORRORS - 30,000 STARVING MISSIONARY'S DESCRIPTION (A)	NEW YORK	September 12, 1916	7
75	ARMENIAN HORRORS INCREDIBLE TURKISH ATROCITIES ALLOWED BY TEUTONS (A)	NEW YORK	September 21, 1916	9
76	MASSACRES BY TURKS (A)		October 4, 1916	11
77	TO AID ARMENIANS (A)	WASHINGTON	October 5, 1916	7
78	ARMENIANS ESCAPE (A)	LONDON	October 27, 1916	8
79	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	November 11, 1916	13
80	TURKEY'S CRIMES - OUTRAGE ON ARMENIANS (A)	NEW YORK	November 30, 1916	7
81	ARMENIAN HORRORS SYSTEMATIC MASSACRE (A)	LONDON	January 2, 1917	7
82	FAMINE IN ARMENIA (A)	PETROGRAD	January 25, 1917	9
83	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)	LONDON	February 27, 1917	7
84	THE POSITION OF TURKEY (A, REF)	EDITORIAL	March 14, 1917	10
85	TURKS DESTROY ARABS (A)		April 9, 1917	7
86	PALESTINE JEWS PERSECUTED (CH)	NEW YORK	May 9, 1917	11

87	TURKEY AND THE WAR (REF)	EDITORIAL	December 15, 1917	12
88	REPORTED MASSACRE (A)	NEW YORK	March 5, 1918	7
89	ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)	PETROGRAD	March 12, 1918	7
90	ARMENIA (A)		April 6, 1918	13
91	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS ATROCITIES BY TURKS (A)		April 15, 1918	7
92	CHRISTIANS MASSACRED (CH)		September 2, 1918	7
93	AMERICAN OFFICIAL NEWS (CH)		September 13, 1918	7
94	TURKEY AND GERMANY (A, REF)	EDITORIAL	September 25, 1918	10
95	AUSTRIA AND TURKEY (A, REF)	EDITORIAL	October 31, 1918	6
96	REFERENCES IN THE CHURCHES (A, REF)		November 4, 1918	6
97	MASSACRE AT BAKU A TERRIBLE STORY (A), (T)	LONDON	November 4, 1918	7
98	POLICY IN TURKEY - ALLIE'S INTENTIONS (A)	LONDON	November 21, 1918	7
99	TURKISH ABSCONDERS (A)		November 26, 1918	7
100	FUGITIVES IN GERMANY (A)		November 27, 1918	11
101	TURKISH AGITATORS (A)		December 30, 1918	7
102	ARMENIA - TURKISH ATROCITIES (A)		January 6, 1919	7
103	TURKISH CRIMES (A), (G)		January 27, 1919	7
104	TURKS ARRESTED (A), (G)	LONDON	February 10, 1919	7
105	TURKISH TYRANT'S END (A)	LONDON	February 17, 1919	8
106	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)		February 25, 1919	7
107	THE TURK AGAIN SUBJECT RACES PERSECUTED (A), (G)		March 20, 1919	7
108	ARMENIA'S PLIGHT (A)		March 31, 1919	9
109	TURKEY IN REVOLT (A)		April 19, 1919	11
110	TURKISH PERIL MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS FEARED (CH)	LONDON	April 23, 1919	11
111	TURKEY - ABSCONDERS ON TRIAL (REF)		April 24, 1919	7
112	STARVED TO DEATH (A) TURKS EXTERMINATING THE ARMENIANS	NEW YORK	April 25, 1919	9
113	TURKISH WRONGDOERS (REL)		May 31, 1919	17
114	USA AND TURKEY ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)	WASHINGTON	August 29, 1919	9
115	GENERAL CABLE NEWS (A)	LONDON	August 30, 1919	17
116	VON SANDERS TO BE TRIED (A)	LONDON	September 1, 1919	7
117	AMERICA WARNS TURKEY (CH)		September 12, 1919	9
118	THE ARMENIANS DESTRUCTION THREATENED (A)	WASHINGTON	February 19, 1920	7
119	CONSTANTINOPLE - JUBILANT TURKS "A SECOND CONQUEST" (A)	LONDON	February 27, 1920	7
120	ARMENIA - ALLIES TAKING MEASURES (A)	LONDON	March 1, 1920	7
121	THE RUTHLESS TURK ARMENIANS MASSACRED (A)	WASHINGTON	March 3, 1920	11
122	TURKISH CRISES - FALL OF CABINET ARMENIAN MASSACRES (A)	LONDON	March 8, 1920	7

123	TURKEY - ALLIES DRASTIC ACTION (A)	LONDON	March 10, 1920	11
124	TROOPS IN CONSTANTINOPLE (A)	LONDON	March 11, 1920	7
125	TURKEY - ANXIOUS OUTLOOK (A)	LONDON	March 13, 1920	13
126	TURKEY - BRITISH POLICY OUTLINED (A)	LONDON	March 15, 1920	7
127	TURKEY'S FUTURE - AMERICAN VIEW (A)	WASHINGTON	April 1, 1920	9
128	A TRAGEDY OF TRAGEDIES (A, REL)	EDITORIAL	April 6, 1920	6
129	BAKU COMMUNE - A MOSCOW REPORT (A)	LONDON	May 3, 1920	7
130	TURKISH TREATY (A, REL)	EDITORIAL	May 14, 1920	8
131	TURKISH ATROCITIES PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS (CH)	LONDON	September 8, 1920	11
132	THE TURK AGAIN MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (A)	LONDON	November 3, 1920	11
133	CAUCASIA TURKS TAKE KARS AND ERIVAN (A)	LONDON	November 22, 1920	9
134	PROBLEMS OF THE LEAGUE (A, REL)	EDITORIAL	November 26, 1920	8
135	ARMENIAN'S REVENGE TALAAT PASHA SHOT (A)	LONDON	March 17, 1921	9
136	AFTER TEN YEARS ARMENIAN'S VENGEANCE (A)	LONDON	March 18, 1921	9
137	MILLION PERISH WHAT ARMENIA SUFFERED (A)	LONDON	June 6, 1921	7
138	GENERAL CABLE NEWS (REL)	LONDON	December 8, 1921	9
139	GENERAL CABLE NEWS (A)		April 20, 1922	9
140	TURKISH SAVAGERY MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS BARBAROUS CONDUCT (A)	LONDON	May 30, 1922	7
141	TURKISH BARBARITIES MASSACRES IN ASIA MINOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN VICTIMS (CH)	LONDON	June 15, 1922	7
142	GREECE AND TURKEY (A, REF)	EDITORIAL	August 2, 1922	10
143	A TRAGEDY (A)	EDITORIAL	August 12, 1922	12
144	FEAR OF MASSACRES (CH)		September 12, 1922	9
145	A DISTURBING OUTLOOK (CH)	EDITORIAL	September 13, 1922	10
146	CHRISTIANS IN DANGER (CH)		September 13, 1922	11
147	OCCUPATION OF SMYRNA (A), (G)		September 14, 1922	7
148	AMBITIOUS TURKEY - ALLIES' PROBLEMS KEMALIST LEADER'S OPINION (A), (G), (CH)	LONDON	September 15, 1922	9
149	GREAT FIRE IN SMYRNA (A), (G)	LONDON	September 16, 1922	13
150	SMYRNA ABLAZE STORIES OF MASSACRE (A), (G)		September 18, 1922	9
151	RELIEF FOR REFUGEES (RFG)	WASHINGTON	September 18, 1922	9
152	PLIGHT OF SMYRNA OUTBREAK OF PLAGUE (A), (G)	LONDON	September 19, 1922	9
153	RUSSIAN REFUGEES (A)		September 21, 1922	9
154	REFUGEES (CH)	WASHINGTON	September 22, 1922	9

155	(1) AN AMERICAN'S VIEW (CH) REFUGEES (RFG)		September 23, 1922	13
156	SECOND BLUNDER OF THE WAR (REF)	NEW YORK	September 23, 1922	13
157	CHURCHES'S APPEAL (A), (CH)	NEW YORK	September 25, 1922	9
158	SMYRNA REFUGEES (RFG)		September 26, 1922	9
159	SMYRNA REFUGEES (RFG)		September 28, 1922	9
160	REFUGEES FROM SMYRNA (RFG)		October 3, 1922	7
161	AMERICA AND THE NEAR EAST (CH), (REF)	EDITORIAL	October 4, 1922	12
162	LATE CABLE NEWS EUROPE'S DANGER POINT (CH)	LONDON	October 5, 1922	9
163	A CORRESPONDENT'S REPORT (CH)		October 11, 1922	13
164	(1) TURKS AND CHRISTIANS (2) SUFFERINGS OF REFUGEES (CH)	LONDON	October 14, 1922	13
165	LATE CABLE NEWS FLIGHT FROM ASIA MINOR TERRIBLE SCENES (A), (G)	LONDON	November 15, 1922	13
166	THE NEAR EAST - GRAVE SITUATION (CH)	LONDON	November 14, 1922	9
167	TREK FROM ANATOLIA (CH)		November 30, 1922	9
168	VATICAN'S APPEAL (CH)		December 7, 1922	9
169	PLIGHT OF REFUGEES (CH)		December 8, 1922	9
170	LAUSANNE CONFERENCE - WARNING TO TURK LASTING SECURITY OF MINORITIES (CH)	LONDON	December 15, 1922	11
171	LAUSANNE CONFERENCE (A), (G)	EDITORIAL	December 20, 1922	10
172	RUSSIA - TWELVE MILLION MAY PERISH DR SMITH'S LECTURE (A, REF)		December 21, 1922	10
173	GENERAL CABLE NEWS (A)	LONDON	January 11, 1923	9
174	GENERAL CABLE NEWS (A), (G)	LONDON	January 15, 1923	9
175	THE NEAR EAST EXECUTIONS REPORTED (CH)	LONDON	January 18, 1923	9
176	GENERAL CABLE NEWS (A)	WASHING- TON	January 25, 1923	9
177	GENERAL CABLE NEWS (A)	NEW YORK	February 1, 1923	9
178	UNITED STATES JAPANESE AND CHINESE EXCLUDED (A)	WASHING- TON	February 7, 1923	13
179	IMPORTANCE OF TURKEY (A, REF)	EDITORIAL	May 29, 1923	8
180	THE ARMENIANS -EXPELLED FROM HOMES (A)	LONDON	August 18, 1923	13

### 1.7 Sample of articles on the Armenian Genocide that appeared in the Australian press

- *REG* 12 May 1915
- *MCY* 24 July 1915
- *AGE* 11 September 1915
- *MCY* 3 August 1915
- *AGE* 27 September 1915
- *REG* 23 September 1915
- *MCY* 12 October 1915
- *SMH* 14 October 1915
- *MCY* 29 November 1915
- *ARG* 16 December 1915
- *BC* 17 December 1915
- *BC* 15 May 1916
- *BC* 25 August 1916
- *ARG* 23 February 1916
- *ARG* 25 August 1916
- *REG* 2 January 1917
- *BC* 30 May 1922

NOTE: Please see print copy for  
'1.7 Sample of articles on the Armenian Genocide that appeared in the Australian press'.



## 2. Titles of articles of Friends of Armenia and Armenian Relief Fund

This section includes the titles of articles dedicated to relief efforts from Australia. I researched only *ARG* and *REG* for articles on Armenian relief. The titles in *SMHI* encountered by chance and was not the result of thorough research. Titles include donations to Armenian Relief Fund and advertisements for donations.

- *ARG*
- *REG*
- *SMH*

## 2.1 *The Argus*

<b>THE ARGUS 1915 – 1923 RELIEF EFFORTS FROM AUSTRALIA</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	ARMENIA'S MARTYRDOM TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARGUS	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 9, 1915	5
2	EDITORIAL	<i>ARGUS</i>	February 23, 1916	8
3	OPPRESSED NATIONS A TRAGIC TRINITY PLIGHT OF ARMENIA	<i>ARGUS</i>	February 24, 1916	5
4	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	April 2, 1917	7
5	ARMENIA SUNDAY APPEAL FOR DISTRESSED ARMENIA TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARGUS	<i>ARGUS</i>	April 21, 1917	16
6	ARMENIA SUNDAY	<i>ARGUS</i>	April 23, 1917	5
7	ARMENIAN APPEAL	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 5, 1917	12
8	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	September 13, 1917	8
9	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 5, 1917	8
10	ARMENIAN APPEAL	<i>ARGUS</i>	November. 9, 1917	4
11	SUFFERING ARMENIA AN APPEAL TO THE CHURCHES	<i>ARGUS</i>	January 22, 1918	4
12	(1) BAKU EVACUATED BY ALLIED FORCE ARMENIAN TREACHERY (to the editor) (2) POSITION OF ARMENIANS	<i>ARGUS</i>	September 21, 1918	19
13	ALLIES IN ARMENIA NO CHANGE IN POLICY	<i>ARGUS</i>	October 10, 1918	5
14	(1) EDITORIAL (2) ARMENIA TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARGUS	<i>ARGUS</i>	April 29, 1919	4
15	FRIENDS OF ARMENIA THE ARGUS LIST - APPEAL AT BALLARAT	<i>ARGUS</i>	April 30, 1919	8
16	FRIENDS OF ARMENIA THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 1, 1919	6
17	FRIENDS OF ARMENIA THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 2, 1919	6
18	FRIENDS OF ARMENIA THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 3, 1919	18
19	FRIENDS OF ARMENIA THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 5, 1919	6
20	FRIENDS OF ARMENIA THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 6, 1919	6
21	(1) FRIENDS OF ARMENIA THE ARGUS LIST (2) TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARGUS	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 7, 1919	8
22	FRIENDS OF ARMENIA THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 8, 1919	6

23	FRIENDS OF ARMENIA THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 9, 1919	6
24	FRIENDS OF ARMENIA THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 10, 1919	18
25	(1)FRIENDS OF ARMENIA THE ARGUS LIST (2) APPEAL AT BALLARAT	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 12, 1919	6
26	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 13, 1919	4
27	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 14, 1919	8
28	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 15, 1919	4
29	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 16, 1919	6
30	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 17, 1919	18
31	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 19, 1919	6
32	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 20, 1919	6
33	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 21, 1919	8
34	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 22, 1919	6
35	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 23, 1919	6
36	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 24, 1919	20
37	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 26, 1919	6
38	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 27, 1919	6
39	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 28, 1919	8
40	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 29, 1919	6
41	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 30, 1919	6
42	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	May 31, 1919	18
43	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 3, 1919	6
44	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 4, 1919	8
45	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 5, 1919	6
46	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 6, 1919	6
47	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 7, 1919	18
48	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 9, 1919	6

49	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 11, 1919	8
50	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 12, 1919	4
51	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 13, 1919	6
52	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA"* THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 14, 1919	18
53	ARMENIAN FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 17, 1919	6
54	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 18, 1919	8
55	(1)"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST (2) TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARGUS	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 19, 1919	6
56	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 20, 1919	6
57	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 21, 1919	21
58	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 23, 1919	6
59	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 24, 1919	4
60	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 26, 1919	6
61	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	June 28, 1919	21
62	ARMENIAN FUND THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 1, 1919	4
63	ARMENIAN FUND THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 2, 1919	8
64	ARMENIAN FUND THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 4, 1919	6
65	ARMENIAN FUND THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 5, 1919	20
66	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 8, 1919	4
67	"FRIENDS OF ARMENIA" THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 9, 1919	8
68	ARMENIAN FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 10, 1919	6
69	ARMENIAN FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 11, 1919	6
70	ARMENIAN FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 12, 1919	18
71	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 15, 1919	5
72	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 21, 1919	6
73	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 23, 1919	8
74	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 24, 1919	6
75	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 25, 1919	6
76	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 26, 1919	18
77	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 29, 1919	4
78	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 30, 1919	8
79	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	August 5, 1919	4

80	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	August 8, 1919	6
81	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	August 9, 1919	18
82	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	August 13, 1919	8
83	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	August 19, 1919	4
84	FRIENDS OF ARMENIA FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	August 21, 1919	6
85	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	August 22, 1919	6
86	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	August 28, 1919	6
87	FRIENDS OF ARMENIA	<i>ARGUS</i>	September 4, 1919	6
88	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	September 5, 1919	6
89	COUNCIL OF CHURCHES	<i>ARGUS</i>	September 6, 1919	18
90	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	September 20, 1919	26
91	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	October 3, 1919	6
92	ARMENIAN RELEIF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	October 4, 1919	20
93	IRELAND AND ARMENIA TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARGUS	<i>ARGUS</i>	September 27, 1920	7
94	ARMENIAN RELIEF	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 3, 1922	7
95	PLIGHT OF ARMENIA	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 4, 1922	7
96	PLIGHT OF ARMENIA "APPEAL FOR HELP"	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 6, 1922	10
97	DISTRESSED ARMENIA SUPPORT FOR RELIEF WORK	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 8, 1922	20
98	RELIEF FOR ARMENIA	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 10, 1922	6
99	TRAGEDY OF ARMENIA AID FOR DISTRESSED PEOPLE SUGGESTED RELIEF SHIP	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 11, 1922	7
100	AID FOR ARMENIANS	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 12, 1922	10
101	ARMENIAN SUNDAY	<i>ARGUS</i>	JULY 20, 1922	6
102	PLIGHT OF ARMENIA DR WIRT'S SUCCESSFUL MISSION	<i>ARGUS</i>	August 19, 1922	20
103	RAGGED ARMENIANS CAST-OFF CLOTHING WANTED	<i>ARGUS</i>	August 24, 1922	6
104	STARVING ARMENIAN CHILDREN	<i>ARGUS</i>	August 26, 1922	18
105	ARMENIAN RELIEF VICTORIA'S FIRST CONTRIBUTION TO BE BLESSED BY ARCHBISHOP LEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	September 5, 1922	9
106	ARMENIAN RELIEF FLOUR FROM VICTORIA BLESSED BY ARCHBISHOP LEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	September 6, 1922	19
107	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES PROTEST FROM CHURCHES	<i>ARGUS</i>	September 19, 1922	7
108	AUSTRALIAN RELIEF FOR ARMENIANS	<i>ARGUS</i>	October 18, 1922	18
109	SMYRNA RELIEF - APPEAL FOR HELP TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARGUS	<i>ARGUS</i>	October 21, 1922	28
110	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	October 24, 1922	8
111	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	October 25, 1922	18
112	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	October 27, 1922	11
113	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	October 28, 1922	28

114	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	October 30, 1922	7
115	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	October 31, 1922	8
116	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 1, 1922	10
117	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 2, 1922	6
118	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 3, 1922	10
119	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 4, 1922	24
120	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 6, 1922	8
121	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 7, 1922	8
122	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 9, 1922	8
123	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 11, 1922	18
124	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 13, 1922	6
125	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 14, 1922	8
126	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 16, 1922	10
127	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 17, 1922	8
128	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 18, 1922	24
129	PLIGHT OF REFUGEES AUSTRALIAN RELIEF EFFORTS REPORT BY DR WIRT	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 20, 1922	9
130	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 22, 1922	18
131	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 23, 1922	8
132	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 24, 1922	8
133	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 25, 1922	26
134	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 28, 1922	8
135	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 29, 1922	18
136	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 30, 1922	8
137	FUGITIVES FROM THE TURKS (1) RELIEF FROM ANATOLIA (2) AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 2, 1922	28
138	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 4, 1922	9
139	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 5, 1922	8
140	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 6, 1922	18
141	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 8, 1922	10
142	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 11, 1922	8
143	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 12, 1922	8
144	STRICKEN EUROPE THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 14, 1922	10
145	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 15, 1922	10
146	STRICKEN EUROPE THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 16, 1922	30
147	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES STRICKEN EUROPE THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 18, 1922	14
148	STRICKEN EUROPE THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 19, 1922	10
149	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 19, 1922	11
150	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 21, 1922	10

151	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 22, 1922	8
152	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 23, 1922	8
153	(1) AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES (2) ARMENIAN RELIEF MEETING OF COMMITTEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 27, 1922	8
154	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES STRICKEN EUROPE THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 30, 1922	10
155	STRICKEN EUROPE THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	January 3, 1923	6
156	AID FOR CHARITIES THE ARGUS APPEALS	<i>ARGUS</i>	January 4, 1923	8
157	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES STRICKEN EUROPE THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	January 5, 1923	6
158	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	January 6, 1923	18
159	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	January 11, 1923	8
160	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	January 12, 1923	6
161	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	January 13, 1923	18
162	AID FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>ARGUS</i>	January 19, 1923	10
163	STRICKEN EUROPE THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	February 19, 1923	8
164	ARMENIAN RELIEF STORIES OF TRAGIC SUFFERING	<i>ARGUS</i>	February 19, 1923	13
165	ARMENIAN'S PLIGHT	<i>ARGUS</i>	February 20, 1923	10
166	STRICKEN EUROPE THE ARGUS LIST	<i>ARGUS</i>	March 9, 1923	8
167	STRICKEN EUROPE - THE ARGUS LIST - ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>ARGUS</i>	March 14, 1923	18
168	STRICKEN EUROPE - THE ARGUS LIST - ARMENIAN STARVING CHILDREN	<i>ARGUS</i>	March 16, 1923	9
169	STRICKEN EUROPE THE ARGUS LIST (1) ARMENIA, SAVE THE CHILDREN (2) SMYRNA RELIEF FUND)	<i>ARGUS</i>	April 10, 1923	8
170	STRICKEN EUROPE THE ARGUS LIST TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARGUS	<i>ARGUS</i>	April 13, 1923	8
171	ARMENIAN RELIEF TRAINING CHILDREN IN TRADES	<i>ARGUS</i>	July 21, 1923	30
172	ARMENIAN ORPHANS	<i>ARGUS</i>	August 9, 1923	11
173	SUFFERING IN ARMENIA APPEAL FOR AUSTRALIAN HELP	<i>ARGUS</i>	August 15, 1923	10
174	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND "BUNDLE DAY" ON DEC 1	<i>ARGUS</i>	November 21, 1923	11
175	ADVERTISEMENT	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 15, 1923	13
176	SAVE THE CHILDREN	<i>ARGUS</i>	December 26, 1923	8
177	STARVING CHILDREN SUFFERINGS IN MACEDONIA	<i>ARGUS</i>	January 8, 1924	10

## 2.2 *The Register*

<b>THE REGISTER 1915 – 1923 RELIEF EFFORTS FROM AUSTRALIA</b>				
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1	ARMENIAN NATION ALLIES UPHOLDING ITS RIGHTS	<i>REGISTER</i>	October 10, 1918	7
2	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 2, 1922	9
3	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 4, 1922	7
4	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 5, 1922	7
5	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 7, 1922	7
6	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 8, 1922	7
7	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 9, 1922	9
8	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 12, 1922	9
9	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 14, 1922	11
10	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 16, 1922	10
11	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 19, 1922	6
12	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 19, 1922	7
13	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES PROTEST FROM CHURCHES	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 19, 1922	8
14	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 20, 1922	7
15	ARMENIAN RELIEF	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 20, 1922	8
16	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 21, 1922	7
17	ARMENIAN RELIEF	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 22, 1922	6
18	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 22, 1922	7
19	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 23, 1922	9
20	ARMENIAN RELIEF THE PREMIER'S APPEAL	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 23, 1922	12
21	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 26, 1922	6
22	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 27, 1922	6
23	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 28, 1922	6
24	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 29, 1922	6
25	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	September 30, 1922	8
26	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	October 2, 1922	6
27	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	October 3, 1922	6
28	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	October 4, 1922	6
29	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	October 5, 1922	8
30	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	October 6, 1922	6
31	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	October 7, 1922	8
32	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	October 20, 1922	6
33	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	October 21, 1922	6
34	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	October 12, 1922	6



35	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	October 14, 1922	8
36	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	October 18, 1922	6
37	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	October 20, 1922	6
38	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	October 21, 1922	8
39	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	October 24, 1922	6
40	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	October 25, 1922	6
41	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	October 26, 1922	6
42	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	October 27, 1922	6
43	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	October 28, 1922	8
44	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	October 30, 1922	6
45	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	October 31, 1922	6
46	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 1, 1922	8
47	ARMENIAN RELIEF FIRST LOCAL SHIPMENT	REGISTER	November 1, 1922	11
48	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 2, 1922	6
49	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 3, 1922	6
50	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 4, 1922	8
51	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 6, 1922	12
52	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 7, 1922	6
53	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 8, 1922	6
54	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 9, 1922	7
55	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 10, 1922	6
56	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 11, 1922	8
57	SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND	REGISTER	November 11, 1922	11
58	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 14, 1922	6
59	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 15, 1922	6
60	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 16, 1922	10
61	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 17, 1922	6
62	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 18, 1922	8
63	NEAR EAST RELIEF AUSTRALIAN HELP ARRIVED	REGISTER	November 20, 1922	7
64	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 20, 1922	11
65	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 21, 1922	6
66	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 22, 1922	6
67	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND SAVE THE CHILDREN	REGISTER	November 23, 1922	6
68	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 24, 1922	6
69	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 25, 1922	13
70	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 28, 1922	6
71	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 29, 1922	10
72	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	November 30, 1922	6
73	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 1, 1922	6
74	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 6, 1922	9
75	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 7, 1922	13

76	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 8, 1922	8
77	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 9, 1922	12
78	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 13, 1922	12
79	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 15, 1922	9
80	NEAR EAST TRAGEDY APPALLING CONDITIONS IN ARMENIA	REGISTER	December 18, 1922	8
81	(1) XMAS APPEAL FOR ARMENIA, NEAR EAST AND RUSSIA (2) ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 19, 1922	5
82	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 20, 1922	11
83	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 21, 1922	6
84	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 22, 1922	11
85	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 23, 1922	12
86	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 25, 1922	8
87	30,000 BUSHELS WHEAT WANTED	REGISTER	December 25, 1922	11
88	SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND	REGISTER	December 27, 1922	6
89	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 28, 1922	6
90	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	December 30, 1922	8
91	FAMINE STRICKEN PEOPLES APPEAL BY LADY FORSTER	REGISTER	December 30, 1922	9
92	(1) SPECIAL ADVERTISEMENT AUSTRALASIAN ARMENIAN RELIEF (2) SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND (3) ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 4, 1923	6
93	SPECIAL ADVERTISEMENT AUSTRALASIAN ARMENAIN RELIEF	REGISTER	January 5, 1923	7
94	AUSTRALASIAN ARMENIAN RELIEF	REGISTER	January 6, 1923	8
95	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 6, 1923	11
96	RELIGIOUS NOTES	REGISTER	January 6, 1923	12
97	AUSTRALASIAN ARMENIAN RELIEF	REGISTER	January 8, 1923	6
98	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 10, 1923	6
99	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 11, 1923	6
100	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 12, 1923	6
101	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 13, 1923	8
102	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND REV. J E CRESWELL ENTERTAINED	REGISTER	January 13, 1923	10
103	THE NEAR EAST RELIEF MEASURES REVIEWED	REGISTER	January 13, 1923	14
104	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND & ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 16, 1923	6
105	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 17, 1923	6
106	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 18, 1923	6
107	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 19, 1923	6
108	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 20, 1923	8
109	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 22, 1923	6
110	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 24, 1923	6

111	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 25, 1923	6
112	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND SPECIAL ADVERTISEMENT/ARF	REGISTER	January 26, 1923	6
113	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 27, 1923	6
114	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 29, 1923	6
115	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	January 31, 1923	6
116	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 1, 1923	6
117	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 3, 1923	8
118	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 7, 1923	6
119	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 9, 1923	6
120	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 10, 1923	8
121	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 12, 1923	6
122	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 13, 1923	6
123	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 14, 1923	8
124	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND ARMENIAN RELIED FUND	REGISTER	February 17, 1923	8
125	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 17, 1923	8
126	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 19, 1923	8
127	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 20, 1923	6
128	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 21, 1923	6
129	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 22, 1923	8
130	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 23, 1923	8
131	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 24, 1923	13
132	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	February 28, 1923	8
133	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	March 1, 1923	8
134	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	March 2, 1923	12
135	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	March 3, 1923	8
136	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	March 7, 1923	8
137	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	March 9, 1923	8
138	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	March 10, 1923	9
139	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	March 14, 1923	11
140	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND OF AUSTRALASIA	REGISTER	March 16, 1923	8
141	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	March 16, 1923	11
142	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	March 17, 1923	8
143	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	March 22, 1923	6
144	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	March 24, 1923	11
145	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	March 27, 1923	8
146	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	March 28, 1923	6
147	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	March 29, 1923	8
148	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	April 5, 1923	8
149	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	April 6, 1923	8
150	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	April 7, 1923	8
151	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	REGISTER	April 10, 1923	6

152	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	April 11, 1923	8
153	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	April 17, 1923	8
154	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	April 18, 1923	10
155	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	April 19, 1923	8
156	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	April 20, 1923	8
157	THE NEAR EAST HORROR TO THE EDITOR OF THE REGISTER	<i>REGISTER</i>	April 20, 1923	9
158	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND	<i>REGISTER</i>	April 21, 1923	8

### 2.3 *The Sydney Morning Herald*

<b>THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD 1915 – 1923 RELIEF EFFORTS FROM AUSTRALIA</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	THE ARMENIANS - WHAT ALLIES PROMISE	LONDON	October 10, 1918	7
2	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND		December 13, 1918	6
3	TURKEY'S VICTIMS	EDITORIAL	December 14, 1918	12
4	TRAGEDY OF ARMENIA TURKISH MASSACRES		June 21, 1922	11
5	UNHAPPY ARMENIA		August 7, 1922	10
6	STARVING ARMENIA - PUBLIC APPEAL		August 9, 1922	12
7	ARMENIA - PROPOSED RELIEF SHIP LORD MAYOR'S APPEAL		August 11, 1922	8
8	ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND		October 13, 1922	12
9	RELIEF WORK AIS FOR CHRISTIAN REFUGEES	LONDON	November 20, 1922	9
10	STRICKEN EUROPE WORK OF RELIEF - SAVING THE CHILDREN		December 11, 1922	8
11	(1) NEAR EAST - NEED FOR RELIEF LADY FORSTER'S APPEAL (2) SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND		December 23, 1922	10
12	WOMEN'S COLUMN - ARMENIAN RELIEF		January 4, 1923	4
13	SAVING CHILDREN - WORLDWIDE EFFORT LOCAL COMMITTEE FORMED		February 13, 1923	9
14	WOMEN'S COLUMN - NEAR AND FAR		February 24, 1923	11
15	WOMEN'S COLUMN - NEAR AND FAR		March 24, 1923	11
16	WOMEN'S COLUMN - NEAR AND FAR		April 6, 1923	8
17	WOMEN'S COLUMN - NEAR AND FAR		April 10, 1923	5
18	WOMEN'S COLUMN - NEAR AND FAR		April 12, 1923	5
19	WOMEN'S COLUMN - NEAR AND FAR		May 8, 1923	5
20	WOMEN'S COLUMN - ARMENIAN RELIEF		June 11, 1923	4

### 3. Sample of advertisements and appeals for Australian help

- *ARG* 21 April 1917
- *ARG* 6 July 1922
- *SMH* 9 August 1922
- *SMH* 11 August 1922
- *REG* 20 September 1922
- *REG* 5 January 1923
- *REG* 8 January 1923
- *REG* 7 February 1923
- *REG* 16 March 1923
- *REG* 23 September 1923
- *ARG* 15 December 1923
- *ARG* 26 December 1923

NOTE: Please see print copy for  
'3. Sample of advertisements and appeals for Australian help'.

#### **4. Titles of articles that do not mention the word “Turk” or “Turkish”**

This section includes selected titles of articles from section 1 that do not include in their titles the word “Turk” or “Turkish.” If Australians had intended to engage in war propaganda against Turkey, they would have included in the titles, the name of the perpetrator of the crime similar to the method they were using to highlight German atrocities.

- *AGE*
- *ARG*
- *BC*
- *MCY*
- *REG*
- *SMH*



#### 4.1 *The Age*

<i>THE AGE</i> 1915 – 1923 TITLES WITHOUT THE WORD “TURK” OR “TURKISH”				
NO	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NEWSPAPER	DATE	PAGE
1	ARMENIANS TERRORISED	<i>AGE</i>	December 26, 1914	9
2	FORCING THE DARDANELLES THREAT OF MASSACRE DISCOUNTED	<i>AGE</i>	January 12, 1915	7
3	RUSSIANS IN ARMENIA	<i>AGE</i>	January 15, 1915	7
4	FIGHTING IN THE CAUCASUS	<i>AGE</i>	January 30, 1915	11
5	ANTI CHRISTIAN CAMPAIGN	<i>AGE</i>	February 22, 1915	9
6	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA	<i>AGE</i>	February 24, 1915	9
7	MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS	<i>AGE</i>	March 23, 1915	9
8	MASSACRES IN ARMENIA MISSIONARIES IN DANGER	<i>AGE</i>	May 11, 1915	7
9	ARMENIANS MASSACRED VICTIMS NUMBER 60,000	<i>AGE</i>	May 19, 1915	9
10	THE MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS	<i>AGE</i>	May 24, 1915	10
11	ARMENIAN PLOTTERS EXECUTED	<i>AGE</i>	June 21, 1915	9
12	ARMENIAN MASSACRES	<i>AGE</i>	June 2, 1915	13
13	EXTERMINATING THE ARMENIANS	<i>AGE</i>	July 24, 1915	11
14	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA RECORD OF TERRIBLE CRUELITIES	<i>AGE</i>	August 3, 1915	7
15	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA DRIVEN INTO THE DESERT TO DIE	<i>AGE</i>	August 5, 1915	7
16	STATE OF TERROR AT SMYRNA	<i>AGE</i>	September 9, 1915	9
17	70,000 ARMENIANS MASSACRED	<i>AGE</i>	September 10, 1915	7
18	SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS APPEAL TO AMERICA TO PROTEST	<i>AGE</i>	September 22, 1915	9
19	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES TEN THOUSAND DROWNED THROWN INTO SEA FROM BOATS LORD BRYCE'S STIRRING APPEAL	<i>AGE</i>	September 23, 1915	9
20	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES GERMAN DIPLOMAT'S DENIAL	<i>AGE</i>	September 29, 1915	9
21	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES ENCOURAGED BY GERMAN CONSULS	<i>AGE</i>	October 1, 1915	9
22	THE ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA UNITED STATES INTERVENTION	<i>AGE</i>	October 4, 1915	7
23	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES RESPONSIBILITY OF GERMANY NEARLY 1,000,000 PEOPLE PERISH	<i>AGE</i>	October 8, 1915	7
24	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES MOST WICKED THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN	<i>AGE</i>	October 11, 1915	10
25	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES INDIGNATION IN AMERICA	<i>AGE</i>	October 12, 1915	7

26	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS MAJORITY REPORTED KILLED	<i>AGE</i>	October 16, 1915	13
27	MASSACRES IN ARMENIA NOTHING EQUAL IN HISTORY	<i>AGE</i>	October 18, 1915	10
28	TO AVENGE MASSACRES ARMENIAN VOLUNTEER CORPS	<i>AGE</i>	October 20, 1915	9
29	FATE OF ARMENIANS - 1,000,000 PERISH HORRIFYING TALES OF SUFFERING	<i>AGE</i>	December 16, 1915	7
30	DAY OF INTERSESSION IN BRITAIN	<i>AGE</i>	January 4, 1916	5
31	THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES	<i>AGE</i>	January 17, 1916	9
32	MORE ARMENIANS MASSACRED GIRLS SOLD IN OPEN MARKET	<i>AGE</i>	February 12, 1916	11
33	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES WARNING FROM AMERICA	<i>AGE</i>	February 21, 1916	7
34	TREBIZOND MENACED	<i>AGE</i>	February 22, 1916	7
35	ARMENIANS IN ERZEROU 40,000 MASSACRED	<i>AGE</i>	March 10, 1916	7
36	MASSACRES AT TREBIZOND	<i>AGE</i>	May 15, 1916	7
37	MORE ARMENIANS MASSACRED	<i>AGE</i>	May 23, 1916	7
38	THE ARMENIAN HORRORS GERMAN PROFESSORS APPEAL	<i>AGE</i>	July 8, 1916	11
39	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS CONDEMNED MEN BURN PRISON	<i>AGE</i>	July 19, 1916	7
40	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS EVIDENCE AGAINST GERMANS	<i>AGE</i>	July 22, 1916	13
41	SUFFERINGS OF ARMENIANS RESORT TO CANNIBALISM	<i>AGE</i>	August 21, 1916	7
42	SUFFERING ARMENIANS 30,000 STARVING PEOPLE	<i>AGE</i>	September 12, 1916	5
43	EXODUS OF 25,000 ARMENIANS	<i>AGE</i>	October 27, 1916	7
44	SUFFERING OF ARMENIANS	<i>AGE</i>	November 30, 1916	7
45	ARMENIANS TORTURED HORRIFYING MASSACRES	<i>AGE</i>	January 2, 1917	5
46	FAMINE IN ARMENIA	<i>AGE</i>	January 25, 1917	5
47	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA MANY THOUSANDS OF VICTIMS EXHAUSTION AND ILL-TREATMENT	<i>AGE</i>	February 19, 1917	7
48	THE SUFFERINGS OF ARMENIANS	<i>AGE</i>	February 27, 1917	5
49	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRE MALES OVER NINE YEARS KILLED	<i>AGE</i>	June 22, 1917	7
50	ARMENIANS MASSACRED	<i>AGE</i>	March 6, 1918	9
51	WOMEN SLAVES FROM CAUCASUS	<i>AGE</i>	March 21, 1918	7
52	ERZERUM ARMENIANS MASSACRED	<i>AGE</i>	April 6, 1918	13
53	ARMENIANS MASSACRED	<i>AGE</i>	June 10, 1918	5
54	ARMENIA'S DISTRESS	<i>AGE</i>	August 19, 1918	5
55	MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS	<i>AGE</i>	September 2, 1918	8
56	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS	<i>AGE</i>	November 4, 1918	7

57	UNFORTUNATE ARMENIANS THOUSANDS STARVED TO DEATH	AGE	April 25, 1919	7
58	ARMENIAN MASSACRES AMERICAN WARNING DRAWS PROTEST	AGE	August 29, 1919	7
59	GENERAL CABLES	AGE	August 30, 1919	15
60	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (1) 8000 MORE VICTIMS (2) RED CROSS APPEALS TO POWERS	AGE	February 19, 1920	7
61	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS	AGE	March 1, 1920	7
62	FRENCH TROOPS FOR CILICIA	AGE	March 9, 1920	7
63	ARMENIANS IN CILICIA	AGE	March 10, 1920	9
64	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS	AGE	November 3, 1920	7
65	MASSACRES IN THE ORIENT OFFICIALLY DIRECTED HOW GOVERNMENTS SETTLE DISPUTES	AGE	October 11, 1921	7
66	MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS PATRIARCH APPEALS TO BRITAIN	AGE	June 15, 1922	9
67	EFFORT TO AVOID MASSACRE	AGE	September 7, 1922	9
68	(1) SMYRNA "FAIRLY QUIET" (2) EXECUTION OF ARMENIANS AND GREEKS	AGE	September 15, 1922	9
69	ANOTHER TOWN IN FLAMES MUTILATED BODIES LIE IN STREETS	AGE	September 19, 1922	9
70	(1) FATE OF SMYRNA CHRISTIANS (2) BRITISH POLICY SUPPORTED	AGE	September 22, 1922	9
71	A CHRISTIAN APPEAL	AGE	September 25, 1922	9
72	REFUGEES ORDERED TO LEAVE SMYRNA	AGE	September 27, 1922	13
73	REFUGEES FROM SMYRNA	AGE	September 28, 1922	7
74	ARMENIAN CHIEFTAINS ARRESTED	AGE	September 29, 1922	9
75	ALL REFUGEES LEAVE SMYRNA	AGE	October 6, 1922	9
76	RELIEF FOR SMYRNA REFUGEES	AGE	October 12, 1922	9
77	(1) CHRISTIANS SENT TO THE INTERIOR. (2) PITIABLE PLIGHT OF REFUGEES	AGE	October 14, 1922	13
78	REFUGEES FROM ASIA MINOR AN APPEAL TO AUSTRALIA	AGE	November 20, 1922	9
79	GREAT TREK FROM ANATOLIA CHILDREN LEFT TO THEIR FATE	AGE	November 30, 1922	9
80	CHRISTIANS IN TRACE	AGE	December 4, 1922	9
81	ARMENIAN REFUGEES FOR AMERICA	AGE	January 11, 1923	9
82	ARMENIAN ORPHANS FOR USA	AGE	January 15, 1923	9
83	ELEVEN CHRISTIANS EXECUTED	AGE	January 16, 1923	9
84	GENERAL CABLES	AGE	January 25, 1923	10
85	NEW HOMES FOR ARMENIANS SOVIET RUSSIA'S OFFER	AGE	February 1, 1923	9
86	A HOME FOR ARMENIANS THIRTY THOUSAND TO BE ADMITTED	AGE	February 7, 1923	11
87	HUGE DRIVE OF ARMENIANS	AGE	August 18, 1923	13

#### 4.2 *The Argus*

<i>THE ARGUS</i> 1915 - 1923 TITLES WITHOUT THE WORD "TURK" OR "TURKISH"				
NO	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NEWSPAPER	DATE	PAGE
1	ARMENIAN MASSACRES	<i>ARG</i>	January 15, 1915	7
2	HOW GERMANY'S ALLY FIGHTS MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS	<i>ARG</i>	January 30, 1915	19
3	FEARFUL CRUELTIES ARMENIANS MASSACRED FORCED TO LEAP INTO ABYSS	<i>ARG</i>	February 24, 1915	9
4	CHRISTIANS MASSACRED	<i>ARG</i>	March 23, 1915	7
5	HORRORS OF ARMENIA PLAIN STREWN WITH CORPSES FEARFUL TREATMENT OF WOMEN	<i>ARG</i>	April 29, 1915	7
6	ARMENIA ONE GREAT GRAVE	<i>ARG</i>	May 6, 1915	5
7	ARMENIANS MASSACRED	<i>ARG</i>	May 19, 1915	9
8	MODERN HERODS MASSACRES IN ARMENIA	<i>ARG</i>	May 24, 1915	9
9	ARMENIAN MASSACRES ALLIES ISSUE STATEMENT PORTE HELD RESPONSIBLE	<i>ARG</i>	May 25, 1915	7
10	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES GHASTLY STORIES	<i>ARG</i>	August 3, 1915	7
11	SIDELIGHTS OF WAR HARD-DRIVEN ARMENIANS	<i>ARG</i>	August 20, 1915	5
12	BULGARIA ABHORS MASSACRES	<i>ARG</i>	August 21, 1915	19
13	IN SEA OF MARMORA BRITISH SUBMARINE CREW LANDS	<i>ARG</i>	September 6, 1915	7
14	ARMENIAN MASSACRES APPEAL TO UNITED STATES	<i>ARG</i>	September 22, 1915	9
15	ARMENIANS SOLD AS SLAVES ALL CHRISTIANS TERRORISED	<i>ARG</i>	September 25, 1915	17
16	ARMENIAN MASSACRES AMERICA TO TAKE ACTION IMMIGRATION SCHEME SUPPORTED	<i>ARG</i>	September 27, 1915	7
17	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA WHOLESALE MASSACRES AWFUL TALE OF CRUELTY FATE OF WOMEN	<i>ARG</i>	September 28, 1915	7
18	ARMENIAN MASSACRES DENIED BY BERNSTORFF REPORTS "PURE INVENTIONS"	<i>ARG</i>	September 29, 1915	9
19	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES GUILT OF GERMANS	<i>ARG</i>	October 1, 1915	7
20	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES AMERICA MAKES OFFER WILL TAKE ALL THE HOMELESS	<i>ARG</i>	October 4, 1915	9

21	ARMENIAN HORRORS RESPONSIBILITY OF GERMANS DISCUSSED IN LORDS 800,000 PEOPLE MASSACRED	<i>ARG</i>	October 8, 1915	7
22	(1) ARMENIAN MASSACRES HORROR IN DENMARK UNITED STATES LOOKED TO (2) ARMENIAN MASSACRES FEELING IN AMERICA (3) APPEAL BY MR BALFOUR	<i>ARG</i>	October 11, 1915	9
23	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES NURSES AND DOCTORS REQUIRED	<i>ARG</i>	October 16, 1915	19
24	BELGIUM AND ARMENIA WORST CRIMES FOR 400 YEARS	<i>ARG</i>	October 18, 1915	9
25	ASIA MINOR MASSACRES ARMENIANS WILL AVENGE CORPS TO ASSIST ALLIES	<i>ARG</i>	October 20, 1915	9
26	ARMENIAN HORRORS - FULLY CONFIRMED GERMANY'S GUILT	<i>ARG</i>	October 26, 1915	7
27	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES (1) WOMEN DRIVEN LIKE CATTLE (2) WHOLE VILLAGES DEPORTED (3) TREATED LIKE WILD ANIMALS (4) THOUSANDS HOMELESS	<i>ARG</i>	November 26, 1915	5
28	ARMENIANS HALF A MILLION KILLED (1) BLOOD-CURDLING HORRORS (2) "EVERY MAN WAS KILLED" (3) BABIES FLUNG INTO FLAMES	<i>ARG</i>	November 29, 1915	7
29	ARMENIAN HORRORS STORY OF EYE-WITNESS (1) REVOLTING TALE OF CRUELTY (2) THE MARKET OF WOMEN (3) THE WOMEN OF ZILCH	<i>ARG</i>	December 2, 1915	5
30	EDITORIAL	<i>ARG</i>	January 1, 1916	8
31	INTERCESSION SERVICE BISHOP URGES PREPAREDNESS	<i>ARG</i>	January 4, 1916	7
32	ARMENIAN MASSACRES PEASANTRY SLAUGHTERED	<i>ARG</i>	January 17, 1916	9
33	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (1) WOMEN AND CHILDREN BURNED (2) BUTCHER BATTALIONS (3) EVERY MAN KILLED FIGHTING (4) MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN FIGHT	<i>ARG</i>	January 22, 1916	5
34	ARMENIAN CAMPAIGN RUSSIANS SWEEP ON ARMENIAN MASSACRES AMERICAN PROTEST UNOFFICIAL	<i>ARG</i>	February 22, 1916	7
35	CZAR'S ARMY - ADVANCE IN ARMENIA	<i>ARG</i>	March 10, 1916	7
36	ARMENIAN HORRORS ONE MILLION VICTIMS A GERMAN ADMISSION	<i>ARG</i>	April 17, 1916	7

37	SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS AT TREBIZOND AND ERZERUM MANY THOUSANDS MASSACRED	ARG	May 23, 1916	7
38	ARMENIAN MASSACRES TWO MILLION VICTIMS RESULT OF FRENCH INQUIRIES	ARG	June 23, 1916	7
39	ARMENIAN MASSACRES "GREATEST CRIME IN HISTORY"	ARG	July 8, 1916	20
40	ARMENIAN HORRORS GERMAN OFFICERS IMPLICATED EVIDENCE OBTAINED ON THE SPOT	ARG	July 22, 1916	19
41	ARMENIAN HORRORS PARENTS EAT CHILDREN	ARG	August 21, 1916	7
42	ARMENIAN HORRORS EVEN GERMANS PROTEST BERLIN IGNORES APPEAL	ARG	August 25, 1916	7
43	PLIGHT OF ARMENIANS THOUSANDS STARVING	ARG	September 12, 1916	7
44	ARMENIAN HORRORS THOUSANDS DYING OF STARVATION	ARG	February 19, 1917	7
45	ARMENIAN HORRORS THE GHASTLY TRUTH	ARG	February 27, 1917	7
46	SOIL OF ARMENIA	ARG	January 12, 1918	5
47	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES GIRLS SOLD FOR TWO DOLLARS	ARG	January 19, 1918	6
48	AMERICAN WAR NEWS	ARG	March 6, 1918	9
49	ARMENIAN WOMEN SOLD RUSSIAN SOLDIERS LOOT	ARG	March 21, 1918	7
50	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES RUSSIA BLAMES GERMANY	ARG	April 15, 1918	7
51	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS	ARG	June 10, 1918	7
52	BRITISH AT BAKU	ARG	August 19, 1918	7
53	HORRORS OF BAKU THOUSANDS MASSACRED HOSPITAL PATIENTS SLAUGHTERED	ARG	November 4, 1918	7
54	FREEDOM FOR ARMENIANS INSISTED UPON BY ALLIES	ARG	November 21, 1918	7
55	BUTCHERED ARMENIANS 1,500,000 VICTIMS	ARG	January 6, 1919	5
56	GENERAL CABLES	ARG	February 17, 1919	5
57	ARMENIANS STARVING	ARG	March 31, 1919	5
58	ARMENIANS BEING STARVED	ARG	April 25, 1919	7
59	ARMENIAN MASSACRES	ARG	February 27, 1920	7
60	ARMENIAN MASSACRES	ARG	March 1, 1920	7
61	THE BAKU REGION	ARG	May 3, 1920	7
62	GENERAL CABLES	ARG	March 25, 1921	8
63	MURDER OF VIZIER (1) YOUNG MAN ACQUITTED (2) REPORTED MASSACRE OF GREEKS	ARG	June 6, 1921	7
64	GENERAL CABLES	ARG	December 8, 1921	7

65	UGLY INCIDENTS IN SMYRNA	<i>ARG</i>	September 14, 1922	7
66	PROTEST AGAINST MASSACRE	<i>ARG</i>	September 18, 1922	7
67	UNHAPPY SMYRNA "SCENES BEGGAR DESCRIPTION"	<i>ARG</i>	September 19, 1922	7
68	GENERAL CABLES	<i>ARG</i>	September 29, 1922	12
69	FLIGHT OF REFUGEES HARROWING SCENES	<i>ARG</i>	November 15, 1922	11
70	DEBATE IN COMMONS SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS	<i>ARG</i>	November 27, 1922	9
71	FLIGHT FROM ANATOLIA "WILL SHOCK THE WORLD"	<i>ARG</i>	November 30, 1922	9
72	EVACUATION OF CHRISTIANS AMERICAN PROTEST	<i>ARG</i>	December 4, 1922	9
73	NEAR EAST MINORITIES QUESTION OF PROTECTION	<i>ARG</i>	December 14, 1922	11
74	GENERAL CABLES	<i>ARG</i>	January 11, 1923	9
75	CHRISTIANS HANGED	<i>ARG</i>	January 16, 1923	9
76	CHRISTIANS EXECUTED	<i>ARG</i>	January 18, 1923	7
77	ARMENIAN REFUGEES AMERICA REFUSES ADMISSION	<i>ARG</i>	January 25, 1923	7
78	ARMENIAN REFUGEES NEW HOMES IN RUSSIA	<i>ARG</i>	February 1, 1923	9
79	FLOW TO AMERICA FOREIGN MARGIN REDUCED	<i>ARG</i>	February 7, 1923	19
80	NEAR EAST REFUGEES PERMANENT HOMES WANTED	<i>ARG</i>	April 4, 1923	9
81	DRIVE OF ARMENIANS	<i>ARG</i>	August 18, 1923	25

### 4.3 *The Brisbane Courier*

<b>THE BRISBANE COURIER 1915 – 1923 TITLES WITHOUT THE WORD “TURK” OR “TURKISH”</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>NEWSPAPER</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	ARMENIAN REFUGEES A TERRIBLE POSITION	<i>BC</i>	December 15, 1914	7
2	MASSACRE IN ARMENIA KURDS TERRORISING THE POPULATION	<i>BC</i>	December 26, 1914	7
3	FIGHTING IN PERSIA MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS	<i>BC</i>	January 15, 1915	8
4	A THREATENED MASSACRE NON MOSLEMS IN PALESTINE	<i>BC</i>	February 22, 1915	7
5	CONSPIRACY DISCOVERED DEPOT OF BOMBS SEIZED	<i>BC</i>	March 13, 1915	5
6	ARMENIAN MASSACRES WHOLE VILLAGES DEVASTATED	<i>BC</i>	May 24, 1915	7
7	INDEPENDENT ARMENIA 20 ARMENIANS EXECUTED	<i>BC</i>	June 21, 1915	7
8	THE ARMENIAN HORRORS DETAILS OF MASSACRES	<i>BC</i>	August 3, 1915	7
9	CILICIAN HORRORS 40,000 ARMENIANS PERISH DRIVEN INTO THE DESERT TO DIE	<i>BC</i>	August 5, 1915	7
10	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS WHOLESALE METHODS AFTER ALL IT IS WAR	<i>BC</i>	September 11, 1915	5
11	POSITION OF ARMENIANS DEPUTATION TO THE BULGARIAN PREMIER	<i>BC</i>	September 13, 1915	7
12	THE SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS APPEAL OF VISCOUNT BRYCE	<i>BC</i>	September 22, 1915	7
13	THE ARMENIAN HORRORS COUNT BERNSTORFF'S DENIAL	<i>BC</i>	September 29, 1915	7
14	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES ENCOURAGED BY GERMAN CONSULS	<i>BC</i>	October 1, 1915	7
15	THE DOOMED ARMENIANS MUNIFICENT OFFER FROM AMERICA	<i>BC</i>	October 4, 1915	7
16	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES UNITED STATES STIRRED A NOTE FOR TURKEY	<i>BC</i>	October 6, 1915	7
17	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES DANISH HORROR-APPEAL TO AMERICA	<i>BC</i>	October 11, 1915	7
18	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES CRITICISM OF GERMAN ACTION	<i>BC</i>	October 12, 1915	7
19	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS OPERATIONS RESUMED AMERICAN REPRESENTATION UNHEADED	<i>BC</i>	October 14, 1915	7



20	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES NEED FOR RELIEF	<i>BC</i>	October 16, 1915	5
21	ARMENIAN MASSACRES WORST IN HISTORY MANSION HOUSE FUND OPENED	<i>BC</i>	October 18, 1915	7
22	ARMENIAN RISING TO AVENGE THE MASSACRES WILL FIGHT FOR THE ALLIES	<i>BC</i>	October 20, 1915	7
23	ARMENIAN HORRORS FULLY CONFIRMED HUMAN WOLVES AMONG DEFENSLESS BEINGS	<i>BC</i>	October 26, 1915	7
24	DESTROYING A PEOPLE THE ARMENIAN TRAGEDY A MILLION HAVE PERISHED	<i>BC</i>	December 17, 1915	7
25	ARMENIAN HORRORS RESCUE OF REFUGEES A THRILLING ACCOUNT	<i>BC</i>	December 21, 1915	7
26	INTERCESSION DAY OBSERVED THROUGHOUT AUSTRALIA	<i>BC</i>	January 4, 1916	7
27	WIPING OUT A NATION - MURDERING THE FEW REMAINING ARMENIANS	<i>BC</i>	February 12, 1916	5
28	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS	<i>BC</i>	February 21, 1916	7
29	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES AN AMERICAN PROTEST	<i>BC</i>	February 21, 1916	7
30	THE MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS UNITED STATES PROTEST "UNOFFICIAL"	<i>BC</i>	February 22, 1916	7
31	ARMENIANS AT ERZEROUM WHOLESALE MASSACRE	<i>BC</i>	March 10, 1916	7
32	ARMENIAN MASSACRES UPWARDS OF 1,000,000	<i>BC</i>	April 17, 1916	7
33	THE GERMAN CONSCIENCE TROUBLED OVER ARMENIANS	<i>BC</i>	July 8, 1916	5
34	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS RESPONSIBILITY TRACED TO GERMANS	<i>BC</i>	July 22, 1916	5
35	HORRORS IN ARMENIA CANNIBALISM AND STARVATION	<i>BC</i>	August 21, 1916	7
36	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA WHAT THE GERMANS PERMITTED	<i>BC</i>	August 25, 1916	7
37	THE PERSECUTED ARMENIANS HORRIBLE ATROCITIES 30,000 STARVING	<i>BC</i>	September 12, 1916	7
38	THE SUFFERING ARMENIANS	<i>BC</i>	October 5, 1916	7
39	EXODUS OF ARMENIANS	<i>BC</i>	October 27, 1916	7
40	THE GUILDHALL BANQUET A DISTINGUISHED GATHERING	<i>BC</i>	November 11, 1916	5
41	PERSECUTED ARMENIANS TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS	<i>BC</i>	November 30, 1916	7
42	ARMENIAN MASSACRES HORRIFYING STORIES MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN HORRIBLY MUTILATED	<i>BC</i>	January 2, 1917	6

43	ATROCITIES ON ARMENIANS GERMANY'S NOBLE ALLY WIPING OUT A POPULATION	<i>BC</i>	February 19, 1917	7
44	ARMENIAN MASSACRES A TERRIBLE PICTURE	<i>BC</i>	June 22, 1917	7
45	MASSACRES IN ARMENIA RUSSIAN NOTE TO BERLIN	<i>BC</i>	April 15, 1918	8
46	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS CHILDREN DIE OF HUNGER TWO THOUSAND WOMEN BURNED TO DEATH PERPETRATING A FINAL MASSACRE	<i>BC</i>	January 6, 1919	7
47	REPORTED ARRESTS	<i>BC</i>	January 27, 1919	8
48	ARMENIAN MASSACRES BRINGING OFFENDERS TO BOOK	<i>BC</i>	February 25, 1919	7
49	AN ARMENIAN APPEAL	<i>BC</i>	March 31, 1919	7
50	STARVING ARMENIANS DYING IN TENS OF THOUSANDS	<i>BC</i>	April 25, 1919	7
51	AMERICAN INTERFERENCE FRENCH IRRITATION CAUSED	<i>BC</i>	August 29, 1919	7
52	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS	<i>BC</i>	February 19, 1920	7
53	GRAVE ARMENIAN SITUATION	<i>BC</i>	February 27, 1920	5
54	FUTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE NAVAL AND MILITARY OCCUPATION	<i>BC</i>	March 10, 1920	7
55	ARMENIAN MASSACRES	<i>BC</i>	March 11, 1920	7
56	KING OF SYRIA	<i>BC</i>	April 1, 1920	7
57	PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS	<i>BC</i>	September 8, 1920	7
58	THREAT TO ARMENIANS GEORGIAN STATE ENDANGERED	<i>BC</i>	November 22, 1920	7
59	OUTRAGES ON ARMENIANS APPALLING EVIDENCE	<i>BC</i>	June 6, 1921	7
60	CRIME REVENGED REVELATIONS AT COURT MARTIAL	<i>BC</i>	October 11, 1921	7
61	BERLIN MURDERS FIFTEEN ARMENIANS ARRESTED	<i>BC</i>	April 20, 1922	7
62	(1) CHRISTIANS TERRIFIED (2) ANTI CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT	<i>BC</i>	August 14, 1922	5
63	CHRISTIANS TERRIFIED	<i>BC</i>	September 14, 1922	5
64	EXECUTIONS INCREASING	<i>BC</i>	September 15, 1922	5
65	A TERRIBLE FIRE OUTBREAK IN SMYRNA ONE THOUSAND DEAD	<i>BC</i>	September 16, 1922	7
66	(1) RELIEF FOR REFUGEES (2) DAMAGE IN SMYRNA MISSING AMERICANS	<i>BC</i>	September 18, 1922	7
67	WHY THE EMPIRE STANDS READY	<i>BC</i>	September 19, 1922	6
68	TERRIBLE SCENES SITUATION IN SMYRNA-TALES OF REFUGEES	<i>BC</i>	September 19, 1922	7

69	(1) CHRISTIANS FLEEING EXODUS FROM CONSTANTINOPLE (2) HELP FOR REFUGEES LEAGUE NATION'S ACTION	<i>BC</i>	September 21, 1922	5
70	(1) ORDERED TO QUIT REFUGEES IN SMYRNA (2) APPEAL FOR SECOUR	<i>BC</i>	September 27, 1922	5
71	SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>BC</i>	September 28, 1922	5
72	AN ASSASSINATION SEQUEL	<i>BC</i>	September 29, 1922	5
73	SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>BC</i>	October 3, 1922	
74	RELIEVING DESTRESS	<i>BC</i>	October 5, 1922	4
75	EVACUATION OF SMYRNA	<i>BC</i>	October 6, 1922	6
76	THE NEAR EAST	<i>BC</i>	October 9, 1922	6
77	HELPING REFUGEES	<i>BC</i>	October 12, 1922	7
78	CHRISTIAN REFUGEES HARROWING DETAILS-IN A PITIABLE PLIGHT	<i>BC</i>	October 14, 1922	7
79	REFUGEES FROM ANATOLIA	<i>BC</i>	October 16, 1922	5
80	THE NEAR EAST - GRAVE SITUATION CONSTANTINOPLE STREETS UNSAFE CHRISTIAN POPULATION IN FILGHT	<i>BC</i>	November 14, 1922	5
81	A GREAT TREK REFUGEES FROM ANATOLIA HARROWING SCENES IN THE STREETS	<i>BC</i>	November 15, 1922	5
82	A GREAT TREK - CHRISTIAN REFUGEES FLIGHT FROM ANATOLIA	<i>BC</i>	November 30, 1922	5
83	AMERICAN PROTESTS THE CHRISTIAN EXODUS	<i>BC</i>	December 4, 1922	7
84	IMMIGRATION - AMERICAN SCHEME 100,000 ARMENINS	<i>BC</i>	January 11, 1923	
85	ARMENIAN ORPHANS EMIGRATION TO AMERICA SENATE'S DECISION	<i>BC</i>	January 15, 1923	
86	CHRISTIANS EXECUTED	<i>BC</i>	January 16, 1923	
87	CHRISTIANS EXECUTED	<i>BC</i>	January 18, 1923	5
88	ARMENIAN ORPHANS MIGRATION PROPOSAL DEFEATED	<i>BC</i>	January 25, 1923	
89	FLEEING ARMENIANS AMERICAN LEGISLATOR'S PROPOSAL	<i>BC</i>	February 1, 1923	5
90	ARMENIAN REFUGEES TO BE ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES	<i>BC</i>	February 7, 1923	

#### 4.4 *The Mercury*

<i>THE MERCURY</i> 1915 – 1923 TITLES WITHOUT THE WORD “TURK” OR “TURKISH”				
NO	TITLE OF ARTICLE	NEWSPAPER	DATE	PAGE
1	KURDISH OUTRAGES MASSACRES IN ARMENIA	<i>MCY</i>	December 26, 1914	
2	ANTI-CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT MURDER OF GREEKS IN ASIA MINOR	<i>MCY</i>	January 11, 1915	5
3	THE TRIUMPH OF THE ALLIES THE PORTE MADDENED MASSACRES IN ARMENIA	<i>MCY</i>	May 25, 1915	5
4	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA WHOLESALE MASSACRES	<i>MCY</i>	September 10, 1915	5
5	THE ARMENIANS REPRESENTATIONS BY BULGARIA	<i>MCY</i>	September 13, 1915	5
6	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS APPEAL TO PEOPLE OF AMERICA	<i>MCY</i>	September 22, 1915	5
7	DISASTER AVERTED RESCUE BY FRENCH CRUISERS	<i>MCY</i>	September 23, 1915	5
8	THE MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS DESTROYING THE NATION	<i>MCY</i>	September 24, 1915	5
9	THE CONDITIONS AT CONSTANTINOPLE SALE OF ARMENIAN SLAVES	<i>MCY</i>	September 25, 1915	5
10	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS SLAIN APPEAL TO AMERICA	<i>MCY</i>	September 27, 1915	5
11	EXTERMINATING CHRISTIANS	<i>MCY</i>	September 28, 1915	4
12	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS AWFUL TALES OF CRUELTY THOUSANDS KILLED AND DEPORTED	<i>MCY</i>	September 28, 1915	5
13	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS A GERMAN DENIAL	<i>MCY</i>	September 29, 1915	5
14	EDITORIAL	<i>MCY</i>	September 29, 1915	4
15	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA ENCOURAGED BY THE GERMANS STREETS RUN WITH BLOOD	<i>MCY</i>	October 1, 1915	5
16	THE MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS GENEROUS AMERICAN OFFER	<i>MCY</i>	October 4, 1915	6
17	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES	<i>MCY</i>	October 8, 1915	4
18	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA THE WORK OF EXTERMINATION 800,000 PEOPLE MASSACRED	<i>MCY</i>	October 8, 1915	5
19	THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES GREAT INDIGNATION IN DENMARK APPEAL TO AMERICA	<i>MCY</i>	October 11, 1915	6
20	THE WORST WORLD HAS SEEN GERMAN CULPABILITY	<i>MCY</i>	October 11, 1915	6

21	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA NOTHING MORE HORRIBLE GERMAN CULPABILITY	<i>MCY</i>	October 12, 1915	5
22	QUESTION IN THE COMMONS SIR EDWARD GREY'S STATEMENT	<i>MCY</i>	October 14, 1915	5
23	THE SLAUGHTER RESUMED RESULT OF BULGARIAN ENTRY INTO THE WAR	<i>MCY</i>	October 14, 1915	5
24	ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA THE NEED FOR HELP	<i>MCY</i>	October 16, 1915	5
25	INTERNATIONAL CRIMES BELGIUM AND ARMENIA	<i>MCY</i>	October 18, 1915	5
26	AVENGING THE MASSACRES ARMENIANS ANXIOUS TO RISE	<i>MCY</i>	October 20, 1915	5
27	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES OVER 1,000,000 EXILED THREE-FOURTH MASSACRED	<i>MCY</i>	October 23, 1915	5
28	THE ARMENIAN HORRORS WORST REPORTS CONFIRMED	<i>MCY</i>	October 26, 1915	5
29	THRILLING ARMENIAN ESCAPE THEY TAKE TO THE MOUNTAINS RESCUE BY FRENCH	<i>MCY</i>	December 21, 1915	5
30	DAY OF INTERCESSION	<i>MCY</i>	January 4, 1916	5
31	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS THE KILLING RESUMED WOMEN AND GIRLS SOLD	<i>MCY</i>	February 12, 1916	5
32	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES THE REPORTED AMERICAN THREAT	<i>MCY</i>	February 22, 1916	5
33	THE FALL OF ERZEROUM WHOLESALE MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS	<i>MCY</i>	March 10, 1916	5
34	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES OVER A MILLION VICTIMS	<i>MCY</i>	April 17, 1916	5
35	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS TWO MILLION SLAIN	<i>MCY</i>	June 23, 1916	5
36	THE ARMENIANS AN APPEAL IN GERMANY FOR FUNDS	<i>MCY</i>	July 8, 1916	8
37	ARMENIAN HORRORS FURTHER SHOCKING REVELATIONS	<i>MCY</i>	August 21, 1916	5
38	ARMENIAN HORRORS APPEAL OF GERMAN TEACHERS	<i>MCY</i>	August 25, 1916	5
39	THE ARMENIANS THEIR TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE PERISHING	<i>MCY</i>	September 12, 1916	5
40	THE ARMENIANS RELIEF FROM AMERICA	<i>MCY</i>	October 6, 1916	5
41	THE ARMENIANS A SUCCESSFUL EXODUS	<i>MCY</i>	October 27, 1916	5
42	MR ASQUITH (REF)	<i>MCY</i>	November 11, 1916	7
43	THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES SHOCKING REVELATIONS	<i>MCY</i>	January 2, 1917	5
44	FAMINE IN ARMENIA WOMEN AND CHILDREN BEING SOLD	<i>MCY</i>	January 25, 1917	5

45	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES SHOCKING REVELATIONS	<i>MCY</i>	February 19, 1917	5
46	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES EXTENT OF MASSACRES AND DEPORTATIONS	<i>MCY</i>	February 27, 1917	5
47	ARMENIAN MASSACRES SURVIVORS DESCRIBE HORRORS COLD BLOODED SLAUGHTER	<i>MCY</i>	June 22, 1917	5
48	ARMENIAN MASSACRES VICTIMS NUMBER 1,500,000	<i>MCY</i>	January 6, 1919	6
49	ARMENIAN MASSACRES SUICIDE OF THE INSTIGATOR	<i>MCY</i>	February 17, 1919	5
50	MASSACRES OF SYRIANS AND ARMENIANS GERMAN GENERAL TO BE TRIED	<i>MCY</i>	February 25, 1919	5
51	ARAB RISING IN ASIA MINOR THE MOVEMENT SUPPRESSED	<i>MCY</i>	March 18, 1919	4
52	PERSECUTION IN ASIA MINOR	<i>MCY</i>	March 20, 1919	5
53	STARVING ARMENIANS TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS OF THE PEOPLE	<i>MCY</i>	March 31, 1919	5
54	ARMENIAN MASSACRES STATEMENT IN HOUSE OF LORDS	<i>MCY</i>	February 27, 1920	5
55	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS ALLIES TAKE ACTION	<i>MCY</i>	March 1, 1920	5
56	THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES REFERENCE IN HOUSE OF COMMONS STRONG ACTION MAY BE TAKEN	<i>MCY</i>	March 8, 1920	5
57	PROTECTING THE ARMENIANS DRASTIC ACTION BY THE ALLIES	<i>MCY</i>	March 10, 1920	5
58	MILITARY MEASURES TAKEN	<i>MCY</i>	March 13, 1920	7
59	DEBATE IN HOUSE OF LORDS SPEECH OF LORD BRYCE	<i>MCY</i>	March 13, 1920	7
60	SYRIA ARAB ATTACKS ON CHRISTIANS	<i>MCY</i>	May 17, 1920	4
61	FALL OF KARS THREATENED MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS	<i>MCY</i>	November 22, 1920	5
62	THE CAPTURE OF SMYRNA AVANGING MASSACRE BY GREEKS	<i>MCY</i>	September 14, 1922	5
63	TROUBLE IN THE BALKANS	<i>MCY</i>	September 15, 1922	4
64	AVANGING MASSACE BY GREEKS EXECUTION OF ARMENIANS AND GREEKS	<i>MCY</i>	September 15, 1922	4?
65	SCENES AT SMYRNA - MUTILATED BODIES IN THE STREETS REFUGEES WITHIN BURNING CHURCHES	<i>MCY</i>	September 19, 1922	4
66	PROTECTION FOR ARMENIANS BRITISH EMPIRE APPEAL	<i>MCY</i>	September 25, 1922	5
67	PEACE WITH HONOUR?	<i>MCY</i>	September 27, 1922	6
68	SMYRNA REFUGEES AN APPEAL TO THE NATIONS	<i>MCY</i>	September 27, 1922	7
69	THE SMYRNA REFUGEES AID FROM ALLIED NATIONS	<i>MCY</i>	September 28, 1922	5

70	THE SMYRNA REFUGEES ASSISTANCE FROM CANADA	<i>MCY</i>	September 30, 1922	7
71	THE RULE OF THE NEAR EAST	<i>MCY</i>	October 3, 1922	4
72	REFUGEES FROM SMYRNA 177,000 WITHDRAWN FROM THE CITY	<i>MCY</i>	October 3, 1922	5
73	THE SMYRNA REFUGEES EVACUATION COMPLETED	<i>MCY</i>	October 6, 1922	5
74	HELPLESS REFUGEES	<i>MCY</i>	October 16, 1922	7
75	THE SMYRNA REFUGEES RELIEF FROM GREAT BRITAIN	<i>MCY</i>	October 12, 1922	5
76	THE NEAR EAST	<i>MCY</i>	November 9, 1922	4
77	THE FLIGHT OF CHRISTIANS ROAD CHOKED WITH REFUGEES HARROWING SCENES	<i>MCY</i>	November 16, 1922	5
78	CHRISTIAN REFUGEES TERRIBLE LOSS OF LIFE FERED	<i>MCY</i>	November 30, 1922	5
79	THE EVACUATION OF CHRISTIANS STORM PROTEST IN AMERICA	<i>MCY</i>	December 4, 1922	7
80	NOTE FROM THE POPE APPEAL FOR PANIC STRICKEN CHRISTIANS	<i>MCY</i>	December 7, 1922	7
81	THE REFUGEES BRITISH MARINES TO THE RESCUE	<i>MCY</i>	December 7, 1922	7
82	(1) THE CHRISTIAN REFUGEES PLIGHT BECOMING MORE HOPELESS (2) SUGGESTED SETTLEMENT OVERSEAS	<i>MCY</i>	December 8, 1922	7
83	MIGRATION - THE AMERICAN RESTRICTIONS	<i>MCY</i>	January 11, 1923	7
84	ARMENIAN ORPHANS MIGRATION TO UNITED STATES	<i>MCY</i>	January 16, 1923	5
85	ARMENIAN ORPHANS ENTRY INTO AMERICA BANNED	<i>MCY</i>	January 25, 1923	5
86	FLEEING ARMENIANS NEW HOMES SOUGHT IN RUSSIA	<i>MCY</i>	February 1, 1923	7
87	AMERICAN IMMIGRATION ADMISSION OF ARMENIANS	<i>MCY</i>	February 7, 1923	7

#### 4.5 *The Register*

<b>THE REGISTER 1915 – 1923 TITLES WITHOUT THE WORD “TURK” OR “TURKISH”</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>NEWSPAPER</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	CHRISTIANS IN TERROR	REG	December 15, 1914	5
2	MASSACRES IN ASIA MINOR	REG	December 26, 1914	9
3	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS	REG	January 14, 1915	5
4	OUTRAGES IN PERSIA	REG	January 16, 1915	9
5	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS	REG	January 30, 1915	9
6	HORRORS OF ARMENIA PLAIN STREWN WITH CORPSES FEARFUL TREATMENT OF WOMEN	REG	May 1, 1915	10
7	ATTACKS ON ARMENIANS	REG	May 11, 1915	6
8	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS	REG	May 12, 1915	7
9	MASSACRE IN BELGIUM	REG	May 13, 1915	7
10	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS	REG	May 19, 1915	7
11	ARMENIAN MASSACRES	REG	May 24, 1915	8
12	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS THE ALLIES' THREAT	REG	May 25, 1915	8
13	ARMENIANS EXECUTED	REG	June 21, 1915	8
14	CONSTANTINOPLE ANARCHY RAMPANT	REG	July 21, 1915	9
15	ARMENIANS BUTCHERED	REG	July 24, 1915	9
16	MASSACRES IN ASIA MINOR	REG	July 30, 1915	9
17	ARMENIAN MASSACRES	REG	August 3, 1915	7
18	DRIVEN TO THE DESERT	REG	August 5, 1915	7
19	KAISER AND GREECE	REG	August 21, 1915	10
20	ARMENIANS KILLED IN THOUSANDS	REG	September 10, 1915	7
21	ARMENIAN HORRORS "AFTER ALL, IT'S WAR"	REG	September 11, 1915	9
22	PROTEST AGAINST MASSACRES	REG	September 22, 1915	8
23	ARMENIAN MASSACRES	REG	September 23, 1915	6
24	ARMENIAN MASSACRES EXTIRPATING CHRISTIANITY SAVED BY FRENCH CRUISERS	REG	September 23, 1915	8
25	UNHAPPY ARMENIANS	REG	September 24, 1915	5
26	CHEAP GIRLS LIFE IN CONSTANTINOPLE	REG	September 25, 1915	9
27	ARMENIAN SLAUGHTER HALF A MILLION VICTIMS	REG	September 27, 1915	5
28	THE WAR	REG	September 29, 1915	6
29	AMERICA AND ARMENIANS	REG	October 4, 1915	7



30	ARMENIAN MASSACRES A FRIGHTFUL TOLL	REG	October 8, 1915	5
31	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES STRONG APPEAL TO AMERICA	REG	October 11, 1915	5
32	TO CHECK THE BARBARITIES	REG	October 12, 1915	5
33	SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS AMERICA UNHEADED	REG	October 14, 1915	5
34	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES	REG	October 16, 1915	10
35	ARMENIAN MASSACRES	REG	October 18, 1915	8
36	ARMENIANS ARMING	REG	October 20, 1915	7
37	"UNDESIRABLE ALIENS"	REG	October 26, 1915	5
38	HORROR ON HORROR ATROCITIES AGAINST ARMENIANS	REG	November 29, 1915	5
39	WIPING OUT THE ARMENIANS MILLION SUPPOSED PERISHED	REG	December 16, 1915	5
40	CHRISTIANS IN DISTRESS A THRILLING STORY	REG	December 21, 1915	5
41	DAY OF INTERCESSION	REG	January 4, 1916	5
42	DESTRUCTION OF PEASANTRY	REG	January 17, 1916	5
43	MURDERING A PEOPLE	REG	February 12, 1916	8
44	UNHAPPY ARMENIANS WIPING OUT REMNANT	REG	February 12, 1916	9
45	THREAT FROM AMERICA	REG	February 21, 1916	5
46	RUSSIANS' BRILLANT SUCCESS	REG	February 22, 1916	5
47	SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS	REG	March 10, 1916	5
48	MILLION ARMENIANS KILLED	REG	April 17, 1916	5
49	LITTLE HUMAN TARGETS	REG	May 15, 1916	5
50	ARMENIANS MASSACRED	REG	May 23, 1916	5
51	ARMENIANS - TWO MILLIONS KILLED	REG	June 23, 1916	6
52	GERMANS AND ARMENIANS	REG	July 8, 1916	9
53	DESTROYING A NATION	REG	July 22, 1916	9
54	THE WAR	REG	July 28, 1916	4
55	ARMENIA - ITS IMPORTANCE TO RUSSIA	REG	July 28, 1916	7
56	ARMENIANS DRIVEN TO CANNIBALISM	REG	August 21, 1916	6
57	ARMENIAN MASSACRES EVEN GERMANS SHOCKED	REG	August 25, 1916	7
58	STARVING ARMENIANS	REG	September 12, 1916	5
59	ARMENIAN HORRORS GERMANY IMPEACHED BY GERMANS	REG	September 21, 1916	5
60	AID FOR THE ARMENIANS	REG	October 5, 1916	6
61	ARMENIAN REFUGEES	REG	October 27, 1916	10
62	THE GUILDHALL SPEECHES	REG	November 11, 1916	8
63	ARMENIAN REFUGEES DESTITUTE	REG	November 30, 1916	5
64	ARMENIAN MASSACRES 60,000 DEAD AT ONE SPOT	REG	February 19, 1917	5
65	MORE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES	REG	March 6, 1918	6

66	ANOTHER ARMENIAN MASSACRE	REG	March 6, 1918	6
67	ARMENIANS CRUCIFIED	REG	March 12, 1918	5
68	ERZERUM MASSACRE	REG	April 6, 1918	5
69	MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS	REG	April 15, 1918	5
70	TERRIBLE MASSACRE	REG	June 10, 1918	5
71	ARMENIANS SIGNED PEACE	REG	August 19, 1918	6
72	PERSIAN CHRISTIANS SLAIN	REG	October 14, 1918	8
73	THE CRUMBLING ALLIANCE	REG	October 31, 1918	4
74	GERMANY A SANCTURARY	REG	November 27, 1918	7
75	THE ARMENIAN HORRORS	REG	January 6, 1919	8
76	DEFEAT NOT REALISED BELLICOSE INTERIOR FORCES	REG	January 27, 1919	6
77	ARMENIAN PERSECUTOR'S FATE	REG	February 17, 1919	5
78	RINGING MURDERERS TO TRIAL	REG	February 25, 1919	5
79	ARMENIANS PERSECUTED	REG	March 20, 1919	8
80	ARMENIANS AT DEATH'S DOOR	REG	March 31, 1919	6
81	ARMENIANS BEING STARVED	REG	April 25, 1919	8
82	EUROPE'S SICK MAN	REG	February 19, 1920	6
83	MORE ARMENIANS MASSACRED	REG	February 19, 1920	7
84	ARMENIAN MASSACRES	REG	February 27, 1920	7
85	PEACE CONFERENCE AND ARMENIA	REG	March 1, 1920	6
86	DEBATE IN HOUSE OF LORDS	REG	March 13, 1920	10
87	THE PEACE OF ASIA VAST AND COMPLEX PROBLEMS	REG	March 15, 1920	7
88	GEORGIAN REPUBLIC IMPERILLED	REG	November 22, 1920	7
89	ARMENIAN HORRORS TERRIBLE STORIES REVIVED	REG	June 6, 1921	7
90	EASTERN EMBROILMENTS	REG	September 14, 1922	10
91	EXECUTIONS IN SMYRNA	REG	September 15, 1922	11
92	GRAVE NEAR EASTERN CRISIS (1) MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS (2) ARROGANT ARMISTICE TERMS	REG	September 18, 1922	7
93	BRITAIN AND THE EASTERN QUESTION	REG	September 19, 1922	6
94	SMYRNA'S TRAGEDY SCENES "BEGGAR DESCRIPTION"	REG	September 19, 1922	7
95	AUSTRALIA AND THE NEAR EAST CRISIS	REG	September 20, 1922	8
96	CHRISTIANS AS PRISONERS	REG	September 22, 1922	7
97	MURDER OF ARMENIANS AN APPEAL FOR HELP	REG	September 25, 1922	7
98	THE EUROPEAN IMBROGLIO	REG	September 28, 1922	6
99	ARMENIAN AVENGERS	REG	September 29, 1922	7
100	(1) THE FLIGHT FROM SMYRNA (2) EFFORTS TO END OUTRAGES	REG	October 3, 1922	7
101	CHRISTIANS ARRESTED PROTEST BY ALLIES	REG	October 11, 1922	7
102	FEEDING SMYRNA REFUGEES	REG	October 12, 1922	7

103	PLIGHT OF CHRISTIAN REFUGEES NEARLY A MILLION DESTITUTE	<i>REG</i>	October 14, 1922	9
104	MR LLOYD GEORGE'S DEFENCE	<i>REG</i>	October 16, 1922	6
105	INHERITANCE OF TROUBLE MR LLOYD GEORGE'S DEFENCE	<i>REG</i>	October 16, 1922	7
106	ANATOLIAN FLIGHT TERRORS OF THE TREK	<i>REG</i>	November 15, 1922	10
107	"WILL SHOCK THE WORLD" GREAT TREK OF CHRISTIANS THOUSANDS MAY PERISH	<i>REG</i>	November 30, 1922	7
108	(1) "IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY" POPE AND CHRISTIANS (2) DETERMINED ACTION TAKEN	<i>REG</i>	December 7, 1922	9
109	ARMENIAN IMMIGRANTS A UNITED STATES BILL	<i>REG</i>	January 11, 1923	7
110	ARMENIANS FOR AMERICA	<i>REG</i>	January 15, 1923	8
111	CHRISTIAN ESCAPEES EXECUTED	<i>REG</i>	January 18, 1923	8
112	GENERAL CABLES UNITED STATES AND ARMENIAN MIGRANTS	<i>REG</i>	January 25, 1923	7
113	FLEEING ARMENIANS MOTION FOR AMERICAN HELP (MAP)	<i>REG</i>	February 1, 1923	7
114	AMERICAN IMMIGRATION ADMISSION OF ARMENIANS	<i>REG</i>	February 7, 1923	8
115	SMYRNA REFUGEES LABOUR DISAPPROVAL OF EXPENDITURE	<i>REG</i>	February 28, 1923	9
116	INFERNO OF THE EAST WHAT A BISHOP SAW - A MOVING STORY	<i>REG</i>	March 15, 1923	10

#### 4.6 *The Sydney Morning Herald*

<b>THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD 1915 – 1923 TITLES WITHOUT THE WORD “TURK” OR “TURKISH”</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>NEWSPAPER</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	KURDISH OUTRAGES	<i>SMH</i>	December 26, 1914	5
2	NOT A HOLY WAR CHRISTIAN AGAINST CHRISTIAN	<i>SMH</i>	January 12, 1915	9
3	CHRISTIANS MASSACRED	<i>SMH</i>	January 23, 1915	9
4	ARMENIAN MASSACRES KURDISH SHEIKH JOINS RUSSIA	<i>SMH</i>	January 30, 1915	15
5	CHRISTIANS MASSACRED	<i>SMH</i>	March 23, 1915	9
6	SYRIA - APPALLING SITUATION	<i>SMH</i>	August 2, 1916	11
7	ARMENIAN MASSACRES	<i>SMH</i>	August 3, 1915	7
8	ADVANCE OF PEACE	<i>SMH</i>	August 5, 1915	7
9	BALKAN SITUATION	<i>SMH</i>	August 21, 1915	13
10	SEA OF MARMORA RAILWAY BRIDGE DESTROYED	<i>SMH</i>	September 6, 1915	9
11	MISCELLANOUS ITEMS	<i>SMH</i>	September 10, 1915	7
12	ARMENIANS MASSACRED	<i>SMH</i>	September 11, 1915	17
13	THE BALKANS - BULGARIA'S ATTITUDE	<i>SMH</i>	September 13, 1915	9
14	REIGN OF TERROR IN ARMENIA 9000 WOMEN AND CHILDREN SHOT	<i>SMH</i>	September 18, 1915	10
15	ARMENIAN MASSACRES	<i>SMH</i>	September 22, 1915	11
16	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (1) LORD BRYCE'S APPEAL (2) RESCUED BY FRENCH	<i>SMH</i>	September 23, 1915	9
17	ARMENIAN MASSACRES DESTROYING A NATION	<i>SMH</i>	September 24, 1915	9
18	THE ARMENIANS DREADFUL MASSACRES	<i>SMH</i>	September 27, 1915	9
19	ARMENIAN ATROCITIES	<i>SMH</i>	October 1, 1915	9
20	THE ARMENIANS - UNITED STATES OFFER	<i>SMH</i>	October 4, 1915	7
21	ARMENIAN MASSACRES UNITED STATES ACTION	<i>SMH</i>	October 6, 1915	11
22	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (1) PROTEST FROM DENMARK (2) WHAT HAS GERMANY DONE? (3) MR BALFOUR'S SUGGESTION (4) INDIGNATION IN AMERICA	<i>SMH</i>	October 11, 1915	9
23	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (1) HORROR AND INDIGNATION (2) PROTEST FROM THE POPE	<i>SMH</i>	October 14, 1915	9
24	THE ARMENIANS - TO FIGHT WITH ALLIES	<i>SMH</i>	October 20, 1915	11
25	ARMENIAN MASSACRES	<i>SMH</i>	October 16, 1915	17
26	WORST IN HISTORY INTERNATIONAL CRIMES BELGIUM AND ARMENIA	<i>SMH</i>	October 18, 1915	9
27	ARMENIANS - OVER A MILLION EXILED	<i>SMH</i>	October 23, 1915	17

28	ARMENIAN'S PLIGHT TYPHUS STRICKEN REFUGEES	<i>SMH</i>	December 13, 1915	9
29	THE ARMENIANS - AWFUL SUFFERINGS	<i>SMH</i>	December 16, 1915	9
30	DAY OF INTERCESSION - CHURCH SERVICES	<i>SMH</i>	January 4, 1916	9
31	THE ARMENIANS - WHOLESALE MASSACRE	<i>SMH</i>	January 17, 1916	9
32	THE ARMENIANS MASSACRES RECOMMENCED	<i>SMH</i>	February 12, 1916	17
33	THE RUSSIAN SUCCESS (EDITORIAL)	<i>SMH</i>	February 18, 1916	6
34	ARMENIAN MASSACRES (1) AMERICAN ATTITUDE (2) KEY TO ARMENIA	<i>SMH</i>	February 22, 1916	7
35	ARMENIANS MASSACRED	<i>SMH</i>	March 10, 1916	9
36	ARMENIANS - A MILLION MURDERED	<i>SMH</i>	April 17, 1916	9
37	ARMENIANS - WHOLESALE MASSACRES	<i>SMH</i>	June 23, 1916	7
38	THE ARMENIANS GERMAN PROFESSORS' APPEAL	<i>SMH</i>	July 8, 1916	14
39	EDITORIAL - THE RUSSIANS IN ASIA	<i>SMH</i>	July 18, 1916	8
40	THE ARMENIANS DETAILS OF MASSACRES DIRECTED BY GERMANS	<i>SMH</i>	July 22, 1916	13
41	GERMAN COMPLICITY IN ARMENIAN MASSACRES	<i>SMH</i>	July 22, 1916	14
42	EDITORIAL - THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE	<i>SMH</i>	July 28, 1916	6
43	THE ARMENIANS HORRIBLE SUFFERINGS	<i>SMH</i>	August 21, 1916	7
44	ARMENIAN HORRORS - 30,000 STARVING MISSIONARY'S DESCRIPTION	<i>SMH</i>	September 12, 1916	7
45	TO AID ARMENIANS	<i>SMH</i>	October 5, 1916	7
46	ARMENIANS ESCAPE	<i>SMH</i>	October 27, 1916	8
47	MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS	<i>SMH</i>	November 11, 1916	13
48	ARMENIAN HORRORS SYSTEMATIC MASSACRE	<i>SMH</i>	January 2, 1917	7
49	FAMINE IN ARMENIA	<i>SMH</i>	January 25, 1917	9
50	ARMENIAN MASSACRES	<i>SMH</i>	February 27, 1917	7
51	PALESTINE JEWS PERSECUTED	<i>SMH</i>	May 9, 1917	11
52	MASSACRE OF JEWS	<i>SMH</i>	May 18, 1917	7
53	REPORTED MASSACRE	<i>SMH</i>	March 5, 1918	7
54	ARMENIANS MASSACRED	<i>SMH</i>	March 12, 1918	7
55	ARMENIA	<i>SMH</i>	April 6, 1918	13
56	CHRISTIANS MASSACRED	<i>SMH</i>	September 2, 1918	7
57	AMERICAN OFFICIAL NEWS)	<i>SMH</i>	September 13, 1918	7
58	ARMENIA'S PLIGHT	<i>SMH</i>	March 31, 1919	9
59	GENERAL CABLE NEWS	<i>SMH</i>	August 30, 1919	17
60	THE ARMENIANS DESTRUCTION THREATENED	<i>SMH</i>	February 19, 1920	7
61	ARMENIA - ALLIES TAKING MEASURES	<i>SMH</i>	March 1, 1920	7

62	MILLION PERISH WHAT ARMENIA SUFFERED	<i>SMH</i>	June 6, 1921	7
63	GENERAL CABLE NEWS	<i>SMH</i>	December 8, 1921	9
64	GENERAL CABLE NEWS	<i>SMH</i>	April 20, 1922	9
65	A TRAGEDY	<i>SMH</i>	August 12, 1922	12
66	FEAR OF MASSACRES	<i>SMH</i>	September 12, 1922	9
67	A DISTURBING OUTLOOK	<i>SMH</i>	September 13, 1922	10
68	CHRISTIANS IN DANGER	<i>SMH</i>	September 13, 1922	11
69	OCCUPATION OF SMYRNA	<i>SMH</i>	September 14, 1922	7
70	GREAT FIRE IN SMYRNA	<i>SMH</i>	September 16, 1922	13
71	SMYRNA ABLAZE - STORIES OF MASSACRE	<i>SMH</i>	September 18, 1922	9
72	PLIGHT OF SMYRNA OUTBREAK OF PLAGUE	<i>SMH</i>	September 19, 1922	9
73	RUSSIAN REFUGEES	<i>SMH</i>	September 21, 1922	9
74	REFUGEES	<i>SMH</i>	September 22, 1922	9
75	SECOND BLUNDER OF THE WAR	<i>SMH</i>	September 23, 1922	13
76	CHURCHES'S APPEAL	<i>SMH</i>	September 25, 1922	9
77	SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>SMH</i>	September 26, 1922	9
78	SMYRNA REFUGEES	<i>SMH</i>	September 28, 1922	9
79	REFUGEES FROM SMYRNA	<i>SMH</i>	October 3, 1922	7
80	AMERICA AND THE NEAR EAST	<i>SMH</i>	October 4, 1922	12
81	LATE CABLE NEWS EUROPE'S DANGER POINT	<i>SMH</i>	October 5, 1922	9
82	A CORRESPONDENT'S REPORT	<i>SMH</i>	October 11, 1922	13
83	LATE CABLE NEWS FLIGHT FROM ASIA MINOR TERRIBLE SCENES	<i>SMH</i>	November 15, 1922	13
84	THE NEAR EAST - GRAVE SITUATION	<i>SMH</i>	November 14, 1922	9
85	TREK FROM ANATOLIA	<i>SMH</i>	November 30, 1922	9
86	VATICAN'S APPEAL	<i>SMH</i>	December 7, 1922	9
87	PLIGHT OF REFUGEES	<i>SMH</i>	December 8, 1922	9
88	LAUSANNE CONFERENCE	<i>SMH</i>	December 20, 1922	10
89	RUSSIA - TWELVE MILLION MAY PERISH DR SMITH'S LECTURE	<i>SMH</i>	December 21, 1922	10
90	GENERAL CABLE NEWS	<i>SMH</i>	January 11, 1923	9
91	GENERAL CABLE NEWS	<i>SMH</i>	January 15, 1923	9
92	THE NEAR EAST EXECUTIONS REPORTED	<i>SMH</i>	January 18, 1923	9
93	GENERAL CABLE NEWS	<i>SMH</i>	January 25, 1923	9
94	GENERAL CABLE NEWS	<i>SMH</i>	February 1, 1923	9
95	UNITED STATES JAPANESE AND CHINESE EXCLUDED	<i>SMH</i>	February 7, 1923	13
96	THE ARMENIANS EXPULSED FROM HOMES	<i>SMH</i>	August 18, 1923	13

## 5. Titles of articles on the extermination of Greeks

This section includes titles of articles on the genocide of Greeks. This is not a complete list; I have not double-checked the articles and cross-referenced with the other newspapers to complete the list.

The symbol (CH) in a cell indicates that the article refers to Christians. There are a number of articles referring to Christians being deported from Anatolia or Asia Minor in 1922 and probably refer to the deportations of Greeks from those regions. It might have included also some Armenians but the absolute majority were Greeks and I placed these articles in the Greek list.

Other articles on the extermination of Greeks are included in the Armenian list with the symbol (G).

- *AGE*
- *ARG*
- *BC*
- *MCY*
- *REG*
- *SMH*

## 5.1 *The Age*

<b>THE AGE 1915 – 1923</b>				
<b>TITLES OF ARTICLES ON THE GREEK GENOCIDE</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	TURKS PERSECUTE GREEKS		January 11, 1915	7
2	THREE HUNDRED GREEKS KILLED		May 21, 1915	7
3	STATE OF TERROR AT SMYRNA (G)		September 9, 1915	9
4	GREEKS IN ASIA MINOR HOW THEY WERE EXPELLED		November 8, 1915	7
5	TURKISH PERSECUTION OF GREEKS		August 18, 1916	5
6	RUSSIANS AND TURKS TURKISH ILL-TREATMENT OF GREEKS		August 22, 1916	5
7	TURKS MASSACRE GREEKS		October 4, 1916	9
8	GREEKS MURDERED BY TURKS		March 27, 1919	7
9	TURKS MURDER GREEKS		July 1, 1919	5
10	TURKS MURDER GREEKS RISING AGAINST CHRISTIANS FEARED	LONDON	March 16, 1920	7
11	MASSACRE OF GREEKS ATROCITY IN A BLACK SEA PORT	LONDON	June 6, 1921	5
12	A TURKISH REIGN OF TERROR GREEKS ROUNDED UP AND KILLED		August 6, 1921	13
13	TURKISH CRUELTY THOUSANDS OF GREEKS BURNT ALIVE		August 20, 1921	11
14	MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS PATRIARCH APPEALS TO BRITAIN (CH)	LONDON	June 15, 1922	9
15	MASSACRES IN TURKEY JOINT COMMISSION OF INQUIRY (G)		June 16, 1922	9
16	TURKISH SAVAGERY FURTHER SHOCKING STORIES (G)		August 18, 1922	9
17	CHRISTIANS IN THRACE	NEW YORK	December 4, 1922	9
18	REFUGEES IN GREECE RELIEF WORK UNDERTAKEN		December 4, 1922	10
19	A BLACK SEA INFERNO (1) HOW TURKEY TREATS GREEK REFUGEES (G)		March 5, 1923	9
20	(1) PRISONERS IN TURKEY MANY GREEKS DISAPPEAR (2) SYSTEMATIC INCENDIARISM IN CONSTANTINOPLE		July 17, 1923	9



## 5.2 *The Argus*

<b>THE ARGUS 1915 – 1923</b>				
<b>TITLES OF ARTICLES ON THE GREEK GENOCIDE</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	CRUSHING THE GREEKS WANTON MURDERS BY TURKS		January 11, 1915	9
2	PERSECUTED GREEKS TURKS IMPRISON THOUSANDS		July 16, 1915	7
3	PERSECUTION OF GREEKS DENIED BY THE TURKS		July 24, 1915	17
4	TERROR AT SMYRNA GREEK POPULATION'S PERIL		September 9, 1915	7
5	TURKISH OUTRAGES		July 11, 1916	5
6	THE UNSPEAKABLE TURK ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA PITIABLE PLIGHT OF GREEKS (G)		August 22, 1916	7
7	TURKS AND GREEKS OTTOMANS MURDER PEASANTS		July 1, 1919	5
8	TURKS ILL-TREAT GREEKS		September 25, 1919	7
9	(1) TURKISH DEPORTATIONS (2) HOMELESS AND DESTITUTE		October 14, 1922	25
10	TURKS STILL MILITANT POPULATION UNEASY MANY GREEKS ARRESTED	LONDON	November 14, 1922	9
11	FLIGHT OF REFUGEES HARROWING SCENES		November 15, 1922	11
12	FLIGHT FROM ANATOLIA		30-Nov-1922	9
13	PLIGHT OF REFUGEES ANGORA GOVERNMENTS INHUMANITY		8-Dec-1922	11

### 5.3 *The Brisbane Courier*

<b>THE BRISBANE COURIER 1915 – 1923 TITLES OF ARTICLES ON THE GREEK GENOCIDE</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	EXPULSION OF GREEKS	ATHENS	January 11, 1915	7
2	GREEKS IN TURKEY PERSECUTING SPREADING	ATHENS	July 16, 1915	7
3	GREEKS IN TURKEY ALLEGED PERSECUTION DENIED	ATHENS	July 24, 1915	5
4	GREEKS IN TURKEY A GREEK NAVAL DEMONSTRATION	ROME	July 26, 1915	7
5	TERROR REIGNED AT SMYRNA CHRISTIANS FORCIBLY REMOVED EXTERMINATING THE GREEKS	CATANIA	September 9, 1915	7
6	TURKISH EXCESSES AT SMYRNA	ATHENS	July 11, 1916	7
7	MASSACRE OF GREEKS	ATHENS	June 6, 1921	7
8	TURKISH HORRORS* INTERIOR MASSACRES STATEMENT OF PATRIARCH (CH)	LONDON	June 15, 1922	5
9	TURKISH MASSACRES* APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSION (G)	LONDON	June 16, 1922	7
10	TURKISH HORRORS* ATROCITIES IN ANATOLIA ORPHANAGE WORKER'S STATEMENT (G)	LONDON	August 18, 1922	7
11	THE NEAR EAST CHRISTIANS LEAVING THRACE	CONSTANTINOPLE	October 19, 1922	5
12	CHRISTIAN REFUGEES ASIA MINOR AND THRACE A RELIEF FUND		October 21, 1922	8
13	CHRISTIAN REFUGEES THE RELIEF FUND		October 23, 1922	15
14	CHRISTIAN REFUGEES FUND		October 24, 1922	4
15	CHRISTIAN REFUGEES' FUND		October 25, 1922	8
16	CHRISTIAN REFUGEE RELIEF FUND		October 27, 1922	4
17	CHRISTIAN REFUGEE RELIEF FUND		November 7, 1922	6
18	GREEK REFUGEES WORK OF RELIEF FEDERATION ONE MILLION HOLELESS	LONDON	November 20, 1922	7
19	"AN INFERNO" - GREEK REFUGEES' PLIGHT	LONDON	March 5, 1923	6

5.4 *The Mercury*

<b>THE MERCURY 1915 – 1923 TITLES OF ARTICLES ON THE GREEK GENOCIDE</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	PERSECUTION OF GREEKS	ATHENS	July 16, 1915	5
2	TREATMENT OF GREEKS ALLEGED ASSISTING OF ALLIES	ATHENS	July 24, 1915	5
3	TURKEY AND GREECE PROTEST OF THE GREEKS	ROME	July 26, 1915	6
4	TURKISH EXCESSES IN ASIA MINOR MURDER OF GREEKS		March 27, 1919	5
5	TURKISH BARBARITIES MURDER OF GREEK INHABITANTS	LONDON	March 16, 1920	5
6	THE EVACUATION OF CHRISTIANS STORM PROTEST IN AMERICA (CH)	NEW YORK	December 4, 1922	7
7	(1) THE CHRISTIAN REFUGEES PLIGHT BECOMING MORE HOPELESS (2) SUGGESTED SETTLEMENT OVERSEAS	LONDON	December 8, 1922	7
8	FAMINE IN GREECE MILLION PENNILESS REFUGEES APPEAL FOR HELP		January 15, 1923	5
9	GREEK REFUGEES SHOCKING TREATMENT BY TURKS NO SHELTER AND LITTLE FOOD	LONDON	March 5, 1923	7

## 5.5 *The Register*

<b>THE REGISTER 1915 – 1923</b>				
<b>TITLES OF ARTICLES ON THE GREEK GENOCIDE</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	MASSACRE OF GREEKS	ATHENS	January 11, 1915	5
2	MASSACRE THREATENED	LONDON	January 12, 1915	5
3	A TURKISH MASSACRE	ATHENS	March 23, 1915	7
4	REPORTED MASSACRE	ROME	March 25, 1915	7
5	SMYRNA'S SAD PLIGHT	PARIS	April 19, 1915	7
6	GREEKS IN TURKEY	ATHENS	July 24, 1915	9
7	THE WAR FRONTS	EDITORIAL	August 21, 1916	4
8	PERSECUTION OF GREEKS	ATHENS	August 22, 1916	5
9	TURKISH MASSACRE REPORTED	LONDON	October 4, 1916	7
10	MORE DEBITS TO TURKEY*	NEW YORK	September 2, 1918	5
11	THE CRUMBLING ALLIANCE	EDITORIAL	October 11, 1918	4
12	THE BARBAROUS TURK ARMENIAN HORRORS (G)	LONDON	August 18, 1922	7
13	ANGORA ATROCITIES THE KHARPUT MARTYRDOM (G)		September 14, 1922	11
14	FEROCIOUS TURKS - SMYRNA DESPOILED WHOLESALE MASSACRES (G)	ATHENS	September 16, 1922	10
15	DEPORTING THE CHRISTIANS (G)	ATHENS	October 14, 1922	9
16	TURKISH SITUATION STILL VERY GRAVE	PARIS	November 14, 1922	7
17	HELP FOR THRACIAN CHRISTIANS	NEW YORK	December 4, 1922	9
18	BLACH SEA INFERNO PLIGHT OF REFUGEES	LONDON	March 5, 1923	7
19	ASIA MINOR REFUGEES A HUNDRED DEATHS DAILY	CONSTANTINOPLE	March 6, 1923	9
20	SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA		March 13, 1923	6
21	REFUGEE'S RELIEF PROBLEM PERMANENT SOLUTION REQUIRED	WASHINGTON	April 4, 1923	7
22	THE TERROR OF PONTOS SLAIN AS RESULT OF QUARREL NEMESIS ON MURDER	CONSTANTINOPLE	April 5, 1923	8

**5.6 The Sydney Morning Herald**

<b>THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD 1915 – 1923 TITLES OF ARTICLES ON THE GREEK GENOCIDE</b>				
<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	GREEKS PERSECUTED		January 11, 1915	7
2	TURKISH OUTBREAKS - GREEKS MASSACRED		April 22, 1916	13
3	TURKISH FREEBOOTERS	PARIS	July 1, 1919	9
4	THE TURKS - ROB AND MURDER GREEKS		March 16, 1920	7
5	TURKEY TROUBELSONE MASSACRE OF GREEKS	LONDON	June 6, 1921	7
6	FURY OF THE TURK* WHOLESALE MASSACRE (CH)	LONDON	June 15, 1922	9
7	FURY OF THE TURK* CRUEL TREATMENT OF GREEKS (G)	LONDON	August 18, 1922	9
8	HELP FOR GREECE MEETING IN SYDNEY (RFG)		September 25, 1922	9
9	TREK FORM ANATOLIA	LONDON	November 30, 1922	9
10	CHRISTIANS IN THRACE FEELING IN AMERICA (CH)	NEW YORK	December 4, 1922	9
11	TURKISH METHODS - APPALLING STORY EXPPELLING GREEKS	LONDON	February 15, 1923	9
12	GREEK IMMIGRANTS - EYES ON AUSTRALIA		February 27, 1923	8
13	GREEK REFUGEES - BLACK SEA INFERNO		March 5, 1923	9
14	REFUGEES - RAVAGES OF DISEASE	LONDON	March 6, 1923	9
15	CARE OF REFUGEES NOTE FROM AMERICA	WASHINGTON	April 4, 1923	13

6. **Chronology of the Armenian Genocide as reported in the Australian press. Only articles were selected that appeared in more than one newspaper on any day.**

NO	Date	Description	Source	Newspapers
1	15-Dec-1914	Reports from Petrograd indicates that the position of 20,000 Armenians in Erzerum is terrible. Armenians and Greeks have been executed without trial.	Petrograd	<i>AGE, ARG, MCY</i>
2	26-Dec-1914	Kurds massacring Armenians in the province of Van.	Petrograd	<i>AGE, MCY</i>
3	31-Dec-1914	Atrocities of Turkish troops against inoffensive civilians.	Petrograd	<i>AGE, ARG, MCY</i>
4	15-Jan-1915	Massacre of Armenians between Lake Van and Lake Urmiah, Alashgerd valley and in Azerbaijan in Persia.	Petrograd	<i>ARG, MCY,</i>
5	30-Jan-1915	A Kurdish chief joins the Russians and confirms that almost all Armenians have been massacred in Alashgerd valley.	Petrograd	<i>BC, MCY, SMH, REG,</i>
6	24-Feb-1915	Massacres in Ardanush.	Petrograd	<i>AGE, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
7	11-May-1915	Self-defence of the city of Van, massacres elsewhere.	N/A	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG.</i>
8	12-May-1915	Massacres in Urmiah, Salmas, Gulpashan in Persia.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
9	19-May-1915	Further massacres in Urmiah and Van.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
10	24-May-1915	Massacres of Armenians.		<i>AGE, ARG, BC, REG.</i>
11	25-May-1915	Britain, France and Russia announce that they will hold the Ottoman Government responsible for the massacres of Armenians.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
12	21-Jun-1915	Hanging of 20 Social Democrats (Henchak Party).	Frankfurter Zeitung	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG.</i>
13	21-Jul-1915	Anarchy in Constantinople. Persecution of Armenians and foreigners.	Rome	<i>BC, MCY, REG,</i>
14	24-Jul-1915	Massacres in Bitlis and surrounding areas. 9000 women and children killed. 100 had their throats cut. Diarbekir Armenians massacred.	Petrograd	<i>ARG, BC, MCY, REG,</i>
15	30-Jul-1915	Debate in the House of Lords about the extermination of Armenians.	London	<i>ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
16	3-Aug-1915	Massacres of Armenians and Greeks in Marsovan.	Athens	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
17	5-Aug-1915	Massacres in Cilicia. Hanging of twenty Armenian Social Democrats.	Paris	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG.</i>
18	7-Aug-1915	Statement of Enver Pasha about the Turkish policy, "Turkey for the Turks". Turks are getting rid of the Armenians then the turn will come to Greeks, Jews and Germans.	Athens	<i>BC, REG, SMH,</i>
19	21-Aug-1915	Requiem services held in Bulgaria in memory of Armenian victims.	Amsterdam	<i>ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
20	6-Sep-1915	Massacre of Armenians and Greeks in Ismid.	Athens	<i>MCY, REG,</i>
21	10-Sep-1915	Armenian refugees reaching Italy state that Turks massacred 70,000 Armenians.	Rome	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG.</i>
22	11-Sep-1915	Massacre of an Armenian village of 2000 homes.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
23	13-Sep-1915	Armenians in Bulgaria ask the country's Prime Minister to petition the Turkish Government to stop the killings.	Sofia	<i>ARG, BC, MCY,</i>

24	22-Sep-1915	Viscount Bryce's appeal to the US to stop the slaughter of Armenians. Massacres in Trebizond, 10,000 drowned.	New York	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG.</i>
25	23-Sep-1915	Viscount Bryce's appeal to the US to stop the slaughter of Armenians. Massacres in Trebizond, 10,000 drowned. Italian Consul's description of the massacres.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
26	24-Sep-1915	French official communication confirming that Turks are destroying the Armenian nation. First report of the arrest of Armenian intellectuals in Constantinople.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
27	25-Sep-1915	Armenians sold as slaves in Constantinople.	Paris	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG,</i>
28	27-Sep-1915	The US Government instructs its Ambassador in Constantinople to investigate the Armenian massacres.	Washington	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
29	28-Sep-1915	Massacres in Kharpert province. Fate of deportees from Erzeroum province, Papert. Fate of Armenian soldiers.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
30	29-Sep-1915	The German Ambassador in Washington denies the extermination of Armenians as "pure invention".	N/A	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
31	1-Oct-1915	Some German Consuls are encouraging the massacre of Armenians and Talaat is the instigator of atrocities against the Armenians.	Times	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
32	4-Oct-1915	The US Ambassador to Constantinople suggests to Turkish leaders to transport to the US all deported Armenians.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, SMH, REG,</i>
33	6-Oct-1915	The US threatens to review its friendly ties with the Ottoman Empire if the massacre of Armenians continues.	Washington	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
34	8-Oct-1915	Debate in the House of Lords about the extermination of Armenians. Reports of 800,000 Armenians "destroyed since May.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
35	11-Oct-1915	Growing indignation in Denmark and the US.	London, NY	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, SMH, REG,</i>
36	12-Oct-1915	Growing indignation in US. Mr Balfour states: "Amid all the horrors of the war, nothing is more horrible than the treatment of the Armenians by the Turks."	London, NY	<i>AGE, BC, MCY, REG,</i>
37	14-Oct-1915	Pope writes to Sultan. The massacres resume with vigour after Bulgaria enters the war.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
38	16-Oct-1915	The British Consul in Tiflis reports that the majority of Armenians have been killed.	N/A	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
39	18-Oct-1915	Lord Bryce speaks about the massacre of Armenians.	N/A	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG,</i>
40	20-Oct-1915	Armenians will form volunteer corps to avenge the massacres and fight with Allies.	N/A	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG,</i>
41	23-Oct-1915	The Turkish Embassy in Washington accuses Russians and Armenians of committing atrocities against the Turks. Unofficial reports of 1,000,000 Armenians killed or exiled.	Washington	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
42	26-Oct-1915	Stories of massacres of Armenians confirmed by an eye witness. Refers to the eyewitness account written by CEW Bean from Gallipoli.	N/A	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG.</i>
43	29-Nov-1915	Detailed stories of Armenian massacres. The source is Lord Bryce's letter to the newspapers.	London	<i>ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>



44	16-Dec-1915	More atrocities against Armenians. The source is Lord Bryce's letter to the <i>Daily Telegraph</i> . He estimates that 1,000,000 Armenians have perished already.	London	<i>ARG, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
45	21-Dec-1915	The rescue of Armenians of Mussa Dagh by the French Navy, after a successful resistance against the Turks.	London	<i>ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
46	4-Jan-1916	Day of intercession in London, reference to the slaughter of Armenians.	London	<i>SMH, REG,</i>
47	17-Jan-1916	Lord Bryce receives a message from Armenia about the massacre of some 1,500 Armenians in Sassoon. They had surrendered after trusting the amnesty declared by the Governor of Mush.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
48	12-Feb-1916	Swiss newspapers report that the massacre against the remaining Armenians had begun.	Geneva	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
49	21-Feb-1916	American protest to Constantinople against the massacres of Armenians. Thousands of Armenians massacred by Kurds at Erzerum.	Washington, Petrograd	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG,</i>
50	22-Feb-1916	Clarification of the previous day's news that the American protest was "unofficial". Russian successful advance in Armenia and their efforts to "save the vestige of the ancient Armenian civilisation."	Washington, Petrograd	<i>ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
51	10-Mar-1916	After the capture of Erzerum Russians find only 16 Armenians out of a population of 40,000.	Petrograd	<i>AGE, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
52	17-Apr-1916	A Catholic newspaper reports that Turks had murdered "upwards of one million Armenians including 100,000 Catholics and four bishops."	Amsterdam	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
53	15-May-1916	Russian Prince Argutinski reports that the population of Trebizond was almost entirely Greek. Turks had fled and Armenians massacred or drowned. Thousands of Armenian children were "hiding in ditches and feeding on roots." The bodies of other children were "scattered along the roadsides. Many were shot for target practice."	Petrograd	<i>AGE, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
54	23-May-1916	Details of massacres of Armenians in Trebizond and Erzerum.	Petrograd	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
55	23-Jun-1916	Dr Henry Barby, writes from Erzerum to the Paris <i>"Journal"</i> that out of the 2,500,000 Armenians "at the beginning of 1915, 2,000,000 have been massacred by order of the Young Turk Government."	Paris	<i>AGE, ARG, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
56	8-Jul-1916	Appeals for help, from German professors, for the benefit of Armenians who had "undergone the most frightful catastrophe in the world's history."	Copenhagen	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG,</i>
57	19-Jul-1916	The correspondent of Paris <i>"Journal"</i> reports from Armenia about the massacres of Kharpert.	Paris	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
58	22-Jul-1916	M. Balof, Red Cross Commissioner in Armenia reports about the massacre of Armenians in Trebizond and surrounding villages.	Paris	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
59	21-Aug-1916	Dr Barton from New York reports about the terrible condition of Armenians at Meskene. Reports of cannibalism.	New York	<i>AGE, ARG, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
60	25-Aug-1916	Appeal of German teachers, Prof. Graete and Dr Niepage from Aleppo, about the terrible condition of Armenian deportees and the cruelty of Turkish soldiers.	London, Amsterdam	<i>ARG, AGE, BC, MCY, REG,</i>

61	7-Sep-1916	The situation in Romania creates tensions and panic in Constantinople. To create diversion the Government orders a "hunt for Armenians". 12 are hanged.	London	<i>REG, SMH</i>
62	12-Sep-1916	A Presbyterian missionary reports about the "awful sufferings of Armenians in Meskene." Thousands are naked and starved. People are eating locusts and dogs and fighting for the flesh of dead people.	New York	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH,</i>
63	21-Sep-1916	More details of the protest letter of the two German teachers from Aleppo. The original report appeared in the <i>New York Times</i> .	New York	<i>ARG, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
64	5-Oct-1916	Campaign launch in Washington to raise 1,000,000 for the "suffering Armenians."	Washington	<i>BC, REG, SMH</i>
65	27-Oct-1916	Mr George Gracey, "member of the American mission in Armenia" conducts the "exodus of 25,000 Armenians with 6,000 cattle from Lake Van."	London	<i>AGE, BC, MCY, REG,</i>
66	11-Nov-1916	Mr Asquith, in a speech in the Guildhall, holds Germany responsible for the "Turkish massacres of Armenians."	London	<i>REG, SMH</i>
67	30-Nov-1916	The American Consul in Tiflis describes the condition of thousands of Armenian refugees who are arriving in Caucasus after hiding in caves and being "hunted by Turks like wild animals."	Washington, New York	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG,</i>
68	2-Jan-1917	Eyewitness account of massacres in Mush. Mutilated bodies of women and children in the fields. Murder and rape of Armenian women in Trebizond.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
69	25-Jan-1917	Famine in Armenia.	Petrograd	<i>AGE, SMH</i>
70	19-Feb-1917	Death of some 60,000 Armenians, from exhaustion, at Meskene. Terrible condition of deportees in other concentration camps in the Syrian desert.	Paris	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG</i>
71	27-Feb-1917	Mr Balfour in a letter states that 1,200,000 Armenians have been massacred or deported from the Ottoman Empire.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, SMH</i>
72	22-Jun-1917	Mr E. Candler, British official press correspondent in Mesopotamia, based on survivor eyewitness accounts reports about the deportation and massacres.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG</i>
73	6-Mar-1918	Armenian population of Samsun, including children, massacred by Turks.	New York	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG</i>
74	12-Mar-1918	The remaining population of Trebizond massacred by Turks. Many Armenians were burnt to death or crucified.	Petrograd	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
75	21-Mar-1918	Russian soldiers returning home from the Caucasus have brought with them Armenian women slaves.	-	<i>AGE, ARG</i>
76	6-Apr-1918	8000 Armenians massacred at Erzerum. Many women were tied to the train line and killed by the passing of the train.	Rome	<i>AGE, ARG, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
77	15-Apr-1918	The Russian government protests to the German government about the massacre of the Armenian population by the hands of the Turks.	Petrograd	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
78	10-Jun-1918	10,000 Armenians massacred in a fortnight.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG</i>
79	19-Aug-1918	Armenians forced to sign a peace treaty with Turkey to avoid extermination.	Boston	<i>AGE, BC, MCY, REG</i>

80	2-Sep-1918	Turks massacre 15,000 Christians in Persia.	New York	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG</i>
81	13-Sep-1918	Turks massacre Christians in Persia including priests.	Washington	<i>ARG, MCY</i>
82	4-Nov-1918	Massacre of 15,000 Armenians in Baku by Turkish Tatars (Azeris).	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
83	21-Nov-1918	Turkey surrenders. Armenian prisoners will be released. The massacres were ordered from Constantinople.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG</i>
84	26-Nov-1918	Many of the Turkish leaders have escaped to Berlin. The new Turkish government have demanded their extradition to punish them for the extermination of the Armenians.	Copenhagen	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
85	27-Nov-1918	A German newspaper reports that Enver Pasha and other Turkish ministers will not be extradited unless their direct complicity in the extermination of Armenians is proved.	Rotterdam	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, SMH</i>
86	28-Dec-1918	Turkish agitators are stirring up the mob to massacre Armenians.	London	<i>AGE, ARG</i>
87	30-Dec-1918	Many Armenians murdered, churches robbed and graves desecrated.	London	<i>BC, MCY, SMH</i>
88	6-Jan-1919	The victims of the extermination of Armenians number 1,500,000. Turks withdrawing from Armenia are massacring Armenians and stealing their food.	Paris	<i>ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
89	27-Jan-1919	Kiamil Pasha arrested on charge of massacring Armenians and Greeks.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, SMH</i>
90	10-Feb-1919	Under pressure from French and English representatives, the Turkish government has arrested 50 members of the Union and Progress party for barbarities against the Armenians and Greeks.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
91	17-Feb-1919	Reshid Bey, the instigator of the massacres at Diarbekir escapes from prison but committes suicide.	Constantinople	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
92	25-Feb-1919	General Liman von Sanders will be tried for ordering the massacres of Armenians and Syrians.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
93	20-Mar-1919	Turks have renewed the persecution of Armenians and Greeks.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, REG, SMH</i>
94	31-Mar-1919	The Armenian delegation at the Peace Conference made an urgent appeal for food.	Paris	<i>AGE, ARG, MCY, REG</i>
95	19-Apr-1919	Fears that further massacres of Armenians will take place in Turkey.	London	<i>AGE, BC, MCY, SMH</i>
96	24-Apr-1919	Young Turk leaders are being tried in their absence on charges of deportations, massacres and theft.	London	<i>AGE, MCY, REG</i>
97	25-Apr-1919	Tens of thousands of Armenians are being starved to death by Turks, Kurds and Tatars (Azeris).	New York	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
98	31-May-1919	The British government is determined to bring to justice the Young Turk leaders.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, MCY, REG</i>
99	29-Aug-1919	Informal warning to Turkey by Rear-Admiral Bristol forbidding the massacre of Armenians.	Washington	<i>AGE, ARG, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
100	30-Aug-1919	The warning of Bristol was sanctioned by the State Department.	Washington	<i>AGE, ARG, MCY, REG</i>

101	1-Sep-1919	Liman von Sanders, prisoner aboard a British warship, will be tried for extermination of Armenians.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, REG</i>
102	19-Feb-1920	8000 Armenians massacred in Cilicia.	Athens	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
103	27-Feb-1920	Allied High Commissioners in Constantinople had not received any details of the massacres in Cilicia. The French have inflicted heavy losses to Turkish irregulars at Marash.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, REG</i>
104	1-Mar-1920	At the Peace Conference the massacres of Armenians in Cilicia have been discussed.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, MCY, SMH</i>
105	3-Mar-1920	5000 Armenians massacred in Cilicia.	Washington	<i>AGE, ARG, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
106	8-Mar-1920	Allied governments are discussing the massacres of Armenians. Allies had received very serious news about the massacres.	London	<i>AGE, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
107	10-Mar-1920	The French government had taken measures to prevent further massacres.	London	<i>AGE, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
108	11-Mar-1920	Turks had massacred 15,000 and not 5,000 Armenians as reported.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, SMH</i>
109	12-Mar-1920	The Turkish Chamber of Deputies had decided to ask the US to investigate the Anatolian massacres.	London	<i>AGE, REG</i>
110	13-Mar-1920	The Supreme Council issues a communiqué announcing the measures it had taken to insure the protection of Armenians. Lord Bryce in a speech in the House of Lords raises the issue of the massacre of Armenians in Cilicia.	London	<i>AGE, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
111	15-Mar-1920	Lord Bryce urges in the House of Lords to send troops and warships to Cilicia to stop the massacres of Armenians.	London	<i>AGE, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
112	16-Mar-1920	Turks insult, ill-treat, rob and murder Greeks. Incitement to massacre Christians in Constantinople.	London	<i>ARG, REG</i>
113	1-Apr-1920	President Wilson anxious about Armenia's future. Armenia should be independent with access to the sea.	Washington	<i>AGE, BC, SMH</i>
114	3-May-1920	Fighting between Armenians and Tartars (Azeris). 400 Armenians massacred at Marabagh.	London	<i>AGE, MCY</i>
115	8-Sep-1920	Massacre of Christians at Kerasund.	Athens	<i>AGE, ARG, REG</i>
116	3-Nov-1920	Massacre of 10,000 Armenians at Hajin.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, SMH</i>
117	22-Nov-1920	Turkish army advances in Armenia and threatens to massacre the population.	Paris	<i>AGE, MCY</i>
118	17-Mar-1921	Talaat Pasha assassinated by an Armenian in Berlin.	Berlin	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, SMH</i>
119	18-Mar-1921	Solomon Tehlirian confesses how he was seeking revenge, for ten years, for the killing of his relatives.	Berlin	<i>AGE, BC, MCY, SMH</i>
120	6-Jun-1921	During Solomon Tehlirian's trial, Prof Lepsius and other witnesses reveal the horrors of the extermination of Armenians.	London	<i>ARG, BC, MCY, SMH</i>
121	11-Oct-1921	A British court-martial in Constantinople hears how Torlakian, a young Armenian, had assassinated Djivan Chir, to avenge the death of his family.	Constantinople	<i>AGE, ARG</i>

122	20-Apr-1922	15 Armenians arrested in Berlin in connection with the assassination of Djemal Bey.	Berlin	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, REG</i>
123	30-May-1922	<i>Daily Telegraph</i> publishes the telegrams sent by Talaat Pasha to the Turkish officials at Aleppo with orders to exterminate the Armenians.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, REG, SMH</i>
124	5-Jun-1922	United States will join the investigation into Turkish atrocities in Anatolia.	New York	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, REG</i>
125	15-Jun-1922	The Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople denounces the recent massacres of 1200 people at Kavak.	London	<i>AGE, BC, SMH</i>
126	16-Jun-1922	America, British, French and Italian governments approve a joint commission to investigate the Turkish massacres and the expulsion of Greeks from Turkey.	London	<i>AGE, BC, REG</i>
127	27-Jul-1922	Assassination of Djemal Pasha, in Tiflis, Georgia.	London	<i>AGE, BC</i>
128	18-Aug-1922	Eye witness account of an American social worker on how Turks massacred Greeks in Anatolia.	London	<i>AGE, BC, REG, SMH</i>
129	13-Sep-1922	Attack on Christians in Constantinople. The Kemalists declare that they will not accept responsibility for the excesses of Turkish troops against Christians in Asia Minor.	Constantinople	<i>MCY, SMH</i>
130	14-Sep-1922	Turks kill Armenians and Greeks in Smyrna. Shops in the Armenian quarter systematically looted by Turkish troops.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
131	15-Sep-1922	Execution of Armenians and Greeks in Smyrna.	London	<i>AGE, BC, MCY, REG</i>
132	16-Sep-1922	Turks set fire to the city of Smyrna the loss of life estimated at 1000.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
133	18-Sep-1922	Americans promise initial 2500 dollars for Smyrna. First estimates to the damage caused by the fire.	Washington	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, REG,</i>
134	19-Sep-1922	200,000 homeless in Smyrna. Armenian and Greek refugees state that mutilated bodies litter the streets.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
135	20-Sep-1922	Christians flee Constantinople. Relief for refugees.	Constantinople	<i>AGE, BC, REG,</i>
136	22-Sep-1922	Kemalists consider all Christian male refugees between the ages of 18-45 prisoners of war and deport them to the interior.	London	<i>AGE, BC, REG</i>
137	25-Sep-1922	Appeal to Christians and Moslems of the British Empire to prevent the killing of all Armenians by Turks. Appeal of churches in US and Britain to stop Turkish atrocities.	London	<i>AGE, BC, MCY, REG, SMH</i>
138	27-Sep-1922	Appeal to the League of Nations to help the Smyrna refugees. Kemal Pasha orders all refugees to quit Smyrna by September 30.	London	<i>AGE, BC, MCY, REG</i>
139	28-Sep-1922	Allies help evacuate Smyrna refugees.	London	<i>AGE, BC</i>
140	29-Sep-1922	Two Armenians arrested for the assassination of Djemal Pasha.	Paris	<i>AGE, BC</i>
141	3-Oct-1922	177,000 refugees evacuated from Smyrna.	Constantinople	<i>AGE, BC, MCY</i>
142	6-Oct-1922	Evacuation of Smyrna refugees completed, they numbered around 200,000.	Athens	<i>AGE, MCY</i>
143	11-Oct-1922	Turks arrest Christians in the eastern suburbs of Constantinople. Committee formed in the US to raise funds nationally for the relief of refugees.	Washington	<i>AGE, BC, REG</i>
144	12-Oct-1922	A British fund sends trainload of relief to Smyrna refugees; 520,000 of them are in Greece, 132,000 in Malta, 2,700 in Crete and 15,000 in Cyprus.	London	<i>AGE, BC, MCY</i>

145	14-Oct-1922	The suffering of Christian refugees reaches England. Turks are deporting Christian inhabitants of Makri and Adalia.	London	<i>AGE, BC, REG, MCY</i>
146	15-Nov-1922	Evacuation of thousands of Armenian and Greek orphans. Turks prevent the evacuation of the male population between the ages of 19-55.	Athens	<i>BC, REG</i>
147	30-Nov-1922	Over a million Greeks prepare to leave Anatolia.	London	<i>AGE, BC, MCY</i>
148	4-Dec-1922	Strong protest in the US over the evacuation of Christians, mainly Greeks, from Anatolia and Thrace.	New York	<i>AGE, MCY</i>
149	7-Dec-1922	The Vatican has notified the Lausanne Conference over alarming reports threatening Christians.	London	<i>AGE, BC, MCY</i>
150	8-Dec-1922	The plight of refugees is becoming more hopeless because of Turkish intransigence.	London	<i>AGE, BC, MCY</i>
151	11-Jan-1923	Senator Williams introduces a Bill to allow the immigration of 100,000 Armenian refugees into the US.	Washington	<i>AGE, BC, MCY, REG</i>
152	15-Jan-1923	US Senate Immigration Committee authorises the immediate entry into the US of 2,500 Armenian orphans.	Washington	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, REG</i>
153	18-Jan-1923	Turks execute 38 Christians who were trying to escape from the Black Sea coast.	Constantinople	<i>AGE, MCY</i>
154	25-Jan-1923	House of Representatives Immigration Committee rejects the proposal of Senate's Committee to allow the immigration to the US of 2,500 Armenian orphans.	Washington	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY</i>
155	1-Feb-1923	Congressman Husted, moves a resolution to help transport 250,000 Armenians fleeing to Russia with 25,000,000 dollars.	Washington	<i>AGE, MCY, REG</i>
156	7-Feb-1923	US Senate passes a Bill allowing the immigration into the US of 25,000 Armenian children.	Washington	<i>AGE, BC, MCY, REG</i>
157	18-Aug-1923	Deportation of 35,000 Armenians from Van and Bitlis towards the Armenian border.	London	<i>AGE, ARG, BC, MCY</i>

7. **Text of the article written by CEW Bean from Gallipoli that appeared in *MCY*, 21 December 1915**

NOTE: Please see print copy for

'7. Text of the article written by CEW Bean from Gallipoli that appeared in MCY, 21 December 1915'.



NOTE: Please see print copy for

'8. Text of the article *Hard Driven Armenians* (ARG, 20 August 1915)

NOTE: Please see print copy for

'9. Text of the article *Suffering Armenia*, an Appeal to Churches that appeared in ARG, 21 April 1917'

NOTE: Please see print copy for

'10. Text of the article *In Turkish Hands: A Woman's Ideal* that appeared in REG, 22 September 1922'

## **11. Titles of articles of *SMH* on German atrocities**

This section includes titles of articles on German atrocities. While Germans did not commit any genocide, reports of German atrocities rival those attributed to Turks who were wiping out the Christian indigenous population on their territory and neighbouring countries (Persia and Russia).

This is not a complete list; I have not looked specifically to reports of German atrocities, did not include editorials and have not cross-referenced the articles with the other five newspapers (*AGE, ARG, BC, MCY, REG*). A thorough research would undoubtedly find many more articles.

**THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD: TITLES OF ARTICLES ON GERMAN  
ATROCITIES 1915 – 1921**

<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	GERMAN OUTRAGES TERRIBLE BRUTALITY		August 14, 1914	9
2	GERMAN BRUTALITY - BRUSSELS		August 22, 1914	13
3	GERMAN BRUTALITY TERRIBLE STORIES MINERS BURIED ALIVE	PARIS	August 29, 1914	13
4	BRUTAL GERMANS THE LOVAIN MASSACRES WANTON CRUELTY ATROCITIES AT MONS		September 7, 1914	9
5	GERMAN OUTRAGES A DINANT HOLOCAUST COLD BLOODED BUTCHERY	OSTEND	September 9, 1914	11
6	ATROCITIES BY GERMANS BELGIAN REPORT A CATALOGUE OF HORRORS RAPINE AND MURDER		November 3, 1914	10
7	IN BELGIUM GERMAN INHUMANITY MURDER OF PRISONERS		May 13, 1915	9
8	GROSS CRUELTY MORE GERMAN BARBARITIES		May 26, 1915	11
9	GERMAN INFAMY		May 27, 1915	8
10	GERMAN CRUELTY RUSSIAN COMMISSION		June 18, 1915	9
11	GERMAN CRIMES INTERVIEW WITH POPE		July 5, 1915	9
12	GERMAN ATROCITIES AMERICAN OPINIONS		July 8, 1915	9
13	GERMAN BARBARITY		July 13, 1915	9
14	GERMAN ATROCITIES OFFICIAL REPORT A SOLDIERS EVIDENCE		July 22, 1915	7
15	GERMAN BRUTALITY		July 24, 1915	13
16	GERMAN ATROCITIES FRENCH OFFICIAL REPORT		August 4, 1915	11
17	GERMAN BRUTALITY TREATMENT OF PRISONERS		August 19, 1915	7
18	GERMAN CRIMES WOUNDED SOLDIERS MURDERED		September 29, 1915	11
19	GERMAN TERRORISM BELGIAN REPORT		October 9, 1915	10
20	GERMAN BRUTALITY A NURSE EXECUTED		October 18, 1915	9
21	NURSE SHOT GERMANY'S GROWING INFAMY		October 23, 1915	17
22	GERMAN ATROCITIES		November 8, 1915	9
23	FRENCH TRANSPORT SUNK INHUMAN GERMANS		November 22, 1915	9

24	GERMAN BRUTALITY TREATMENT OF WOUNDED SERVIANS		December 6, 1915	9
25	GERMAN ATROCITIES POPE WILL NOT INQUIRE		February 3, 1916	9
26	GERMAN BRUTALITY		April 12, 1916	13
27	GERMAN ATROCITIES BRITISH PRISONERS		April 24, 1916	7
28	STARVING RUSSIANS GERMAN BRUTALITY		June 19, 1916	9
29	GERMAN BRUTALITY		June 26, 1916	6
30	GERMAN BRUTALITY TREATMENT OF PRISONERS		July 8, 1916	9
31	GERMAN OUTRAGE BELGIANS FORCED TO FIGHT		July 11, 1916	9
32	GERMANY THE ARCH CRIMINAL		August 2, 1916	11
33	GERMAN ATROCITIES	LONDON	August 4, 1916	7
34	PRISONERS BRUTALITY OF GERMANS		August 25, 1916	7
35	AUSTRIAN ATROCITIES		October 23, 1916	9
36	GERMAN METHODS MUTILATED CHILDREN IN BELGIUM		October 26, 1916	8
37	GERMAN ATROCITIES EFFECT OF REPRISALS	LONDON	October 28, 1916	
38	GERMAN BRUTALITY CAMPAIGN OF MURDER		November 10, 1916	8
39	TEUTON TACTICS BELGIANS AND SERVIANS ENSLAVED		November 25, 1916	13
40	GERMAN VANDALISM		November 27, 1916	7
41	AUSTRIAN ATROCITIES		November 29, 1916	9
42	GERMAN SAVAGERY	LONDON	January 1, 1917	7
43	GERMAN BARBARITY		January 20, 1917	14
44	GERMAN INHUMANITY	LONDON	January 22, 1917	8
45	HEARTLESS CRUELTY GERMANY'S TREATMENT OF SICK PRISONERS	BERNE	January 25, 1917	9
46	THE PRUSSIAN VIPER STRIKING ACROSS THE ATLANTIC	LONDON	February 5, 1917	10
47	GERMAN BRUTALITY AN OFFICER'S MARTYRDOM		March 14, 1917	7
48	GERMAN BRUTALITY	EDITORIAL	March 15, 1917	7
49	GERMAN VANDALISM		March 23, 1917	7
50	GERMAN BRUTALITY		March 31, 1917	13
51	GERMAN RAPACITY CONDITIONS IN POLAND		April 4, 1917	6
52	LATEST GERMAN HORROR		April 18, 1917	11
53	GERMAN BEASTLINESS		April 20, 1917	7
54	GERMAN INHUMANITY		April 24, 1917	7
55	GERMAN BARBARITY BRUTAL TREATMENT OF AUSTRALIANS	C W BEAN	May 26, 1917	13

56	GERMAN MADNESS		May 30, 1917	11
57	THE MODERN HUN ATROCITIES IN FRANCE		July 9, 1917	6
58	GERMAN BRUTALITY		July 10, 1917	7
59	BARBARIANS HOW GERMANY MAKES WAR		August 1, 1917	11
60	GERMAN FIENDS TREATMENT OF RUSSIANS		September 18, 1917	7
61	HUNGRY TEUTONS SWITZERLAND INVADED		September 20, 1917	7
62	GERMAN CRUELTY STORIES FROM EAST AFRICA		September 26, 1917	9
63	INHUMAN GERMANS	NEW YORK	October 4, 1917	7
64	GERMAN BRUTALITY		March 8, 1918	7
65	GERMAN BRUTALITY		April 4, 1918	7
66	GERMAN BRUTALITY PRISONERS IN BURNING BUILDING		April 5, 1918	7
67	GERMAN BRUTALITY TREATMENT OF PRISONERS		April 13, 1918	13
68	THE NEW BARBARISM	EDITORIAL	May 27, 1918	6
69	GERMAN OUTRAGE THE BOMBED HOSPITAL LIMIT OF INHUMANITY		May 29, 1918	11
70	BRITISH PRISONERS OF WAR GERMAN SAVAGERY		June 11, 1918	6
71	GERMAN BRUTALITY		June 18, 1918	13
72	GERMAN CRUELTY		June 24, 1918	5
73	GERMAN BRUTALITY		July 15, 1918	7
74	GERMAN BRUTALITY		July 20, 1918	13
75	GERMAN BRUTALITY		July 22, 1918	7
76	TEUTON CRUELTY		July 29, 1918	7
77	GERMAN CRUELTY TO AMERICAN PRISONERS	NEW YORK	August 20, 1918	7
78	GERMAN CRUELTY		August 24, 1918	13
79	GERMAN CRUELTY TO PRISONERS AMERICAN CRUCIFIED		August 28, 1918	11
80	GERMAN BRUTALITY SINKING WITHOUT LEAVING A TRACE		August 29, 1918	7
81	GERMAN BRUTALITY BELGIANS PUBLICLY FLOGGED		September 25, 1918	11
82	GERMAN BRUTALITY		October 14, 1918	7
83	GERMAN BRUTALITY ILL TREATED PRISONERS		October 28, 1918	7
84	GERMAN WAR CRIMES PUNISHMENT URGED		November 5, 1918	7
85	HUN CRUELITIES DESCRIBED BY RETURNED HEROES		November 8, 1918	7
86	GERMAN CRIMES SUNKEN HOSPITAL SHIP		December 2, 1918	7
87	JUSTICE - WHY GERMANY MUST PAY		December 18, 1918	10

88	GERMAN CRUELTY RECORD BY PRISONERS		December 18, 1918	11
89	BRUTAL GERMANS ENGLISHWOMAN ILLTREATEAD	LONDON	December 30, 1918	7
90	GERMAN BRUTALITY		January 27, 1919	7
91	WAR CRIMES PREPARING INDICTMENTS	NEW YORK	February 10, 1919	7
92	GERMAN CRUELTY		March 11, 1919	7
93	HUNS CRUELTY ESCAPEE RECAPTURED BY DOGS		June 2, 1919	8
94	HUNNISH CRUELTY	APA	June 30, 1919	9
95	WAR CRIMINALS QUESTION OF SURRENDER	LONDON	August 25, 1919	7
96	SILESIA - HUN ATROCITIES		August 27, 1919	11
97	GERMAN CRUELTY SOLDIERS IMPRISONED UNDERGROUND	PARIS	September 27, 1919	19
98	WAR CRIMES - THE HOHENZOLLERNS	NEW YORK	October 8, 1919	11
99	WAR CRIMES BISMARCK'S GRANDSON WANTED	PARIS	October 9, 1919	7
100	WAR CRIMES - GERMANS NAMED	PARIS	February 4, 1920	11
101	VON SANDERS SIR IAN HAMILTON'S APPEAL		February 5, 1920	6
102	WAR CRIMES - ALLIES DEMANDS	LONDON	February 7, 1920	13
103	GERMAN CRISIS REFUSAL TO GIVE UP CRIMINALS	LONDON	February 10, 1920	7
104	WAR CRIMINALS TRIAL BY GERMAN COURT		February 18, 1920	11
105	WAR CRIMINALS REMINDER TO GERMANY	LONDON	May 19, 1920	11
106	WAR CRIMINALS TRIAL TO BE URGED	LONDON	July 5, 1920	7
107	WAR CRIMINALS		July 12, 1920	7
108	REPARATION AND WAR CRIMINALS	LONDON	July 24, 1920	13
109	WAR CRIMINALS CHARGES AGAINST GERMANS	LONDON	November 27, 1920	15
110	WAR CRIMES - TRIALS NEXT MONTH	LONDON	April 22, 1921	9
111	WAR CRIMES GERMAN PRISON CAMPS	LONDON	April 28, 1921	7
112	WAR CRIMINALS - TRIALS IN LEIPZIG	LONDON	May 23, 1921	9
113	WAR CRIMINALS FIRST TRIALS AT LEIPZIG	LONDON	May 25, 1921	11
114	WAR CRIMINALS - TRIAL AT LEIPZIG	LONDON	May 27, 1921	9
115	WAR CRIMINALS FIRST TRIAL ENDED	LONDON	May 28, 1921	13
116	WAR CRIME TRIALS CONFIDENCE IN COURT	LONDON	June 1, 1921	11



**12. Sample of newspapers where news of the Armenian massacres were printed on the same or adjacent column of reports of the Gallipoli campaign (or information about Anzac casualties)**

- *BC* 11 May 1915
- *REG* 12 May 1915
- *SMH* 19 May 1915
- *REG* 24 May 1915
- *AGE* 02 June 1915
- *REG* 21 July 1915
- *ARG* 24 July 1915
- *ARG* 30 July 1915
- *AGE* 3 August 1915
- *MCY* 21 August 1915
- *AGE* 10 September 1915
- *AGE* 22 September 1915
- *AGE* 16 October 1915
- *BC* 23 October 1915
- *MCY* 26 October 1915
- *BC* 29 November 1915
- *ARG* 02 December 1915 (Article of CEW Bean from Gallipoli)
- *SMH* 16 December 1915

NOTE: Please see print copy for

'12. Samples of newspapers where news of the American massacres were printed on the same or adjacent column of reports of the Gallipoli campaign (or information about Anzac casualties).

### 13. Comparison between articles on German and Turkish atrocities

This section includes sample of articles on the extermination of Armenians and German atrocities that appeared on the same page.

- *REG* 14 Jan. 1915
- *AGE* 12 May 1915
- *MCY* 12 May 1915
- *BC* 12 May 1915
- *BC* 19 May 1915
- *ARG* 25 May 1915
- *AGE* 08 July 1916
- *AGE* 24 July 1915
- *ARG* 04 Oct. 1915
- *AGE* 17 April 1916
- *BC* 10 June 1918
- *SMH* 25 Jan. 1917
- *SMH* 30 Dec. 1918
- *SMH* 10 Feb. 1919
- *SMH* 21 Nov. 1918
  
- *ARG* 30 Nov. 1916 (hierarchy of importance)

NOTE: Please see print copy for  
'13. Comparison between articles on German and Turkish atrocities.'

**14. Titles of articles of the *Argus* (between May-December 1896) on the massacres of Armenians**

**THE ARGUS: TITLES OF ARTICLES ON THE MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS  
BETWEEN THE MONTHS OF MAY - DECEMBER 1896**

<b>NO</b>	<b>TITLE OF ARTICLE</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1	AFFAIRS IN TURKEY ACTION BY LORD SALISBURY	LONDON	12/5/1896	5
2	THE ARMENIAN QUESTION ARRESTS AT STAMBOUL THE SULTAN FEARS FOR HIS LIFE	LONDON	16/5/1896	7
3	ARMENIAN HORRORS-MASSACRE AT OURFA A FEARFUL HOLOCAUST	LONDON	20/5/1896	5
4	THE ARMENIAN QUESTION ARRESTS AT CONSTANTINOPLE FUGITIVES IN THE CATHEDRAL	LONDON	25/5/1896	6
5	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES TURKEY CAUTIONED BY RUSSIA	LONDON	2/6/1896	5
6	THE ARMENIAN SITUATION A TURKISH ENVOY IN LONDON	LONDON	9/6/1896	5
7	THE ARMENIAN QUESTION A CHRISTIAN GOVERNOR FOR ZEITUN	LONDON	19/6/1896	5
8	ARMENIAN MASSACRE FOUR HUNDRED KILLED	LONDON	18/7/1896	7
9	RIOTS IN ASIA MINOR MANY ARMENIANS KILLED	LONDON	22/7/1896	5
10	EDITORIAL		1/8/1896	6
11	ARMENIAN AFFAIRS FRESH KURDISH RAIDS	LONDON	15/8/1896	7
12	EDITORIAL		18/8/1896	5
13	THE POSITION IN TURKEY KURDISH CAVALRY AT STAMBOUL		22/8/1896	7
14	TURKEY AND ARMENIA RIOTS IN CONSTANTINOPLE MANY KILLED	LONDON	28/8/1896	5
15	CONSTANTINOPLE - THE ARMENIAN RIOTS AN ORGANISED OUTBREAK SEIZURE OF OTTOMAN BANK	LONDON	29/8/1896	7
16	EDITORIAL		31/8/1896	4
17	THE ARMENIAN RIOT SEIZURE OF THE OTTOMAN BANK FEARFUL REPRISALS 24000 ARMENIANS MASSACRED	LONDON	31/8/1896	5
18	SEPT 1 - 3 MISSING ON MICROFILM			
19	CONSTANTINOPLE SITUATION BECOMING SERIOUS THE RECENT MASSACRE		4/9/1896	5
20	EDITORIAL		5/9/1896	6
21	TURKEY AND THE POWERS THE ARMENIAN COMMITTEE FURTHER OUTRAGES THREATENED		7/9/1896	5
22	THE RECENT MASSACRE - APPALING DETAILS THE POWERS DEMAND AN INQUIRY	LONDON	8/9/1896	5
23	THE STAMBOUL RIOTS SENTENCE ON AN ARMENIAN		9/9/1896	5

24	THE STAMBOUL RIOTS EXPULSION OF ARMENIANS SUSPENDED RUSSIA EXCLUDES REFUGEES	LONDON	10/9/1896	5
25	THE EASTERN QUESTION-RUSSIA AND TURKEY EXPULSION OF ARMENIANS		12/9/1896	7
26	THE STAMBOUL MASSACRES DEEP ANGER IN ENGLAND	LONDON	14/9/1896	5
27	THE STAMBOUL MASSACRES GROWING AGITATION IN ENGLAND PRAYERS AND SERMONS	LONDON	15/9/1896	5
28	EDITORIAL		16/9/1896	4
29	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES THE PRESBYTERIAN MEMORIAL		16/9/1896	5
30	TURKEY AND THE POWERS AN IMPORTANT STATEMENT ALTERNATIVES TO THE SULTAN		17/9/1896	5
31	TURKEY AND THE POWERS DENIES MISUSING ARMENIANS		18/9/1896	5
32	TURKEY AND THE POWERS THE ARMENIAN PRISONERS BARBAROUS TREATMENT		19/9/1896	7
33	TURKEY AND THE POWERS SITUATION HIGHLY CRITICAL ARMENIAN ANARCHIST COMMITTEE		21/9/1896	5
34	THE EASTERN QUESTION SITUATION LIKELY TO IMPROVE EXPULSION OF ARMENIANS STOPPED		22/9/1896	5
35	SITUATION AT STAMBOUL THREATENED MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS THE ARMENIAN PERSECUTION		24/9/1896	5
36	THE EASTERN CRISIS THE DISCOVERY OF BOMBS AND ARMS		25/9/1896	5
37	THE EASTERN CRISIS MR GLADSTONE AT LIVERPOOL AN HOUR AND A HALF'S SPEECH	LONDON	26/9/1896	7
38	THE EASTERN CRISIS - FRESH MASSACRES	LONDON	28/9/1896	5
39	THE EASTERN CRISIS SERMON BY BISHOP KENNION	LONDON	29/9/1896	5
40	THE EASTERN CRISIS AN ARMENIAN ASSEMBLY TO BE CONVOKED	LONDON	30/9/1896	5
41	THE EASTERN CRISIS THE CONSTANTINOPLE MASSACRE SENTENCES ON PARTICIPANTS		2/10/1896	5
42	ARMENIAN MOVEMENT FLOCKING INTO CYPRUS	LONDON	3/10/1896	9
43	ARRESTS AT STAMBOUL EXPULSION OF ARMENIANS	LONDON	5/10/1896	5
44	PROMISES BY THE PORTE CONCESSIONS TO THE ARMENIANS	LONDON	6/10/1896	5
45	THE MASSACRE INQUIRY COMMISSION FRENCH AND GERMAN RESIGNATIONS (2) THE ARMENIAN OUTBREAK AT CONSTANTINOPLE	LONDON	9/10/1896	5
46	BRITISH FLEET AT SALONICA PROPOSED ACTION BY THE PORTE	LONDON	10/10/1896	7
47	LORD ROSEBERY	LONDON	12/10/1896	5

	THE EASTERN QUESTION			
48	THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES SUICIDES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS HUNDREDS DROWN THEMSELVES	LONDON	13/10/1896	4
49	THE EASTERN CRISIS RUSSIAN PREPARATIONS	LONDON	14/10/1896	5
50	THE EASTERN QUESTION CONCESSION OF THE SULTAN ARMENIAN THREATS	LONDON	15/10/1896	5
51	SPEECH BY MR CURZON THE ARMENIAN AGITATION ACTION BY THE POPE (SYDNEY BAPTIST UNION OF NSW)	LONDON	16/10/1896	5
52	THE EASTERN QUESTION WARNING TO ARMENIAN EMIGRANTS	LONDON	17/10/1896	7
53	THE EASTERN CRISIS COERCION OF THE SULTAN	LONDON	20/10/1896	5
54	THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES PUBLIC MEETING IN LONDON GREAT ENTHUSIASM	LONDON	21/10/1896	5
55	THE EASTERN CRISIS FRESH MASSACRE IN ARMENIA TERRIBLE DETAILS-CHILDREN BURIED ALIVE	LONDON	22/10/1896	5
56	ARMENIAN REFUGEES CANNOT LAND IN AMERICA	LONDON	3/10/1896	5
57	MORE MASSCRES FEARED	LONDON	24/10/1896	7
58	THE EASTERN CRISIS WAR TAXATION IN TURKEY	LONDON	27/10/1896	5
59	AFFAIRS AT STAMBOUL ARMENIANS ARRESTED ALLEGED ATTEMPT ON THE PATRIARCH	LONDON	28/10/1896	5
60	POSITION AT STAMBOUL ARMENIAN REVENGE	LONDON	29/10/1896	5
61	THE TURKISH WAR TAX POWERS INSIST ON WITHDRAWAL	LONDON	2/11/1896	5
62	THE EASTERN CRISIS ARMENIAN THREATS	LONDON	4/11/1896	5
63	THE ARMENIANS PROPOSED SETTLEMENT	LONDON	7/11/1896	7
64	THE EASTERN CRISIS - REFORMS IN TURKEY MR MORLEY AT GLASCOW THE ARMENIAN OUTRAGES	LONDON	9/11/1896	4
65	THE EASTERN CRISIS - REFORMS PROMISED LORD SALISBURY AT THE GUILDHALL	LONDON	11/11/1896	5
66	THE ARMENIANS - ANOTHER MASSACRE ONE HUNDRED KILLED	LONDON	12/11/1896	5
67	THE EMBARGO OF ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS REMOVED BY THE SULTAN	LONDON	13/11/1896	5
68	RELEASE OF ARMENIANS STATEMENT BY MR HANOTAUX	LONDON	14/11/1896	7



69	CONSTANTINOPLE RIOTS THE BANK ATTACK - AN ARMENIAN BISHOP SENTENCED TO DEATH	LONDON	20/11/1896	5
70	SENTENCE ON AN ARMENIAN BISHOP AN ENGLISH CLERGYMAN ARRESTED THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCH	LONDON	21/11/1896	9
71	THE EASTERN CRISIS PUBLIC FEELING IN FRANCE 50 ARMENIANS TO BE HANGED	LONDON	24/11/1896	5
72	THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES 40,000 ORPHANS IN ANATOLIA	LONDON	4/12/1896	5
73	EDITORIAL		5/12/1896	8
74	ANOTHER ARMENIAN MASSACRE FIFTEEN HUNDRED KILLED	LONDON	11/12/1896	4
75	PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S MESSAGE THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES	LONDON	14/12/1896	5
76	AMNESTY FOR ARMENIANS	LONDON	17/12/1896	5
77	THE EASTERN QUESTION ARMENIAN PRISONERS PROPOSED AMNESTY	LONDON	18/12/1896	5
78	AN ARMENIAN OUTRAGE A RUSSIAN OFFICIAL SHOT THE ARMENIAN AMNESTY - BAIL REQUIRED		19/12/1896	9
79	THE ARMENIAN AMNESTY OFFER BY PATRIARCHATE	LONDON	21/12/1896	5
80	THE EASTERN CRISIS SYMPATHY FOR THE ARMENIANS THE ARMENIAN AMNESTY	LONDON	24/12/1896	5
81	TURKEY AND THE POWERS THE PORTE AND THE ARMENIANS ARMENIAN RELIEF		26/12/1896	5

## 15. Sample of long articles published in the *Argus* in 1896

In this section, I included a sample of long articles and editorials from the *Argus*, dedicated to the massacre of Armenians during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (the Australian press of WWI, referred to him as Abdul the Damned).

During WWI, the articles and editorials dedicated to the extermination of Armenians, in general, were much shorter in length.

- 18 August 1896 editorial
- 31 August 1896 editorial
- 31 August 1896 news report
- 14 September 1896 news report
- 15 September 1896 news report
- 16 September 1896 editorial
- 16 September 1896 news report
- 21 September 1896 news report
- 09 October 1896 news report

NOTE: Please see print copy for  
'15. Sample of long articles published in the Argus in 1896.'

### **15.1 Copies of two articles printed on May 20, 1896**

This section includes the copies of two articles that appeared in the *AGE* and *ARG* on May 20, 1896 describing the mass burning of Armenian civilians in their Church.

NOTE: Please see print copy for  
'15.1 Copies of two articles printed on May 20, 1896.'

- 16. Copy of a document from NAA (MP16/1, Series 16/1537), dated 22 January 1915, exempting Armenian, Greek and Syrian residents from Aliens Instructions of 1914**

NOTE: Please see print copy for

'16. Copy of a document from NAA (MP 16/1, Series 16/1537), dated 22 January 1915, exempting Armenian, Greek and Syrian residents from Aliens Instructions of 1914.'

17. **Copy of a document from NAA (MP16/1, Series 18/2064), dated 30 October 1914, with instructions to the editors on how to report news about Turkey**



NOTE: Please see print copy for  
'17. Copy of a document from NAA (MP 16/1 Series 18/2064), dated 30 October 1914,  
with instructions to the editors on how to report news about Turkey'.

- 18. Copy of a document from NAA, dated 14 August 1918, giving details of different races that comprised the Ottoman Empire**

NOTE: Please see print copy for  
'18. Copy of a document from NAA, dated 14 August 1918, giving details of different  
races that comprised the Ottoman Empire'.

## **19. Copy of a letter I addressed to the Minister of Veterans Affairs, Dana Vale, and Bruce Ruxton**

In this section, I included the letter I sent to the above people after they had apologized to the Turkish community for the actions of an unknown Anzac soldier who had brought with him the mummified head of an alleged Turkish soldier.

The reason for the letter was the automatic assumption by the Minister and Mr Ruxton that if the remains did not belong to an Anzac soldier it meant that it belonged to a Turk.

This section also includes the reply from Minister Vale and Mr Ruxton. The latter showed an absolute ignorance about the events surrounding the Armenian Genocide and ignorance about the fact that Anzacs had fought the Ottoman army, which included many nationalities.

NOTE: Please see print copy for  
'19. Copy of a letter I addressed to the Minister of Veterans Affairs, Dana Vale, and  
Bruce Ruxton'.

**20. Copy of a letter I addressed to the British High Commissioner in Canberra and the reply letter from the High Commission**

The letter I wrote to Mr Goodlad was signed by more than 80 members of the Armenian community in Melbourne that is the reason I signed it as “Armenian community of Melbourne.”

NOTE: Please see print copy for  
'20. Copy of a letter I addressed to the British High Commissioner in Canberra and the  
reply letter from the High Commission'.

NOTE: Please see print copy for  
'21. Copy of the email message I sent to the Israeli Ambassador, Gaby Levy, and the  
reply I received from the Embassy.'



- 22. Copy of the letter, dated 4 March 2002, sent by Israel Charny to Foreign Minister Shimon Peres**

NOTE: Please see print copy for  
'22. Copy of the letter, dated 4 March 2002, sent by Israel Charny to Foreign Minister  
Shimon Press'.

## **23. Copies of messages of US president George W. Bush on April 24**

This section includes two copies of annual messages issued by US president George W. Bush on the occasion of the Armenian Genocide (<http://www.whitehouse.gov>).

- April 24 2003
- April 24 2002
- April 24 2001

NOTE: Please see print copy for  
'23. Copies of messages of US president George W. Bush on April 24.

# Images and Maps

NOTE: Please see print copy for all images and maps.