

# ARMENIAN ATROCITIES

## The Murder Of A Nation

BY

**ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE**

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WITH A SPEECH DELIVERED BY

**LORD BRYCE**

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

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Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford

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**Prelacy of The Armenian Apostolic Church of America**

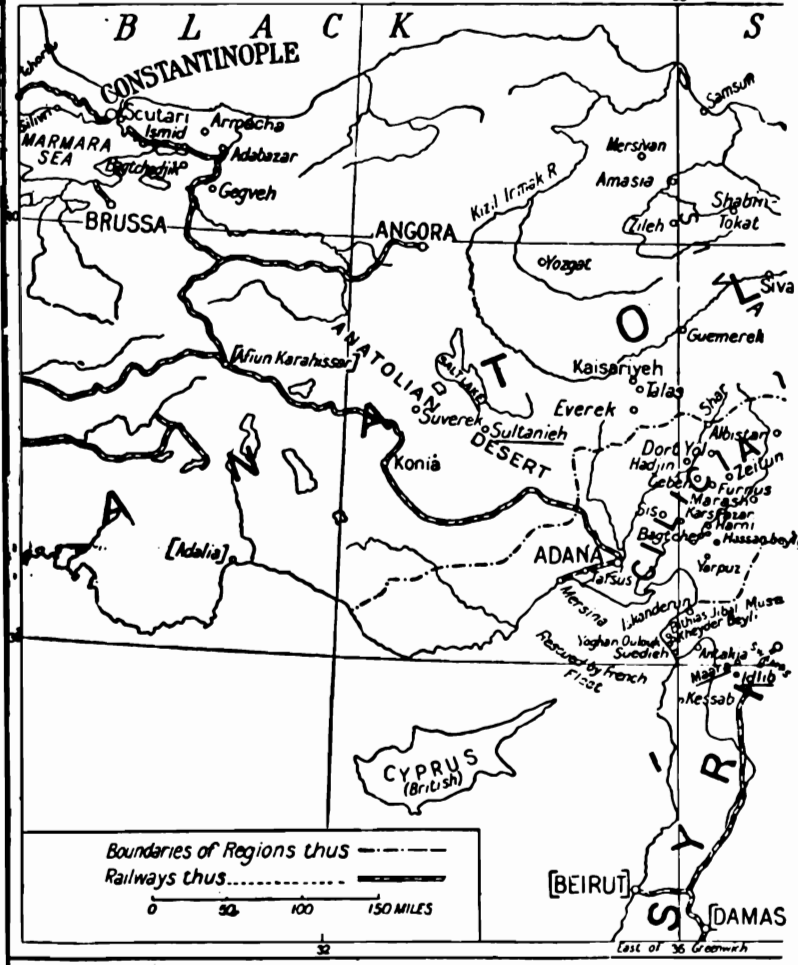
**New York, New York**

**April, 1975**

**A M A P**

**displaying**

**THE SCENE OF THE ATROCITIES.**



Every place marked on this map, with the exception of twelve included in square brackets, has been the scene of either deportations, or massacres, or both, between April and November, 1915.\*

The nine places underlined were the destinations marked



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## **PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION**

This book is sixty years old. It has become a rare volume and very difficult to find particularly for the ordinary reader.

On the 60th Anniversary of the Armenian martyrs, the Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America is making it available to all those who are concerned with the problems of mankind, in general, and with the problems of those small nations which have been deprived of their national sovereignty.

Sixty years ago, Arnold J. Toynbee, "a young historian of high academic distinction," as Lord Bryce described him,<sup>1</sup> brought together pieces of evidence which graphically illustrated the details of the attempted extermination of an entire nation—a nation with a centuries-old historical existence.

During the First World War, the Armenian people lived in the darkest times of their historical existence. The massacres were planned by the Turkish authorities in such a way that there could be no escape, no chance of survival, no possibility of recovery. The atrocities were carefully designed with a single end—the "murder of a nation." This was genocide.

As a later, present-day historian of the Middle East put it, "By any standards this was surely

the most unprecedented, indeed the most unimaginable racial annihilation until then, in modern history.”<sup>2</sup> The Turks of that time (that is, from the end of the 19th century to the second decade of the 20th century) believed that they had both prepared and sealed, once and forever, the tombstone of the Armenian nation. They believed that they had brought the Armenians to Golgotha.

They could not, however, perceive the mystery of the Resurrection.

The sixty years which have elapsed since the First World War have altered the map of the world; and how radically! These years have changed also the situation of the Armenian people. At the end of the war, in 1918, an Independent Armenia was created through the heroic sacrifice of the people of Armenia. Later, one part of that country was incorporated into the Soviet Union. Thus, there was created a central national focus for the Armenians.

Under the hard circumstances of the Soviet regime, the people have recorded great achievements in almost all spheres of human life, but more particularly in economic development, scientific research, and culture. All visitors enthusiastically agree in describing Armenia as a dynamic, creative republic in the framework of the Soviet Union.

Those Armenians who survived the massacres and found refuge in the Middle East, mostly in

the Arab countries, Europe, United States, South America and other parts of the world, first went through a period of recovery. After such a deadly shock as is briefly described in this book, they had to regain their forces, to rebuild their lives in the new countries, where they had found refuge. Particularly in the last three decades, we have been witnessing authentic signs of a genuine renaissance of the national consciousness in all the Armenian communities all over the world. A new generation (with leadership) has come to life: A generation that is emancipated from the stigma of a massacred nation, stricken at heart, uncertain about the future. A generation that looks forward with hope and faith, and works hard for the recognition of the national rights for the Armenian people. When Arnold Toynbee wrote this book, the image of the Armenian, for many, was reflected in the common expression in this country "the starving Armenian!" The word refugee had become almost a second name for most Armenians.

Thanks to our God this image has now become part of a past history. A new image has taken shape—the image of a reborn nation, risen from the dead, conscious of its dignity and devoted to giving concrete and full expression to that dignity in their own national life and in international society. How prophetic were the words uttered by the famous French writer, Anatole France, who, in the tragic year of 1916,

while the massacres were continuing, said to a gathering of distinguished French leaders and intellectuals at the Sorbonne in Paris:

Armenia expires, but will be born again. The little blood that is left to it is a precious blood which will generate a heroic posterity. A people who do not wish to die will not die.<sup>3</sup>

The prophecy has been fulfilled. The Armenian nation lives and strives for greater services to mankind.

This book makes sad reading, I know. But when one reflects on what one reads here, a sense of indignation follows the sadness and leads to a zeal for redressing the injustice done to this small nation which offered so much of her blood and her talents to human civilization and to the noblest of all human causes: the freedom and the dignity of the human beings as individuals and as nations. Both to Armenians and non-Armenians this volume has a message which justifies its republication. The message is that mankind contribute towards the creation of such conditions for the Armenian people that they can keep alive their centuries-old identity and participate more actively in the efforts aimed at establishing peace and justice in the whole of the Middle East.

We can conclude with the words of another world famous figure, Fridtjof Nansen, the Nor-

wegian explorer, statesman, and dedicated servant of human causes, a winner of the 1922 Nobel Peace Prize, who personally became acquainted with the Armenian suffering in the aftermath of World War I as High Commissioner for Refugees under the League of Nations:

The Armenian people have never abandoned hope; they have gone on bravely working, and waiting . . . waiting year after year.

They are waiting still.<sup>4</sup>

These words were written in 1923 . . .

Today we may add: they are waiting and striving. Their hope is being nurtured and sustained through their dedication to their cause, in the spirit of faithfulness to their one and one half million martyrs whose sacred legacy is giving new life to their new generation.

New York, N.Y.  
April 1975

Archbishop Karekin Sarkissian  
Prelate

<sup>1</sup>Arnold J. Toynbee, "Introduction," *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire (1915-1916)*, (London, 1916), p. xvi.

<sup>2</sup>Howard M. Sachar, *The Emergence of the Middle East* (New York, 1969), p. 107.

<sup>3</sup>Anatole France, *Hommage a l'Armenie* (Paris, 1919), p. 47. "L'Armenie expire, mais ella renaitra. La peu de sang qui lui reste est un sang precieux dont sortira une posterite heroique. Un peuple qui ne veut pas mourir ne meurt pas."

<sup>4</sup>Fridtjof Nansen, *Armenia and the Near East* (London, 1923), p. 232.