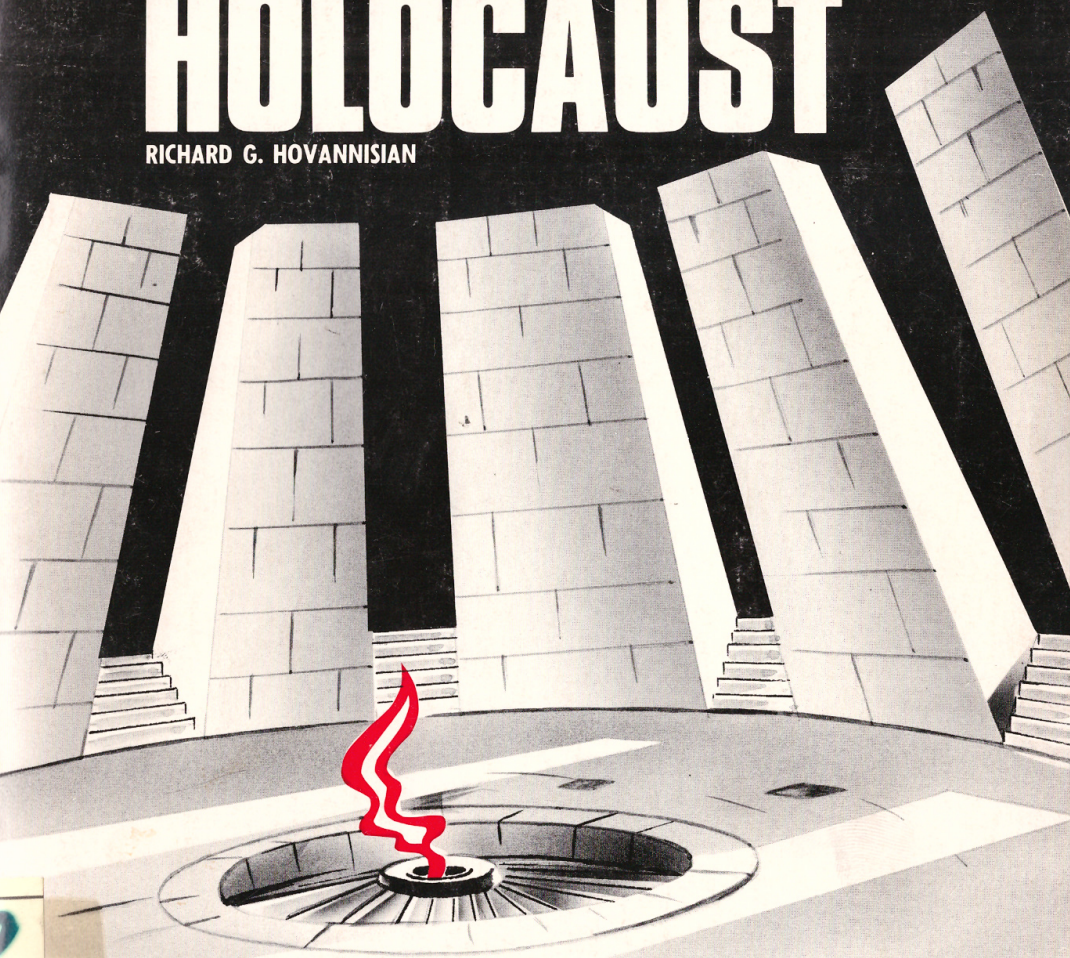


THE

A Bibliography Relating to the
Deportations, Massacres, and Dispersion
of the Armenian People, 1915-1923

ARMENIAN HOLOCAUST

RICHARD G. HOVANNISIAN



ARMENIAN HERITAGE PRESS

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ARMENIAN STUDIES AND RESEARCH
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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P R E F A C E

This bibliography by Mr. Richard Hovannisian, Professor of History at the University of California in Los Angeles, deals with the Armenian deportations and massacres. I am pleased that the Armenian Heritage Press has undertaken to publish and distribute it widely. It is a worthy enterprise.

The Armenian people have a long and turbulent history full of suffering and courage. Those who have come to this country have become excellent Americans. It is altogether fitting that their history and cause should be widely known, and I endorse the plan to publish such works.

HENRY CABOT LODGE
Former U.S. Ambassador
to the United Nations

Beverly, Massachusetts
March 6, 1978

FOREWORD

This meticulously researched book undoubtedly represents a labor of love, emanating from a determination that the record must be preserved of a virtually forgotten experience that almost wiped out the Armenian nation, one of the kindest and most talented peoples in history. There can be no drama in a catalogue, no emotional fervor, not even in an introduction that, considering the subject matter, is astonishingly low-keyed. This work is meant as resource material, and it lists volumes and documents drawn from many libraries here and abroad, public and private, in many languages. It concentrates upon the events of the 1915 massacres and dispersion of the Armenian people who had been living precariously in the Turkish empire and were regarded with malevolent suspicion as a likely enemy. The fear was never absent that, if war broke out between Russia and Turkey, the Armenians — whose historical roots lay in both empires — would be drawn into it.

When the dreaded world war did come, the Turks, more vulnerable to Russian conquest, decided to eliminate any danger of subversion by the mass destruction of the hundreds of thousands of Armenians who were in their jurisdiction or could be quickly engulfed. The Turkish objective was so efficiently fulfilled that it compelled the creation of a new word to describe it, genocide — the systematic destruction of a whole people. The massacres were accomplished with more thoroughness than earlier mass butcheries such as those of Atila and Tamerlane, for they combined the savagery of the barbarian with the sophisticated murder techniques of the twentieth century. They even added a note of macabre effrontery. The Turkish Prime Minister Talaat asked the American Ambassador for a list of Armenians who had been insured by American firms, for both the holders and the beneficiaries had been killed, and thus, by Turkish law, the Turkish government was entitled to the residuary insurance estates!

There was little question about the authenticity of the massacres, and they could not be dismissed as atrocity war propaganda. They were validated by authorities with the international standing of the American Ambassador, Henry Morgenthau, and the distinguished British statesman, Lord Bryce. Yet after the first flurries of incredulity that the twentieth century could spawn such inhumanity, ironically the entire experience was simply absorbed in the overall casualties where many more millions died in battle.

A deeply saddened Armenian asked with understandable bitterness: "While the Jews had their Nuremberg, and the Asiatic nations had their Tokyo, where is the international tribunal that will hear, at long last, the Armenian complaint against Turkey, for the 'Mother' genocide of 1915-21?" Little wonder that at a later time, when Hitler made ready for the Final Solution, the mass destruction of more than ten million human beings, six million of them Jews, more than a third of an entire people, he could say with confidence that there would be no more than a temporary ferment of indignation. In the Nuremberg trial records, one of the members of the Death Head units reported that Hitler's order to kill without pity or mercy was concluded with the observation, "who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?"

Yet, as one reviews the genocide of the Armenians, it is surely not enough to attribute the tragedy to the brutality of Turks or Nazis or totalitarian fanatics to whom human life means no more than the nuisance of the survival of insects. Surely heavy responsibility, too, must be shared by the by-standers, the rhetoricians whose compassion goes little farther than

sanctimonious platitudes uttered in the safety of the fellowship of the technically virtuous. For they were clucking piously: "Poor things, their tragedy is a blot on our civilization. *But we do not want to get involved.*" How many crimes of our century have gone unpunished, even sloughed off, by the exculpatory phrase. "We do not want to get involved." Alexander Pope wrote long ago:

Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As to be hated, needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

One of Dr. Hovannisian's motivations in giving so much precious research time to the gathering of a bibliography must have been to accuse this fellowship of the unconcerned of its share in the guilt of the butchers. They were not asked to fight. They were not asked to risk life or limb. They needed only to keep the story of the horror alive, to protest it vigorously and tenaciously. When the war ended and a more civilized perspective could emerge, there were endless opportunities to speak up, to make sure that later Hitlers would be unable to say "who still talks nowadays of the Armenian extermination?", as the assurance that he could launch an even more horrible one with impunity.

Dr. Hovannisian's bibliography is a definitive listing of the sources for the scholar or reader who wishes to revive the story of the Armenian massacres, draw lessons from any portion of it, and/or perpetuate the Armenian claims to their ancestral homeland. The bibliography now prepares the way for what must follow, and it is to be hoped the task will not be too long delayed. The world must know that the horrifying tale of the atrocities of 1915 and after does not complete the Armenian contribution to the history of the western world. There is a magnificent story that remains to be told, not only for the general reader, but for the Armenians themselves, especially their young people. There is a saga to be developed, with love and imagination, of who they are, their glorious history for many centuries before Christianity, what they have meant since the days when they became the first Christian nation in history, their positive contributions to world civilization, their corporate influence as a people and, as individuals, through the most talented and creative sons and daughters.

There are already a few monographs of limited periods, and some scholarly studies that light up some dark corners. Several general histories have appeared, but without the benefit of resort to sources that Dr. Hovannisian has compiled. An overview history, where popularization is not vulgarization, where drama and pride are rooted in fact, is now necessary, especially in a period when so many ethnic groups are exploring their roots and rediscovering their identity. Dr. Hovannisian's bibliography will be invaluable as a divining rod to seek out the lodes where so much precious ore has waited too long for release.

ABRAM L. SACHAR
Chancellor
Brandeis University

Waltham, Massachusetts
March 10, 1978

INTRODUCTION

The deportations and massacres of the Armenian population of the Turkish empire during and after World War I elicited worldwide expressions of compassion and outrage. These sentiments were reflected in scores of publications bearing titles such as *The Murder of a Nation*, *The Blackest Page in Modern History*, *L'Arménie martyre*, *Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes*. As details of the brutalities and the plight of the deportees became known, agencies for relief were created in many countries to help sustain the survivors until the Allied and Associated Powers could enact the solemn declarations regarding Armenian restitution and rehabilitation. Although a compilation of those pledges might well fill several volumes, let it suffice to draw attention to a few representative statements.

On May 24, 1915, when the first reports of massacres were received abroad, the Allies proclaimed: "In view of this new crime of Turkey against humanity and civilization, the Allied Governments make known publicly to the Sublime Porte that they will hold all the members of the Turkish Government, as well as those officials who have participated in these massacres, personally responsible." Prime Minister David Lloyd George frequently promised that Armenia would never again be subjected to "the blasting tyranny of the Turk" and in a statement of his cabinet's war aims in January, 1918, repeated that "Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to a recognition of their separate national condition." In August of that year he told an Armenian deputation: "Britain will not forget its responsibilities toward your martyred race." Numerous similar pronouncements were made before Lloyd George summarized the official British attitude: "From the moment war was declared, there was not a British statesman of any party who did not have it in mind that if we succeeded in defeating this inhuman Empire, one essential condition of the peace we should impose was the redemption of the Armenian valleys forever from the bloody misrule with which they had been stained by the infamies of the Turk."

The French declarations were no less emphatic. In November, 1916, Premier Aristide Briand wrote: "When the hour for legitimate reparation shall have struck, France will not forget the terrible trials of the Armenians, and in accord with her Allies, she will take the necessary measures to ensure for Armenia a life of peace and progress." Two months later, in conjunction with the other Allied governments, he announced that the "high war aims" included "the liberation of peoples who now lie beneath the murderous tyranny of the Turks. . . ." At the end of 1917, Foreign Minister Stéphane Pichon told the Chamber of Deputies: "An adherence to the policy of the rights of nationalities has been the honor of our traditions and of our history. It applies, as we view it, to the Armenians, Syrian and Lebanese populations, as it does to all peoples who suffer, against their will, the yoke of the oppressor, be he who he may." In July, 1918, Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau wrote to Boghos Nubar, president of the Armenian National Delegation: "I am happy to confirm to you that the Government of the Republic, like that of Great Britain, has not ceased to place the Armenian nation among the peoples whose fate the Allies intend to settle according to the supreme laws of Humanity and Justice."

Incredulity and indignation were the reactions of the United States government and public to the Turkish atrocities. This country rallied to assist the "starving Armenians" through an unprecedented outpouring of private charity. Meanwhile, until Turkey broke diplomatic relations with the United States in April, 1917, American officials tried vainly to intercede on

behalf of the victimized Armenians. It was Ambassador Henry Morgenthau who first brought the scope and intensity of the tragedy to world attention, but he was unable to influence the inexorable dictatorial clique in Turkey. Initially denying that deportations and massacres were in progress, Minister of Interior Talaat ultimately admitted that the operation grew out of a carefully deliberated policy of the ruling party. He accused the Armenians of enriching themselves at the expense of the Turks, of aspiring to establish an independent country, and of actively assisting the enemies of the Ottoman empire, exclaiming: "It is no use for you to argue. We have already disposed of three quarters of the Armenians; there are none at all left in Bitlis, Van, and Erzeroum. The hatred between the Turks and the Armenians is now so intense that we have got to finish with them." The Turkish dictators seemed surprised that Morgenthau, a Jew, should concern himself with the problems of a Christian people. In any case, within several months efforts to intercede were of little practical value, for few Armenians remained in their native provinces. Whereas most Armenians of Cilicia and western Anatolia perished along the routes of deportation or after reaching the Syrian desert, the majority of those inhabiting the historic Armenian plateau in the east fell to the cruelest of tortures and were massacred outright.

In the wake of these infamous excesses, American leaders of both parties and of all branches of government pledged themselves to the goal of safeguarding the collective existence of the survivors in their ancestral lands. President Woodrow Wilson's celebrated Fourteen Points, which were issued in January, 1918, included the provision that all non-Turkish peoples of the Ottoman empire "should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development." This policy reflected the recommendation of the special commission (the Inquiry) charged with the formulation of an American program for peace: "It is necessary to free the subject races of the Turkish Empire from oppression and misrule. This implies at the very least autonomy for Armenia and the protection of Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia by the civilized nations." Among the guidelines circulated by the Department of State in September, 1918, was the following: "Armenia and Syria to be erected into protectorates of such Government or Governments as seems expedient from domestic as well as an international point of view; the guaranty being that both countries be given self-government as soon as possible and that an 'Open-Door' policy as to commerce and industrial development will be rigidly observed."

Shortly after the convocation of the Paris Peace Conference in January, 1919, the Supreme Council ruled that "because of the historic misgovernment of the Turks of subject peoples and the terrible massacres of Armenians and others in recent years, the Allied and Associated Powers are agreed that Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Arabia must be completely severed from the Turkish Empire." All the Allied nations called for recompense to the survivors and the re-establishment of a separate Armenian state. In pleading the case of the defeated Ottoman empire at the Peace Conference in June, 1919, the Turkish delegation tried to deflect the guilt by pointing an accusing finger at the small clique that had perverted the government, admitting nonetheless that there had occurred "misdeeds which are such as to make the conscience of mankind shudder forever." In reply, the Allied and Associated Powers drew attention to the fact that Turkey's willful and inhuman pursuit of the war was "accompanied by massacres whose calculated atrocity equals or exceeds anything in recorded history." Any attempt to minimize the crime was untenable, for "a nation must be judged by the Government which rules it, which directs its foreign policy, which controls its armies." The historical record demonstrated that "neither among the Christians of Europe, nor among the Moslems of Syria, Arabia, and Africa, has the Turk done other than destroy whatever he has conquered; never has he shown himself able to develop in peace what he has won by war."

Ironically, despite these trenchant observations bearing upon the ruthless annihilation

of the Armenian population, the "conscience of mankind" did not shudder for long. The European Powers and the United States, too, ultimately proved themselves unwilling to shoulder the moral responsibilities to bring the war criminals to justice or to fulfill the widely-proclaimed programs for peace, thus setting the scene for new and equally horrendous regimes and genocidal acts in this century. The politics of expediency rendered pledges to the Armenians obsolete. The refugees were barred from returning home and, except for those who settled in the small Armenian state in Transcaucasia, remained dispersed throughout the Middle East, Europe, and America. The passage of time and the strategic geopolitical position assigned to Turkey in the calculations of the super powers after World War II further removed the Armenian issue from the realm of diplomacy. A new generation of officials, even those versed in modern history and Near Eastern affairs, now seem generally ignorant of or indifferent to the genocide, while some individuals have even adopted the standard Turkish rationalizations of wartime exigency and the denial of a premeditated scheme to eliminate the Armenians. Unfortunately, some writers and persons with responsible positions in government would add insult to injury by using terms such as "alleged" and "asserted" in reference to the genocide, even though the National Archives of this country are replete with awesome evidence of the depth of the tragedy and the callousness of the crime.

Unlike the Armenian case, the atrocities in World War II did not pass unrequited, nor were they allowed to be blurred in public awareness and international relations. Moreover, historians and sociologists who have undertaken the study of victimology have already drawn startling parallels between the decimation of the Armenian people and the annihilation of millions of persons in Central and Eastern Europe during the Nazi regime a quarter of a century later. The similarities include the perpetration of genocide under the cover of a major international conflict, thus minimizing the possibility of external intervention; conception of the plan by a monolithic and megalomaniac coterie; espousal of an ideology giving purpose and justification to chauvinism, racism, exclusivism, and intolerance toward elements resisting assimilation; imposition of strict party discipline and secrecy during the period of preparation; formation of extralegal special armed forces to ensure the rigorous execution of the operation; provocation of public hostility toward the victim group and ascribing to it the very excesses to which it would be subjected; certainty of the vulnerability of the intended prey (demonstrated in the Armenian case in the previous general massacres of 1894-1896 and 1909); exploitation of advances in mechanization and communication (the telegraph) to achieve unprecedented means for control, coordination, and thoroughness; and use of sanctions such as promotions and the incentive to loot, plunder, and vent passions without restraint or, conversely, the dismissal and punishment of reluctant officials and the intimidation of persons who might consider harboring members of the victim group.

There were, of course, significant differences in the specifics and, more importantly, in the aftermaths of these comparable tragedies. Following World War II, hundreds of persons charged with crimes against humanity were brought to trial and punished, and the Federal Republic of Germany, while denouncing and disassociating itself from the erstwhile Nazi regime, nonetheless accepted the burden of collective guilt and made recompense to the survivors, the families of the murdered millions, and the governments having a special relationship with the victimized groups. By contrast, the Ankara government has, ever since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, refused to acknowledge the fact that the deportations and massacres occurred or that it is in any way answerable for Armenian losses. Taking advantage of geopolitical considerations, that government has coerced far more powerful and prominent countries to turn away from the facts and has been encouraged by the apparent willingness of many politicians not to make an issue of lingering wrongs.

Yet in recent years the Turkish government has become increasingly sensitive to the

renewed efforts of the dispersed Armenian communities to challenge the erasure of the Armenian case and has resorted to repeated diplomatic pressure in attempts to prevent the erection of Armenian memorials, the participation of elective and appointive representatives in commemorative observances, and any discussion of the genocide in international bodies. A concerted high-level campaign was even pursued to expunge a passing reference to the massacres in a draft report submitted to a subcommittee of the United Nations. It should not be anticipated that governments whose own national archives contain voluminous materials on the deportations and massacres might find it expedient to acquiesce in such manipulative practices through evasive gestures or eloquent silence. It is certainly no novelty that expediency may frequently prevail over morality in politics, but it is also no novelty that scholars and statesmen should strive toward truth and moral justice.

In response to the ongoing attempts to perpetuate the shameful coverup of historical events, an endeavor to which certain individuals within the federal agencies and even universities have sometimes lent direct or oblique support, I have undertaken the preparation of a preliminary inventory of archival materials and published studies in Western languages relating to the Armenian tragedy. The relevant documents in the archives surveyed number several hundred thousand. For misinformed but honest persons who have come to use the words "alleged" and "asserted" naïvely, a cursory investigation into the readily available documents should prove sufficient to dispel any doubts about the premeditated and brutally-executed character of the conspiracy to destroy the entire Armenian population in the Turkish empire.

Part One of the Bibliography contains a preliminary inventory of archival materials. The British archives are most useful for the political aspects of the Armenian question; the United States archives, for relief activities and the conditions among the refugee population in the Near East and the Caucasus; the French archives, for Cilicia and the final massacres in, and Armenian exodus from, that region; and the several Armenian archives, for all aspects of the deportations and massacres. Among the archives that have yet to be surveyed are those of Italy, the smaller Allied countries, and in particular the neutral states that maintained diplomatic relations with the Ottoman empire during the war years. Unfortunately, the Turkish files on the subject have not been opened to all qualified researchers. Although employees in the Ottoman archives reported in 1918 and 1919 that ranking Turkish officials had tried to destroy all self-incriminating papers during the final days of the World War, it is not unlikely that numerous documents relating to the general question still exist therein.

Part Two of the Bibliography contains a broad selection of published works that may be classified as follows: collections of documents; eyewitness accounts of non-Armenians; narratives of military personnel; political treatises and propaganda; reports on relief activities and appeals by relief organizations; scholarly studies on specific aspects of the Armenian and Eastern questions; Turkish rationalizations and interpretations; memoirs and studies in Western languages by Armenian survivors and researchers. The National Union Catalog is particularly useful in determining the library locations of these publications.

The Bibliography does not include the hundreds of articles published in scholarly and popular journals or survey the broad newspaper coverage of the subject. For these categories, the various guides to periodical literature and the annual indexes of nationally prominent newspapers should be consulted. The several thousand Armenian-language publications — documents, memoirs, historical studies, and interpretations — are too extensive for inclusion in this listing. An introduction to this category may be gained by consulting the bibliography in Professor M.G. Nersisian's *Genotsid Armian v Osmanskoi Imperii* (Erevan, 1966) and the compilation of materials by Gersam Aharonian, *Hushamatian Meds Egherni, 1915-1965* (Beirut, 1965). A useful survey of published works in Western languages relating to the Armenian massacres and dislocations during the nineteenth century and the first decade of the

twentieth century is provided in A. Salmaslian, *Bibliographie de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1946; revised and expanded, Erevan, 1969).

I wish to believe that the following bibliography will serve students of Armenian and Near Eastern history, advocates of human and civil rights, statesmen and public officials, and all those who bear in mind the admonition of George Santayana: "Those who do not remember the past are condemned to relive it."

RICHARD G. HOVANNISIAN
Professor of Armenian and
Near Eastern History

University of California,
Los Angeles
April 24, 1978

PART ONE

SOURCE MATERIALS IN SELECTED ARCHIVES

I. ARMENIA.

Haikakan SSH Petakan Kentronakan Patmakan Arkhiv [Armenian SSR Central State Historical Archive], Erevan.

Nearly all sources in this archive are from the records of societies and ministries functioning prior to the establishment of the Soviet system in Transcaucasia in 1920–1921. These materials include extensive documentation on the thousands of Western Armenian refugees who fled to Russia and Transcaucasia during World War I, their intense sufferings and inability to return home after the Allied victory, and the activities on their behalf by Eastern Armenian benevolent societies, municipal councils, and church bodies. The following record groups are particularly significant:

- A. 27 Bakvi Hayots mardasirakan enkerutiun [Humanitarian Society of Baku Armenians]
- B. 28 Kovkasi Hayots baregordsakan enkerutiun [Benevolent Society of Armenians of the Caucasus]
- C. 50 Eghbairakan ognutian komite [Fraternal Aid Committee]
- D. 51 Gaghtakannerin ognogh Trapizoni haikakan komite [The Armenian Committee of Trebizond for Aid to the Refugees]
- E. 55 Nor-Nakhidjevani haikakan aghkatakhnam ekeghetsakan hogabardzutiun [Armenian Aid-to-the-Needy Church Board of Nor-Nakhichevan]
- F. 57 Amenain Hayots Katoghikosi divan [Archive of the Catholicos of All Armenians]
- G. 102 Edjmiadsni gavarayin vostikanakan varchutiun [Police Administration of Etchmiadzin County]
- H. 105 Aleksandropoli kaghakayin varchutiun [Municipal Administration of Alexandropol]
- I. 117 Erevani kaghakayin varchutiun [Municipal Administration of Erevan]
- J. 118 Nor-Nakhidjevani kaghakayin hamaink [City Duma of Nor-Nakhichevan]
- K. 126 Gaghtakan hayeri vijakagrutiun [Census of Refugee Armenians]
- L. 198 Hayastani Respublikayi Parlament [Parliament of the Republic of Armenia]
- M. 199 Hayastani Respublikayi Ministrneri Khorhurd [Council of Ministers of the Republic of Armenia]
- N. 200 Artakin Gordseri Ministrutiun [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]
- O. 201 Nerkin Gordseri Ministrutiun [Ministry of Internal Affairs]
- P. 205 Khnamakalutian ev Ashkhatanki Ministrutiun [Ministry of Welfare and Labor]
- Q. 221 Paterazmum hayeri koruste voroshogh biuro [Bureau for the Determination of Losses Sustained by the Armenians during the War]
- R. 222 Tiflisi Hayots azgayin khorhurd Vrastanum [Armenian National Council of Georgia in Tiflis]
- S. 223 Bakvi Hayots azgayin khorhurd [National Council of Baku Armenians]
- T. 227 "Mshak" terti khmbagrutiun [Records of the Paper *Mshak*]
- U. 230 Batumi hai kanants miutiun [Armenian Women's Union of Batum]
- V. 239 Hai pakhstakanneri kazmakerputiunneri glkhavor khorhurd [The Supreme Council of Armenian Refugee Organizations]

- W. 242 Vani nahangapeti divan [Archive of the Governor of Van] (1915–1916)
- X. 243 Arevmtahayeri gordsadir marmin [Executive Body of Western Armenians]
- Y. 244 Hai hairnaksakan miutiunneri kentronakan khorhurd [Central Council of Armenian Compatriotic Unions]
- Z. 290 Zinvorakan Nakhararutiun [Military Ministry]

II. ARMENIAN NATIONAL DELEGATION

The archives of the delegation, created in 1912 under the presidency of Boghos Nubar, include thousands of documents on the political, social, and economic status of the Armenians in the Ottoman empire, international diplomacy relative to reforms in the Armenian provinces, the deportations, massacres, relief and repatriation efforts during and after World War I, the Paris Peace Conference and subsequent international meetings. These records were housed in the Nubarian Library in Paris until 1970 when they were transferred to the Central State Historical Archive in Erevan. Microfilm copies are deposited in the Nubarian Library and at the headquarters of the Armenian General Benevolent Union in New York City.

III. ARMENIAN PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM

These archives include twenty-five dossiers on the Armenian question between 1913 and 1916 and between 1919 and 1922. The records were originally a part of the archives of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and were transferred to Jerusalem for safekeeping. The hiatus extending from 1916 to 1919 is explained by the exile of the patriarch himself during those years. An indication of the types of materials included among the 25,000 papers in the dossiers is given in parentheses.

[Dossier number]

- A. 1 (Minutes of the Armenian National Assembly, 1919–1922)
- B. 2 (Reports of Armenian religious and lay leaders)
- C. 3 (The Smyrna massacres and fire; assessments of wartime losses)
- D. 4 (Communications with the Allied High Commissioners at Constantinople)
- E. 5 (Lists of Turkish organizers of the massacres; statistics; copies of memoranda)
- F. 6 (Cilicia; records of the information bureau; reports and memoranda)
- G. 7 (Cypher telegrams of the Turkish civil and military authorities; Cilicia; Smyrna)
- H. 8 (Massacres in Erzerum, Cilicia, Kastamuni; conditions in the interior provinces)
- I. 9 (Deportations and massacres; Van; accounts of foreigners)
- J. 10 (Turkish war criminals in various provinces; letters and reports)
- K. 11 (Turkish war criminals; the plight of survivors in the interior provinces)
- L. 12 (Turkish war criminals; measures to retrieve Armenian widows and orphans)
- M. 13 (Trials of war criminals; massacres in the interior provinces)
- N. 14 (Amasya massacre; statistics; conditions in interior provinces)
- O. 15 (Orphans; war criminals; the Armenian republic)
- P. 16 (Talaat Pasha; war criminals; confiscation of Armenian properties; documents on the massacres; conditions in the interior provinces after the armistice of 1918)
- Q. 17 (Talaat Pasha; Cilicia and the deportations; Armenian National Delegation)

- R. 18 (Armenian National Delegation; memoirs and memoranda; interior provinces; events in Caesarea)
- S. 19 (Letters and communications; minutes of the National Assembly)
- T. 20 (Copybooks, 1912–1921)
- U. 21 (Turkish documents; the reform issue; manuscript materials)
- V. 22 (War criminals; reports and statistics on the interior provinces)
- W. 23 (The reform programs, 1913–1914)
- X. 24 (Correspondence with Armenian officials and committees abroad; reform proposals)
- Y. 25 (Turkish documents on the trial of the war criminals)

IV. REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA DELEGATION

The archives of the delegation, under the presidency of Avetis Aharonian and representing the republic established in Transcaucasia in 1918, include more than four hundred dossiers on the Armenian question during and following World War I. Most files in the 1–99 series relate to conditions in the republic, the plight of the refugee population in Transcaucasia and South Russia, statistical studies and depositions on the wartime losses of the Armenian people, relations with Turkey, Iran, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, and efforts to form a united Armenian state through the annexation of the Western Armenian provinces in the Ottoman Empire. The 100 and 200 series concentrate on the delegation's activities in Europe and include extensive correspondence, memoranda, and documents on the postwar suffering of the refugee population, the conferences of peace, and pledges and activities of the Allied Powers relative to the protection and future of the Armenian people. The 300 series contains the records of the republic's representatives and missions in the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Finland, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Egypt, Ethiopia, South America, and other regions. On the eve of World War II the archives were transferred from Paris to the United States and are now housed in the Hairenik Association in Boston.

Materials on the genocide, the refugee population, and international concern for the Armenians run throughout the archives and in particular are concentrated in the following files:

- A. 1–28 Hayastani Hanrapetutiun [The Republic of Armenia], 1918–1921
- B. 74 H. H. patvirakutiun ev divanagitakan nerkayatsutschutiun Tajkistanum, 1914–1918 t.t. [The R. of A. Delegation and Diplomatic Mission in Turkey, 1914–1918]
- C. 100–101 H. Ohandjaniani tghtere [The Papers of H. Ohandjanian], 1918–1919
- D. 102–159 Hayastani Hanrapetutiun patvirakutiun [The Republic of Armenia Delegation], 1919–1921
- E. 230–243 H. H. patvirakutiun [The Republic of Armenia Delegation], Delegation Correspondence, 1919–1921
- F. 283 Hayaserner [Armenophiles]
- G. 295–301 H. H. patvirakutiun–Azgayin patvirakutiun [R. of A. Delegation–National Delegation]
- H. 319–323 H. H. patvirakutiun ev fransiakan karavarutiune [R. of A. Delegation and the French Government], 1919–1921
- I. 331–338 H. H. Londoni nerkayatsutschutiun ev britanakan karavarutiune [R. of A. Mission in London and the British Government], 1917–1921
- J. 344–348 H. H. Hromi nerkayatsutschutiun ev italakan karavarutiune [R. of A. Mission in Rome and the Italian Government], 1918–1921

- K. 353–353A H. H. Berlini nerkayatsutschutun [R. of A. Mission in Berlin], 1919–1921
- L. 379–387 H. H. Vashingtoni nerkayatsutsich ev H. Amerikayi karavarutiune [R. of A. Envoy in Washington and the Government of No. America]
- M. 421–422 Hai teghekatu biuro Parizum [Armenian Information Bureau in Paris], 1919–1921
- N. 504 Azgayin miutiun Kilikio ev Siurio, 1919–1924 [The National Union of Cilicia and Syria, 1919–1924]

V. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. Die Akten des k. u. k. Ministeriums des Äussern, 1848–1918 (Foreign Ministry Archives), Vienna

Politisches Archiv

A. Abteilung I: Allgemeines

1. Karton 521–522: Liasse XLVII/8 Korrespondenzen aus dem Komplex der Verhandlungen während des Krieges 1914–1918: Geheime Verhandlungen mit der Türkei 1914–1918
2. Karton 941–948: Krieg 21 Türkei 1914–1918

B. Abteilung X: Russland (Petersburg)

1. Karton 155: Liasse XI Entwicklung des russischen Reiches zu einer Pluralität von Staaten 1917–1918: Kaukasus–Staaten
 1. Allgemeines 1918 II–VIII
 2. Allgemeines 1918 IX–X
2. Karton 156:
 2. Friedensverhandlungen von Batum 1918 VI–VIII
3. Karton 157:
 3. Armenische Republik 1918 VI–XI
 4. Georgische Republik 1918 VI–XI

C. Abteilung XII: Türkei (Konstantinopel)

1. Karton 209–212: Berichte Türkei 1915–1918
2. Karton 462: Liasse XLVI Angelegenheiten des armenisch-katholischen Patriarchats in Konstantinopel 1911 X–1915 I
 1. Die Reformbegehren der Armenier 1912 XII–1913 IX
2. Liasse XLVII Angelegenheiten der armenischen Provinzen der Türkei 1912–1913
 1. Die Reformbegehren der Armenier 1912 XII–1913 IX
 2. Internationale Verhandlung über die einzuführenden Reformen in Armenien 1913 VI–1914 VII
 3. Die Armenier-Verfolgungen 1915–1918
3. Karton 463:
 2. Internationale Verhandlung über die einzuführenden Reformen in Armenien 1913 VI–1914 VII
 3. Die Armenier-Verfolgungen 1915–1918
4. Karton 464:
 4. Unsere Massnahmen zum Schutze der katholischen Armenier 1915–1918

D. Abteilung XXXVIII: Konsulate

See, in particular, the correspondence of the following consular posts: Aleppo, Bagdad, Damaskus, Konstantinopel, Smyrna

VI. FRANCE.

Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Quai d'Orsay), Paris

A. Nouvelle série: Correspondance politique et commerciale, 1897–

1. Russie/7 Sibérie–Caucase, 1896–1917
2. Turquie/71–90 Politique intérieure: Arménie–Anatolie–Cilicie, février 1896–mai 1915

B. Guerre 1914–1918: Turquie

1. 887–889 Arménie: août 1914–décembre 1915; janvier 1916–mars 1917; avril 1917–mai 1918
2. 890–893 Légion d'Orient: septembre–novembre 1916; décembre 1916–mai 1917; juin–octobre 1917; novembre 1917–avril 1918
3. 894–895 Arméniens du Caucase: octobre 1917–janvier 1918; février–avril 1918

VII. FRANCE.

Ministère d'État Chargé de la Défense Nationale. État-Major de l'Armée de Terre. Service Historique (Château de Vincennes), Vincennes

A. Classe 16N. Commandement du Grand Quartier Général

1. T.O.E. 2ème Bureau E

[File
Numbers]

- a. 2946–2947 (Reports of agents, press comment, and operations regarding the situation in Turkey, 1916–1919)
- b. 2953 (Missions and reports, including Armenia, 1915)

2. T.O.E. 3ème Bureau E

- a. 3016 (Légion d'Orient)
- b. 3051–3052 (Turkish-Caucasus front, 1917–1919)
- c. 3060–3061 (Caucasus, Cilicia, etc., 1917–1919)
- d. 3062–3071 (Correspondence from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1915–1919)
- e. 3073–3083 (Correspondence from the Ministry of Marine, 1915–1920)
- f. 3084–3108 (Correspondence from the Ministry of War, 1915–1920)
- g. 3152–3154 (Comptes-rendus des Armées Alliées en Orient, 1918–1919)
- h. 3180–3187 (Caucasus: Turkish invasion of, massacres of Armenians in, conditions of refugees in, British occupation of, Armenian republic in, 1917–1919)
- i. 3194–3206 (Intelligence reports, correspondence, and documents re-

lating to Turkey, Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Armenians, Allied policies in the Near East, 1915–1920)

B. Classe 17N. Missions militaires françaises

1. 581–585 (Mission in South Russia, including numerous reports on the Caucasus, Armenian refugees, and pan-Islamic activities)
2. 589–590 (Mission in the Caucasus, including documents and reports on political, economic, and military conditions)

C. Classe 20N. Front Oriental

1. Corps expéditionnaire d'Orient et Corps expéditionnaire des Dardanelles. 2ème Bureau (service des renseignements)

22–26 Bulletins, comptes rendus, service des renseignements, correspondance générale, rapports et renseignements reçus.

2. Commandements des Armées Alliées en Orient (C.A.A.). 2ème Bureau

a. 139–144 Bulletins de renseignements, comptes rendus, correspondance: Empire Ottoman, Arménie, Caucase (etc.), 1916–1919

b. 157–158 (Includes many documents relating to the security of Armenian survivors, the situation in Cilicia, Allied policies and rivalries, Soviet-Turkish relations), 1919–1921

c. 166–170 Renseignements de la Marine (Includes press extracts on Turkey, Thrace, and Armenia, intelligence and situation reports on the Turkish nationalist movement, Cilicia, Armenia and the Caucasus, Armeno-Kurdish and Armeno-Turkish relations, Soviet-Turkish relations, pan-Islamic activities, invasion of the Caucasian Armenian republic), 1917–1921

d. 171 Conférence des hauts-commissaires: procès verbaux des réunions; bulletins de renseignements et rapports du haut commissariat et de l'Armée française du Levant (général Gouraud) . . . , 1919–1920

e. 172 Correspondance et renseignements relatifs à l'Armée du Levant (Cilicia, Armenian emigration, negotiations between French officers and Mustafa Kemal), 1916–1921

f. 173–175 Comptes rendus et renseignements britanniques; renseignements divers, 1916–1922

g. 186–187 Caucase: Géorgie, Azerbaïdjan et Arménie, 1919–1921

3. Corps d'occupation de Constantinople (C.O.C.) puis Corps d'occupation français de Constantinople (C.O.F.C.). 2ème Bureau

a. 1081–1084 Bulletins de renseignements journaliers et hebdomadaires; renseignements politiques, économiques et militaires (Turkish invasion of Caucasian Armenian republic, Treaties of Sévres, Moscow, Kars, sovietization of the Transcaucasian republics, Greco-Turkish war, Allied policies and activities), 1920–1923

b. 1085 Rapports mensuels concernant la politique intérieure et extérieure . . . (Armenia and Armenian refugees, Asia Minor, Near East, Caucasus, etc.), 1920–1923

- c. 1086/1 Renseignements sur la Turquie, la Géorgie, l'Arménie (etc.), 1920–1921
- d. 1088 Armée française du Levant (etc.) à la chute d'Aïntab, 21 février 1921
- e. 1095 Renseignements de la marine . . . ; Turquie, Russie méridionale, Caucase, Arménie, Géorgie, Azerbaïdjan, Syrie et Cilicie . . . , 1920–1922
- f. 1115 Télégrammes . . . ; événements de Cilicie et résistance à l'occupation française; renseignements sur le Kurdistan et l'Arménie, 1919–1923

VIII. GERMANY.

Akten des Auswärtiges Amts, 1867–1920 (Foreign Office Archives), Bonn (formerly in Berlin)

These archives are of particular importance in the study of Germany's attitude toward the deportations and massacres and of the deterioration of German-Turkish relations resulting from the Turkish invasion of Transcaucasia in 1918. Most of the following files have been microfilmed, either entirely or selectively, for St. Antony's College (SA), Oxford, and the University of California (UC), and are available as microfilm positive copies from the Public Record Office, London, or The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

A. Abteilung 1A [The Political Department]

1. Deutschland

Aktenzeichen

a. 135/1 Die Botschaft in Konstantinopel (1886–1920): 6 volumes (UC microfilm series I, reel 366–cited UC/I:366—for volumes 5–6, 1912–1920)

b. 135/1 *secreta* Die Botschaft in Konstantinopel (1912–1917): 1 volume (UC/I:345)

2. Georgien

1

Allgemeine Angelegenheiten (1918–1920): 10 volumes (SA/97–98)

3. Russland

a. 97a

Russisch-Asien: Kaukasus (1887–1920): 28 volumes (SA/121–127 for volumes 9–28, 1906–1920)

b. 97a/1

Kaukasisch-Armenien (1918–1920): 1 volume (SA/129)

c. 97a/2

Kaukasisch-Aserbeidschan (1918–1920): 1 volume (SA/128)

4. Türkei

a. 134

Allgemeine Angelegenheiten der Türkei (1879–1919): 41 volumes (SA/66–67 for volumes 33–41, 1914–1919)

b. 142

Die Militar- und Marine-Angelegenheiten der Türkei (1881–1920): 67 volumes (SA/81–82 for volumes 39–65, 1914–1919)

- c. 142 *secreta* Die Militar- und Marine-Angelegenheiten der Türkei (1896–1918): 3 volumes (SA/77 for volume 3, 1911–1918)
 - d. 152 Eisenbahnen in der asiatischen Türkei (1883–1920): 102 volumes (SA/92–93 for volumes 78–102, 1914–1920)
 - e. 158 Das Verhältniss der Türkei zu Deutschland (1885–1919): 24 volumes (SA/93–94 for volumes 14–21, 1914–1919)
 - f. 175c Die armenische Kirche (1887–1919): 2 volumes (UC/I:399)
 - g. 183 Armenien (1889–1920): 56 volumes (UC/I:459–462 for volumes 1–34, 1889–1914; UC/I:463–464 for volumes 35–56, March 1914–March 1920)
 - h. 198 Die Jungtürken (1898–1920): 8 volumes (UC/I:410 for volumes 7–8, 1911–1920)
- B. Abteilung 1A–Weltkrieg (1914–1920)
- WK 11d Geheim Unternehmungen und Aufwiegelungen gegen unsere Feinde im Kaukasus (1914–1919): 18 volumes (SA/14–18)
- C. Grosses Hauptquartier. Akten des Auswärtiges Amts im Grossen Hauptquartier, 1915–1919
- 1. 13 Georgien (June–October 1918): 1 volume
 - 2. 40b Transkaukasien (April–November 1918): 3 volumes
 - 3. 40b.1 Transkaukasien: “Ziele Enver Paschas” (April–November 1918): 1 volume
 - 4. 40c Transkaukasien: “Kaukasus–Staaten” (July–November 1918): 1 volume
 - 5. 41 Türkei: Allgemeine Politik (1916–1919): 8 volumes

IX. GREAT BRITAIN.

Cabinet Office Archives (Public Record Office), London

- A. Cabinet 1 Miscellaneous Records: especially files entitled policy toward Turkey; situation in Asia Minor; Pan-Turkish political aims
- B. Cabinet 17 Committee of Imperial Defence: correspondence and miscellaneous, 1902–1918
- C. Cabinet 21 Registered files, 1916–1922
- D. Cabinet 23 Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, 1916–1922
- E. Cabinet 24 War Cabinet and Cabinet Memoranda, 1915–1922: especially files entitled “G” war series, 1915–1920; “G.T.” series, 1917–1919; Eastern reports, 1917–1919; Eastern and general records, 1917–1919
- F. Cabinet 25 Supreme War Council, 1917–1919: especially files entitled Pan-Turanian movement and Turkey in Asia; Near Eastern situation reports; Ottoman Empire and Transcaucasia
- G. Cabinet 27 Cabinet Committees: general series, 1915–1922: especially Eastern committee, volumes 23–39
- H. Cabinet 28 Allied War Conferences, 1915–1919

- I. Cabinet 29 Peace Conference and Other Conferences, 1916–1922
- J. Cabinet 45 Official War Histories: correspondence and papers: especially Transcaucasia and Turkey

X. GREAT BRITAIN.

Foreign Office Archives (Public Record Office), London

A. Class 96. Miscellaneous, Series II

Turkish Atrocities in Armenia. Volumes 205–212

- 1. 205 1915 November–1916 June. Arnold Toynbee's correspondence relating to the collection and publication of material on the situation on behalf of Lord Bryce
- 2. 206 1916 June–December. Further correspondence . . .
- 3. 207 1915 October–1917 February. Arnold Toynbee's correspondence (1) mostly relating to the distribution and reviews of *Treatment of the Armenians in Turkey* (December 1916–February 1917) and (2) with Lord Bryce (October 1915–August 1916)
- 4. 208–210 1916. Collected material for proposed Foreign Office publication on the treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire
- 5. 211 1915–1916. Letters and texts of press accounts sent by M. Tchobanian, with an index to places mentioned compiled by Arnold Toynbee
- 6. 212 1913–1916. Pamphlets from British, American, French, Swiss, German and Ottoman sources

B. Class 371. Political: General Correspondence

The files in classification 44 (Turkey and Ottoman Empire) for the years 1915–1920 contain thousands of dispatches and documents on the massacres, the situation in the Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the plight of the refugees, as well as statements of Allied policy including the declaration of intent to hold the Turkish leaders personally responsible for the inhumanities perpetrated against the Armenian population. See especially the following files in classifications 44, 50 (Miscellaneous, War), and 58 (Caucasus):

- 1. 1915 W44/51009 (Massacres of Armenians)
 - 2. 1916 W44/1455 (Massacres); W44/8012 (Reports); W44/201201 (Turkish atrocities); W44/221220 (Atrocities); W44/164566 (Ill-treatment of Armenians); W50/45468 (Publications)
 - 3. 1917 W44/47710 (Turkish justifications); W44/74082 (Protests); W44/137867 (Atrocities and survivors)
 - 4. 1918 W44/55708 (Massacres); W44/74413 (Appeals)
 - 5. 1919 W44/521 (Turkey and Caucasus); W44/2117 (Syria and Cilicia)
 - 6. 1920 W44/3349 (Relief); W58/512 (Armenia and Armenians); W58/1015 (Caucasus)
- 3/44 (Asiatic provinces); 27/44 (Armenian relief); 1214/44 (Cilicia); 1/58 (Caucasus); 134/58 (Armenia and Armenians)

C. Class 608. Peace Conference 1919—1920: Correspondence

1. Middle East, Political (Files 341—390)

- a. Armenia
 - 342/1/1 Constitution of future state
 - 342/1/2 Internal situation
 - 342/1/3 American-Armenian committee
 - 342/1/5 Outrages on Armenians in Turkey
 - 342/1/6 Allied occupation
 - 342/1/7 Desiderata
 - 342/1/9 Relief expedition
 - 342/1/12 Political relations
 - 342/1/14 Resident commissioner
 - 342/1/16 Young Turk menace
- b. Armenians
 - 342/5/1 Refugees in Egypt
 - 342/5/2 Karabagh
 - 342/5/4 Political relations with, in Caucasus
- c. Anatolia
 - 342/6/1 Future of
 - 342/6/2 Administration
- d. Armistice
 - 342/7/1 Turkish breach of
 - 342/7/2 Amnesty under
 - 342/7/3 General file
- e. Commissions
 - 349/1/1 International commissions for Armenia and Constantinople
 - 349/1/3 Inter-Allied, to Middle East
 - 349/1/4 Inter-Allied relief
 - 349/1/5 Armenian-Persian relief
- f. Indemnities
 - 362/2/1 Turkish, to Armenians and Syrians
- g. Kurds
 - 365/1/1 Aspirations of
 - 365/1/5 Van
 - 365/1/6 Reports
- h. Outrages
 - 374/1/1 By Turks in Asia Minor
- i. Reports
 - 378/3/1 Middle East
 - 378/3/2 Turkey
- j. Statistics
 - 384/2/3 Populations
 - 384/2/4 Armenia, populations

- k. Turkey
 - 385/1/1 Occupation, military
 - 385/1/2 Treaty boundary
 - 385/1/4 Individual punishment for outrages
 - 385/1/7 Reparation and restitution
 - 385/1/12 Repatriation
 - 385/1/14 Desiderata
 - 385/1/17 Extradition of Enver and Talaat pashas
 - 385/1/18 Arrests
 - 385/1/21 Outrages
 - 385/1/25 Committee of Union and Progress

2. Legal (Files 1781—1830)

- a. Arrest
 - 1782/1/2 Of Turks for misdeeds during the war
- b. Court Martials
 - 1789/3/1 For Armenian atrocities
- c. Massacres
 - 1801/1/1 Turkish
- d. Trials
 - 1825/1/2 Djemal Pasha

3. Military (Files 2121—2145)

- Turkey
 - 2142/1/1 Surrender and Trial of Turkish officers
 - 2142/1/4 Army

4. Reference

Eastern Mission (Turkey) 1920 (Files 1—493)

D. Class 839. Eastern Conference: Lausanne, 1922—1923

- 1. File 28 Attitude of Turkish delegation (volume 9)
- 2. File 33 Armenian question (volume 12)
- 3. File 1189 Reconversion of Christian children Islamised during war (volume 45)

XI. GREAT BRITAIN.

Private Papers

- A. Arthur James Balfour (British Museum)
- B. Lord James Bryce (Bodleian Library, Oxford)
- C. Lord Edgar Algernon Robert Cecil (British Museum)
- D. Lord George Nathaniel Curzon (Public Record Office)
- E. David Lloyd George (Beaverbrook Library)
- F. Sir Alfred Milner (Bodleian Library, Oxford)

XII. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Houghton Library, Harvard University), Cambridge, Massachusetts

These archives contain extensive correspondence and voluminous documentation relative to the massacres of 1894–1896, 1909, and 1915–1922, personal accounts and eyewitness reports by American missionary, educational, and relief personnel, and the formation and activities of various American organizations for the relief of Armenian and other decimated minority groups in the Near East and the Caucasus. The following files are especially relevant:

- A. 1.1 Domestic letters (many relating to the Armenian situation in 1915–1916)
- B. 3.2 Foreign department (including the papers of James L. Barton and the activities of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief and the Near East Relief)
- C. 3.3 Foreign department, general letters (including correspondence with the Department of State on the Armenian question and rationale for the United States to desist from declaring war on Turkey)
- D. 16.5 Near Eastern papers
- E. 16.9.7 Eastern Turkey Mission, 1910–1919 (including reports on the refugee population in Transcaucasia and the intense suffering during and following the Turkish invasion of the Russian Armenian provinces)

XIII. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Foundation and University Libraries

The papers of

- A. Cleveland H. Dodge (Princeton)
- B. Edward M. Dodd (Presbyterian Historical Society)
- C. Edward M. House (Yale)
- D. Henry C. King (Oberlin)
- E. Henry Cabot Lodge (Massachusetts Historical Society)
- F. Albert H. Lybyer (Illinois)
- G. Frank L. Polk (Yale)
- H. William W. Rockwell (Union Theological Seminary)
- I. Walter George Smith (American Catholic Historical Society)
- J. William L. Westermann (Columbia and Hoover Institution)

XIV. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Library of Congress: Division of Manuscripts

The papers of

- A. Tasker H. Bliss
- B. Mark L. Bristol
- C. Bainbridge Colby
- D. James G. Harbord
- E. Charles E. Hughes

- F. Henry Morgenthau, Sr. (includes hundreds of reports about the massacres and the Ambassador's futile attempts to intercede)
- G. Elihu Root
- H. Henry White
- I. John S. Williams
- J. T. Woodrow Wilson

XV. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

- A. Numerous files on the Armenian crisis, political and economic measures to aid the survivors, and the future of Armenia and the Armenian people are distributed among various Record Groups, particularly the following:
 - 1. 4 United States Food Administration
 - 2. 5 United States Grain Corporation
 - 3. 38 Office of Naval Intelligence
 - 4. 43 United States Participation in International Conferences, Commissions, and Expositions
 - 5. 46 Records of the United States Senate
 - 6. 59 General Records of the Department of State (detailed separately below)
 - 7. 84 Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State (detailed separately below)
 - 8. 233 Records of the United States House of Representatives
 - 9. 256 Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace (detailed separately below)

B. Record Group 59: General Records of the Department of State

This group contains the largest number of relevant documents in the National Archives. All except one of the following divisions of the decimal files are available as microfilm publications:

- 1. Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1910–1929 (Microfilm Publication 353: 88 reels)
 - a. 867.00 Political Affairs (reels 4–19)
 - b. 867.01 Government (reel 21)
 - c. 867.03 Legislative Branch, including Parliament, 1911–1916 (reel 23)
 - d. 867.4106 Race Problems (reels 43–48)
- Reel 43: 1911–1915: Persecution and massacres of Armenians and Albanians
- Reel 44: 1915–1919: Expulsion of Armenians from Turkey; relief for Jews and Armenians; Armenian refugees in the Caucasus; appeals by the Department of State to the German government to influence Turkey to desist from Armenian persecutions
- Reel 45: 1916–1917: Massacres and deportations of the Armenian population; protection of Armenians in Persia

- Reel 46: 1917–1922: Syrian and Armenian massacres; persecution of Greeks; alleged Turkish policy of exterminating Christian minorities in Asia Minor
- Reel 47: 1922: Investigation into Turkish atrocities; evacuation of Christians from Anatolia and Constantinople
- Reel 48: 1922–1929: Deportation of Christian population from Anatolia; atrocities against Greeks and Armenians in Asia Minor; movement for an Armenian national home
- e. 867.404 Religion: regulations about Armenian Patriarchate, 1916; expulsion of Greek Patriarch, 1922, etc. (reel 49)
 - f. 867.48 Calamities and disasters, 1912–1927 (reels 51–55)
 - g. 867.52 Lands: sale of property belonging to deported Christians; prohibitions against sale of properties by Greeks and Armenians, etc. (reel 62)
 - h. 867.9111 Anti-American and anti-Armenian comment in the Turkish press (reel 72 for 1919–1924)
2. Political Relations between the United States and Turkey, 1910–1929 (Microfilm Publication 365: 8 reels)
 - a. 711.67 General (reel 2)
 - b. 711.672 Lausanne conference: protests and nonratification, etc. (reels 3–7)
 3. Political Relations between Turkey and Other States, 1910–1929 (Microfilm Publication 363: 29 reels)
 - a. 767.68 Greece (reels 3–6)
 - b. 767.68118 Termination of war and Lausanne conference (reels 7–25)
 - c. 767.90c Azerbaijan (reel 28)
 4. Internal Affairs of Persia, 1910–1929 (Microfilm Publication 715: 37 reels)
 - a. 891.00 Political affairs, 1912–1922 (reels 4–5)
 - b. 891.4016 Racial problems, including Armenians of Persia; Turkish and Kurdish atrocities against Assyrian Christians, 1915; Urmia massacres; massacres of Assyrians and Armenians, 1919 (reel 13)
 - c. 891.48 Calamities and disasters, including commission for Armenian and Syrian relief; aid to refugees (reels 14–15)
 5. Internal Affairs of Asia, 1910–1929 (Microfilm Publication 722: 28 reels)
 - a. 890c.00 Azerbaijan (reel 8)
 - b. 890d.4016 Syria: racial disturbances (reel 14)
 - c. 890d.48 Syria: calamities and disasters (reel 14)
 - d. 890g.48 Mesopotamia (Iraq), including relief measures (reel 22)
 6. Relations between Russia and the Soviet Union and Other States, 1910–1929 (Microfilm Publication 340: 20 reels)
 - a. 761.67 Russia and Turkey (reels 7–8)

7. Internal Affairs of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1910–1929 (Microfilm Publication 316: 177 reels)
 - a. 861.00 Political affairs, 1910–1920 (reels 7–36)
 - b. 861.4016 Race problems (reel 93)
 - c. 861.48 Calamities and disasters, including relief and aid to refugees (reels 97–105)
8. World War I and Its Termination, 1914–1929 (Microfilm Publication 367: 518 reels)

Relevant documents are scattered through the following files:

 - a. 763.72 The war 1914–1919 (reels 18–140)
 - b. 763.72115 Civilian prisoners and noncombatants (reels 332–355)
 - c. 763.72116 Illegal and inhumane warfare (reels 356–365)
 - d. 763.72119 Termination of the war (reels 371–518)
9. Internal Affairs of Armenia (Microfilm Publication T1192: 8 reels; purport lists in reel 203 of Microfilm Publication 973)
 - a. 860j.00 Political affairs, 1920–1928 (reel 1)
 - b. 860j.00p81 Political affairs—popular comment, 1920–1922 (reel 1)
 - c. 860j.01 Government, 1919–1929 (reels 2–4)
 - d. 860j.4016 Race problems, 1920–1928 (reels 4–5)
 - e. 860j.4016p81 Race problems—popular comment, 1920–1922 (reels 5–7)
 - f. 860j.48 Calamities, 1919–1929 (reels 7–8)
 - g. 860j.50–.927 Economic, financial, etc., 1919–1927 (reel 8)
10. Political Relations between Armenia and Other States
 - a. 701.60j Diplomatic representation
 - b. 760j.00 Political affairs
 - c. 760j.60g Armenia and Georgia (*See also* 860g.4016, Georgia: race problems)
 - d. 760j.61 Armenia and Russia
 - e. 760j.67 Armenia and Turkey
 - f. 760j.90c Armenia and Azerbaijan (*See also* 890c.4016, Azerbaijan: race problems)
- C. Record Group 84: Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State

Particularly the dispatches and records of the following posts:

 1. Aleppo
 2. Alexandria
 3. Bagdad
 4. Batum
 5. Beirut
 6. Constantinople
 7. Damascus
 8. Erzerum
 9. Harput
 10. Mersina
 11. Samsoun

12. Sivas
 13. Tehran
 14. Tiflis
 15. Trebizond
- D. Record Group 256: Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace (Paris Peace Conference) (Microfilm Publication 820: 563 reels)

Reels 1–26 provide a key to the use of the records and the purport lists of all documents included in the Record Group. Numerous relevant documents are included in the following files:

1. 103.97 The American Relief Administration (reels 35–43)
2. 180.all Deliberations and decisions of peace conference committees and councils (reels 50–139)
subclasses
3. 181.94 Inter-Allied mission (Haskell) to Armenia (reel 194)
4. 184.016 American military mission (Riggs) to South Russia and Transcaucasia (reel 223)
5. 184.021 American military mission (Harbord) to Armenia (reels 229–234)
6. 184.611 & .612 Bulletins of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace (reels 285–306)
7. 185.5 Turkish peace treaty (reels 407–413)
8. 867.00 Turkey: political affairs (reels 535–538)
9. 867.4016 Turkey: race problems (reel 539)
10. 867b. all Armenia (reels 540–542)
subclasses

PART TWO

PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS, ACCOUNTS, AND STUDIES

Abadie, Maurice. *Opérations au Levant; les quatre sièges d'Aintab (1920–1921)*. . . Paris: Charles-Lavauzelle et cie., 1922.

Adonts [Adonz], Nikolai G. *Towards the Solution of the Armenian Question*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1920.

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