

Monday. Oct. 7, 1895.

There was a beginning of a riot in Pera yesterday. Some of the Armenians who are blockaded in the church of the Holy Trinity fired pistols from the gate of the church. The Moslem rabble collected and wished to attack them at once. The troops came rushing up and held them back. But there was a terrible panic among the Pera shopkeepers. All shops were closed, people rushed to their homes, and telegrams were sent to the embassies at Therapia and Buynkdire, and the Dispatch boats were all sent down to the harbor. It turned out, however, that the people in the church were as badly frightened as anyone, and were very glad to have the troops guard the surroundings. The people in these churches are a menace to the whole city. There is no knowing what form the Government may give to its efforts to have them disperse to their homes. The revolutionists are ordering them not to disperse, on pain of death, and are forcing all Armenian shopkeepers, also, to keep their shops shut, in order to prolong the excitement. [D...?] came to me today and said that he had opened his shop in accord with the advice we had given, but the revolutionists had come to him again and threatened him if he did not close at once. He was afraid to denounce them and closed up and went home. This evening a young Turk who lives near us said to me, "You must know that this sort of thing cannot last. The Moslems are tired of all this trouble for the sake of these dogs of Armenians. They are ignorant people, and when they get angry, they do not know the difference between different kinds of Christians. The end is going to be very bad for the Armenians, for the Turks, for the foreigners, for you and me. Unless all this fuss about two and a half dogs of Armenians is stopped, the people will take the thing into their own hands. Even now they are whetting their old knives and yataghans to cut the throats of all who are giving us this trouble. When that is going on it is time for you to think and be afraid." The fellow means well but doubtless thinks that the warning will tend to cause us to beg the Powers to cease championing the rights of Armenians. There are all sorts of rumors about of trouble in Sivas and Trebizond. But we cannot learn any trustworthy facts. The Gedik Pasha Protestants held their services in their hut-chapel yesterday. Their pluck is most delightful to see. I think that the Lord has taken them under his special protection. On Monday night after the Softas attacked the people in the chapel and the police sent them all home to get them out of harm's way, the Softas wished to pull the shed down. But a high official came along and ordered the police to see that no one touched a stick of it. On Sunday they were a little chary about venturing to have their service, but the police were so glad to see anyone willing to go on as usual, as if nothing was the matter, that they gave instant permission to have the service held. This gives a quasi-legality to what has been called an entirely illegal enterprise. On the whole, the situation tonight is better than we had feared that it would be.

Tuesday, Oct. 8. Isabel [Dwight, his daughter] wished to go to town for some shopping. I did not feel that it was exactly safe to let her go alone, for trouble may break out at any moment. So I went with her. It was not that there was any special reason to fear, but if anything should happen she ought not to be alone. We went around to take a distant view of the church of the Holy Trinity in Pera, where 1,000 people are cooped up. We saw nothing but the patrols, and a certain number of people about the door of the church. Patrols were riding about the streets of Pera but otherwise the signs of trouble were not many. The bridge was rather vacant and in Stamboul all Armenian shops are shut. I learned on good authority that the moment is intensely critical. The Government has got tired of watching the refugees in the church near the Patriarchate and has decided to force the people to surrender. It has told the people that no one will be hurt. Only seven or eight men there will be arrested for a fair trial, and all others may go

home in peace, but the people will not trust the government. They say that when one of the foreign ambassadors comes and tells them that they will be protected, then, and then only, will they dare to yield. Meantime, the Government has cut off supplies from the church, and has cleared out the women and children from all neighboring houses, expecting to storm the church and to have a heavy battle. Everybody in town is very anxious, fearing that if there is a fight the Moslem rabble will again commence their attacks on people in other parts of the city. Toward night the Government reversed its plan and allowed the people in the church to have provisions taken to them. It is said that this was done on the demand of the foreign ambassadors, and that the Ambassadors have offered to the Porte to induce the people to leave the churches and go home. The people about the Gedik Pasha house were so terribly frightened that Mrs. Newell and Miss Jones went alone to our Legation after nightfall to tell Mr. Terrell the situation. They did not fear for themselves, and wished to be sure that the Powers know that the Government is preparing for a fight in Koompapou. It was a brave thing to do but it was needless, for the edge of the danger had been taken off before they left, by the sending of supplies into the church. Mr. Terrell was rather horrified that they should have gone over alone at that time of day and sent them back in his carriage and under guard of his cavass. Meantime I tried to read some proofs in the Bible House in the afternoon but kept thinking of the situation of the ladies in Hasskeny all alone and in more or less danger of being run over in any uprising. Finally I thought to myself that if I was in their place and they in mine, I should wish to be visited and comforted. To go to see them under the circumstances was certainly as important as any proof reading. I dropped the whole pack of proofs into a pigeonhole and went to Hasskeny. The village was as silent and deserted as though the country had been swept by a pestilence. In the great Armenian church are some two or three hundred refugees, but the police did not seem to be bothering them, and I heard them talking very cheerily as I went by. On Tuesday night last week, Turks attacked the Armenians at work in the brickyard and killed 30 of them it is said. There is no way of verifying this estimate, however. So many of the killed prove only to be missing. The popular estimate of the slaughter in this city on the three days is about 1,000, whereas it is certainly not more than 200, perhaps not more than 150. Miss Gleason was alone, Mrs. Seelye having gone to Scutari for the night. I asked Miss G. to come to our house for the night, but she said she could not possibly leave her teachers and her kindergarten. She is quite brave about staying on in this isolated position, but I can see is a little nervous as to the possible result if any band of marauders should happen to come down upon their house from the rear. Our old cook Garabed is there as the right hand man of the family. I nailed him and asked how he was getting on. He said that he was very much disturbed by the situation. The people are in the churches and afraid to come out. I told him that they were in no need to stay in the churches. The Government will not dare to kill any more Armenians in the city for one while, for the Powers have their eyes on them. He said it is impossible to trust the Government. The men will be let go for the moment and then followed later with persistent malice until they are all killed. He was so bitter against the Turks that I told him he was too hard. He said that I knew nothing about the real situation. "You have nothing to fear; you have someone to protect you and the Turks are afraid to touch you. Your women and children are all here and safe. We have ours in the interior and they are not safe a moment. I have not heard from mine for a month and the last that I heard was that the Turks in a neighboring village had bought 30 cases of petroleum and openly said that it was to be used in burning our village. Why should we not be bitter against a government that allows such things." I heard today the story of one of the survivors of the Cassim Pasha slaughter. He was a day laborer and when he came home at night he saw signs of hostility on the part of the Koords

so marked that he concluded to go elsewhere for the night. His father and two brothers lived in the same room with him. They did not appear and so he went without waiting for them. The next morning he went back and found the room stripped of all that they had, his father dead, and no sign of the two brothers. In the sack of the room he lost all of his clothes and £26 that the four had been saving up for a year, to send home by the first sure hand. I was glad that I went to Hasskeny. The visit seemed to do Miss Gleason good and I had a chance to see and better understand the situation there. The people are in great fear. As I went down the street a girl of about ten had been sent from one of the houses to the fountain to get water. The mother and two or three young men were standing in the door of the house, and all of the neighbors were at the windows to watch the experiment and to see that she did not get any harm. At the landing all the Armenian boatmen were absent. I took a strong young Turk who carried me quickly and comfortably to the bridge. He was very good natured and friendly in his manner. But if I had been a native he would not have shown so much friendliness.

This afternoon Miss Prime came to the Bible House to tell of a new terror in Scutari. A notice has been put up in the church there by the revolutionists telling the people to stay in their homes and to look to their arms to defend themselves against the Turks. It made the ladies at Scutari feel very unsafe, and Mr. Peet went over to tell Mr. Terrell and to ask his advice. He told them to be quiet and not to fear. He had put the college under the special care of the police. The people at the Scutari college have concluded to have two more Croats on the premises as an additional garrison. They use them to work on the wall as if that were the sole reason for their presence, and so prevent panic among the scholars.

Wednesday, Oct. 9. It seems that Artin Pasha, the Armenian under sec at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, went on the part of the Sultan to the Patriarchal church last evening to tell the people that they will be protected and may go to their homes in peace. The people received him well and cheered him, but they said "The voice is the voice of Artin Pasha, but the words are the words of the Sultan and we cannot trust them. We will do anything for you but this. We cannot risk our lives on any such promise." So the attempt failed. Before Artin Pasha would go he insisted on the troops being withdrawn, which was done. He said that he had been sent by the Sultan to reassure the people, and the troops are doing all in their power to frighten them. The curious lack of cohesion in the Turkish policy is illustrated by another incident. The Sultan sent a rich Armenian merchant to try to induce the people to yield. While the merchant was pleading with the people in the Sultan's name to trust themselves to his promise, the police were searching the merchant's house to find evidence of treason. Of course they searched in vain and gained merely the odium of thus violating their promise of liberality while the promise was yet warm from their lips. The Turks are now trying to prove that it was not the Softas who killed the Armenians in the streets but firemen and policemen in the dress of Softas. It is a curious commentary on the character of the Moslem theological student that there is no difference between his face and that of the lowest rabble. A trustworthy Turkish officer says that last week Monday the Sultan approved the plan of the Grand Vezir for receiving the Armenian petitioners, which was to avoid all possibility of an outbreak by treating them courteously having at the same time plenty of troops within call in order to be provided against any bad faith on the part of the Armenians. But at the last minute after all the arrangements had been made, the Sultan sent orders to the troops to resist the Armenians and to break up all assemblages. After sending out this order he sent word of it to the Grand Vezir. The mischief was done by that time.

Shakir Pasha, the Imperial Commissioner at Erzroom has telegraphed to the Sultan that the Koords of that region say that the region is not Armenia but Kurdistan, and that they will not tolerate the appointment of Armenians to be governors. They say that the appointment of an Armenian governor to one province will be the signal for the massacre of every Armenian in the country. This is largely bombast, even if it ever was said. But it has had its effect at the palace just the same. The experience of a dead man has come to hand. He was hamal in the store of Mr. Gatheral. He went out of an errand on Monday. As he was coming back he was seized by some Koordish hamals whom he did not know but who began to search him. He resented this as they had no right to touch him. One of them drew a knife and thrust at him. Then the Armenian ran away, the Koords after him. Haran but looked behind him so that he did not see where he was going and came in collision with a soldier of a passing patrol. The indignant soldier instantly clubbed him over the head with the butt of his gun. The Armenian says that he lost consciousness just after hearing the words, "He is finished." After a long time he came to his senses and found himself lying on a pile of rubbish where he had been thrown to await the arrival of the scavenger carts. He then found that he had a bayonet wound in his arm. The soldiers must have thrust him with the bayonet to make sure that he was dead but missed their aim and merely wounded his arm. He cautiously crawled away to a hiding place and came out after a day or two and returned to Mr. Gatheral. Mr. Terrell sent for me post haste today. He had received authentic news that the Armenian revolutionaries are about to make an outbreak in all the region of Cilicia and that our missionaries will be in the greatest danger because they have urged the people to resist the temptations of the Hunchagists. What can be done for their protection is the question. There is little enough that can be done, and that is at such a distance that it must be largely vain effort. Mr. Terrell did what could be done. The question is raised whether the missionaries ought not to send the women and children to the coast. The responsibility of deciding such a question is very wearing. It seems more dangerous to travel than to remain quiet, especially as we know that the seaport, Alexandretta, is in turmoil just now. I told him that the question must be decided by those on the ground, but that I thought he ought to ask to have ships sent to that coast at once. It appears that there has been some disturbance at Trebizond. An Armenian tried to kill the governor general Kadri Bey. He fired six shots at him point blank and one ball hit him in the leg. Upon this the populace rose and attacked the Armenians, but order seems to have been speedily restored. The Turks here and everywhere are as much afraid of the Armenians as the Armenians are of the Turks. Osman Bey, the curiosity dealer, tells a funny story about the Armenian demonstration. One of the fights took place in front of his shop. He says that he saw the Armenians fire their pistols with both eyes shut and heads turned away.

Thursday, Oct. 10. The other day Dr. Matteosian asked me what I would advise him to do about his family who are in Biryukdere. Should they stay where they are, or should they return to their Pera home? I told him that for the moment Pera is less safe than the Bosphorus because of the tendency of the Armenians at the church of the Holy Trinity to make trouble. I told him the only way was to do as I do every day – feel the pulse of the city and so judge of dangers. He said the difficulty was to get hold of the pulse. This morning he met me on the steamer and asked me how the pulse is this morning. I told him it was less violent, but that I had not yet been to the city to find out. Just then I met Mr. Dimitrof, the Bulgarian agent here, and asked him about the situation. Dr. Matteosian listened with all his ears and understood something of how I work to get the situation every day.

Certain men I know to be well informed and to be willing to tell me what they know. One of these is Mr. Dimitroff; another is the agent of the Reuter News Agency, who gives me news and I give him items that he cannot otherwise get. Then I go among the people of all classes and hear what they have to say; their experience with the police, and with the common Turks or Armenians, and their preposterous ideas on all subjects. From this it is easy to get a general notion of how the mind of the city is acting and if there is anything that seems to have special danger in it. I take pains to learn if it is known at the Embassies. What Mr. Dimitroff told me was that yesterday afternoon Said Pasha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, called on the Austrian Ambassador, who is Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, and asked him to get the ambassador to negotiate with the Armenians about leaving the churches and going to their homes, authorizing the Ambassador to promise that none of them should be arrested by the Turks if they leave the churches. This involves a tacit admission by the Turks that the Armenians have been driven into their present position by abuse, and that therefore they are not to be punished for refusing to submit at the order of the Government. Upon this, the ambassador held a meeting at the French Embassy and decided to undertake the negotiation. This morning early the dragomen of the six Powers were sent to the city to go to the churches and advise the people to go home, promising that they will not be molested by the police. I have not been able to learn what the result has been, but I am afraid that the effort has failed. The Hunchagists are determined to keep up the demonstration until the Turks yield consent to the reformers. Today the Hunchagists went around and informed Armenians who opened their shops that they have been fined by the revolutionary committee for doing so. Several men paid considerable amounts to save their necks from the Hunchagists. All the shopkeepers received orders to close their shops on pain of death from these same revolutionists. They commonly obey meekly for they are terrified at the fear of secret assassination. I saw Miss Jones of Gedik Pasha today. She says that on Tuesday of last week the policemen at the station near their house who have been quite friendly began to look very savage and even failed to return the salute of their man in passing the house. The same happened Wednesday and they felt that it was a very bad symptom because they have been so good natured before. Wednesday afternoon Mr. Terrell called at the Gedik Pasha house. His visit made a great impression in the neighborhood and from that moment the police began to salute the servants with every sign of respect. So they think that the visit of Mr. Terrell had a certain influence on their comfort. This evening for the first time in ten days there are voices in the Armenian quarter of Hissar. For ten days it has been as silent as if there was no one there. Tonight the people are talking aloud and laughing merrily. I judge from this that the question of the churches has been settled after all.

Friday, Oct. 11. The churches are being evacuated. The dragomen yesterday went and pledged the people immunity from arrest and safety afterwards if they would return to their homes. They made a list of all the names of those in the churches, so as to know what people they have promised to look after and gave everyone a card from an Embassy. This morning the evacuation of the churches was completed. The people were searched on leaving to see that they had no arms, and then were allowed to go in peace. The Armenians swarm in the streets and act as though they were swelling with joy. It is a real victory for them over the system of preventative arrest, as well as an admission in the part of the Powers that be that they were driven to act as they did. The Turks are correspondingly downcast. It is to be hoped that the Armenians in their success will not be too much exalted. It is said that among the other guaranties the Embassies

told the people that the reform scheme has been accepted and will shortly be promulgated. The English papers were at first inclined to put great blame on the Armenians for getting up a willful incitement to massacre. But as the later news arrived in London showing how needless the massacre was, and how and where it was ordered, the papers have changed their tone, and it is clear that the net result has been to make all Europe unite in declaring that the reforms must be enforced. The Hatt promulgating this is expected every day. There has been a serious outbreak in Trebizond repressed by the Vali with a vigor that saved the Armenians from slaughter. We have no details. It seems to be the fact, however, that an Armenian tried to kill Bahri Pasha, late Vali of Van, as he was riding through the street with the Vali of Trebizond. Several shots were fired, but the Vali's side alone was wounded. The Moslems then rose to kill the Armenians but the Vali went to them in person and sent them to their homes. Still, the Russian fleet is said to have gone there to see to it that no repetition of the attempt on the Christians is made. The Armenian shops are still held shut by the revolutionists. It is said that they will not be allowed to be opened until the Bill of Reforms has been promulgated. The loss of the trade of this city is simply enormous. One realizes now how large a part of the business is done by Armenians. The banks have now in hand no less than £360,000 of protested paper, which has come due while the people have been shut up in their houses. How the muddle will ever be unraveled without a lot of failures does not appear. The danger seems to be over for the present so far as the city is concerned. We are most grateful to God for His protection and for shortening the days of trouble for the poor people about us.