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# THE SOUTH CAUCASUS IN 1905-1906 ACCORDING TO "THE NEW YORK TIMES" COVERAGE

("THE NEW YORK TIMES" KAYITLARINA GÖRE 1905-1906 ARASI GÜNEY KAFKASYA)

> **Nigar GOZALOVA\*** Eldar AMIROV\*\*

**Abstract:** *Abstract: In the years 1905-1906, events took place in the South* Caucasus that were called "Armenian-Tatar (Azerbaijani Turkish) clashes" or "Armenian-Tatar massacres". The main sources in the study of this issue, along with archival documents, official records, and memoirs of eyewitnesses of events are newspaper periodicals. Newspapers are an irreplaceable source of scientific information, and for historical research, they have often been used as an additional source of information that provides an understanding of the historical context of past events. In this sense, newspaper periodicals are the most significant source for the reconstruction of the events of 1905-1906 in the South Caucasus. This article analyzes the events of 1905-1906 based on the coverage they received in the American press, the most important being the New York Times newspaper. The study of the materials convincingly shows that they

ORCID iD: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2749-9556 Assoc. Prof., Senior Researcher Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences

Phone: (+99450) 33316218, Email: nigar22@gmail.com \*\* ORCID iD: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6294-5534 Assoc. Prof., Chairman of ANAS President Secretariat Phone: (+994 12) 5394091, Email: eldar.ado.85@mail.ru

were not objective, because despite the numerous facts cited about the huge casualties on both sides, the Azerbaijani Turks were still portrayed as the culprits of the conflict.

**Keywords:** South Caucasus, Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, ethnic conflict, massacre, The New York Times

Öz: 1905-1906 yıllarında Güney Kafkasya'da "Ermeni-Tatar (Azerbaycan Türkü) çatışmaları" veya "Ermeni-Tatar katlıamları" olarak adlandırılan olaylar meydana gelmiştir. Arşiv belgeleri, resmi kayıtlar ve olayların görgü tanıklarının hatıraları dısında bu mesele üzerinde calısması için esas kaynak gazete yayınlarıdır. Gazeteler eşsiz bir bilimsel bilgi kaynağıdır ve tarihi araştırmalarda sıklıkla geçmiş olayların tarihi bağlamının anlaşılması sağlayan ek bilgi kaynakları olarak kullanılmaktadırlar. Bu anlamda gazete yayınları, Güney Kafkasya'daki 1905-1906 olaylarının tarih yazımı için en önemli kaynağı teşkil etmektedir. Bu makale, 1905-1906 olaylarını -en önemlisi New York Times gazetesi olan- Amerikan basınında haber yapıldığı sekliyle incelemektedir. İncelenen belgeler, ikna edici bir sekilde bu haberlerin objektiflikten uzak olduğunu göstermektedir, zira iki tarafın da çok büyük kayıplar verdiğini ortaya koyan olgulara atıf yapılmış olsa da Azerbaycan Türkleri çatısmanın esas sorumluları olarak tasvir edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Günev Kafkasva, Ermeni-Azerbaycan catısması, etnik çatışma, katliam, The New York Times

#### Introduction

Interethnic conflicts are one of the most acute problems of the modern world. Initially localized as internal political and/or ethnopolitical conflicts, they often develop into international problems. Considering the frightening scale of the current ethnopolitical conflicts and the potential humanitarian catastrophes associated with them, it is necessary to develop a conscious attitude towards them; doing research, consolidating all forces that could prevent this destructive process, and involving the media into this process.

In this article, we tried to study the events of 1905-1906 in the South Caucasus according to coverage of *The New York Times*<sup>1</sup> (NYT) newspaper. Since the 19th century, the United States of America has been holding the leading position in the publishing of periodical newspapers based on the number of publishers, the circulation of its newspapers, and a huge staff of correspondents working all over the world.

We reviewed the articles of NYT covering the events in the South Caucasus spanning two years, from January 1, 1905, to December 31, 1906. NYT was selected as a source for several reasons. First, it ranks among the most circulated daily newspapers not only in the United States but also in different countries around world. Secondly, the said newspaper has always paid great attention to events that took place not only in the US, but also far beyond its borders. Therefore, on the pages of newspapers, a lot of information can be found about the events of 1905-1906 in the South Caucasus. From the moment of its establishment to the present time, this newspaper has been and remains one of the key sources of information and the formation of public opinion in the United States and in the world.

From January 1, 1905, to December 31, 1906, NYT published a large number of materials in which the news about the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict (or, in the terminology of that era, "Armenian-Tatar2") was mentioned at least once in different contexts (we collected the material not selectively but as a whole for the South Caucasus). Of these, we have selected 100 articles reporting on the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacre of 1905-1906. It should be noted that the news published in NYT was duplicated by many European newspapers and vice versa. The reports on the events in the South Caucasus in NYT were presented in a stingy telegraphic style or were limited to the publication of eyewitness narratives. For example, one of them talks about

Founded by Henry Raymond (1820-1869) on September 18, 1851.

From the 19th century onwards, the Russian authorities, who traditionally referred to all Turkic people as "Tatars", defined Turks living in the South Caucasus as "Caucasian Tatars" or "Azerbaijani Tatars" to distinguish them from other Turkic groups living in Iran and the Ottoman Empire.

the situation of British subjects during the events in 1905 in Baku.<sup>3</sup> Trying to bring readers closer to understanding the essence of these events, the newspaper also published analytical materials, such as an essay on oilfields in the Baku province<sup>4</sup>, on Russian rule in the South Caucasus<sup>5</sup>, or about the causes of the conflict<sup>6</sup> etc. News about the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict was rarely placed on the front page, however, references to these events were found in almost all journalistic materials (notes, reports, articles, essays) of the newspaper. The relevant NYT articles were often accompanied by several flashy, intriguing headlines, typed in fonts other than the main text.

## The Historical Context for the Armenian-Azerbaijani Massacre of 1905-1906

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Russian Empire entered a period of a protracted socio-political crisis, accompanied by a rise of the workers' and peasants' movement, the activation of opposition and revolutionary parties, and the strengthening of national movements in the outskirts. All these appeared against the background of the weakening of government and a growing conviction in the society on its failure. The government turned out to be completely unprepared for this crisis, which manifested itself, in particular, during the interethnic conflict in the South Caucasus in 1905-1906.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, in the conditions of the ongoing war with Japan (1904-1905) and the revolution that began in 1905, the Russian authorities faced another problem: in February, bloody clashes began in almost all the settlements of the South Caucasus, where Azerbaijani Turks and Armenians lived. In the city of Baku alone, bloody clashes occurred three times -in February, August, and October 1905- that claimed the lives of thousands of people. Riots also took place in the Erivan and Elizavetpol provinces. According to Tadeusz Swietochowski, "an estimated 128 Armenian and 158 'Tatar' villages were pillaged or destroyed. The estimates of lives lost vary widely, ranging from 3,100 to 10,000." Martial law was declared in the Baku, Elizavetpol, and

<sup>&</sup>quot;Baku is not pacified. Bomb thrown at Kovno. Chief of Police and Six Other Persons Badly Hurt. Tell of Caucasus horrors Rescued Englishmen Describe Relentless Butchery by the Tartars and Armenians. Article 2 - No Title", The New York Times, September 27, 1905, https://www.nytimes.com/1905/09/27/archives/article-2-no-title.html

<sup>4 &</sup>quot;Troops powerless to check Baku mob", The New York Times, September 10, 1905, https://www.nytimes.com/1905/09/10/archives/troops-powerless-to-check-baku-mob.html

<sup>5 &</sup>quot;Russia in the Caucasus", The New York Times, September 18, 1905, https://www.nytimes.com/1905/09/18/archives/russia-in-the-caucasus.html

<sup>6 &</sup>quot;Moslem Hatred of Armenians", The New York Times, September 9, 1905, https://www.nytimes.com/1905/09/09/archives/moslem-hatred-of-armenians.html

<sup>7</sup> Ф.Р Джаббаров, "Власти Российской империи и армяно-азербайджанский конфликт", Вестник Санкт-Петербургского университета. История, Т. 62. Вып. 3 (2017): 450.

Tadeusz Swietochowski, Russian Azerbaijan, 1905-1920, the Shaping of a National Identity in a Muslim Community (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 41.

Erivan provinces, and punitive expeditions were sent to Nakhchivan and Shusha to end the interethnic massacre. Thus, the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict of 1905-1906 revealed not only serious problems in the national policy of the Empire, but also revealed shortcomings in the management of the region, the weakness of the local administration, its lack of flexibility, firmness, and timely reaction to the first symptoms of interethnic contradictions.9

After the conquest of Northern Azerbaijan<sup>10</sup>, the Russian Empire began a purposeful Christianization of the newly conquered territories. In general, the Russian government pursued a number of important foreign policy goals in its Caucasian policy: the creation of a strategic bridgehead on the borders with the Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire; the transformation of the South Caucasus into a reliable military base for further invasion to the west and south; ensuring control over the coast of the Caspian Sea and its water area, as well as trade routes running through this territory from south to north and from west to east and etc. Since most of the Christian population of Georgia was, from the point of view of some circles of the Russian government, not a completely reliable ally, the Russian government considered appropriate the mass resettlement of Christians of Armenian origin to the region. The Russian government proceeded from the fact that Armenians, more than other ethnic groups, would need protection as migrants, and therefore would be filled with a sense of gratitude and become reliable subjects. As a result, a mass resettlement of Armenians from Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire started. The Armenians resettled from Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire to the territory of the South Caucasus were placed mainly in regions where the predominant population was Azerbaijani Turks. The process of resettlement of Armenians stretched for a whole century and experienced new stages as a result of the Russia-Iranian (1804-1813 and 1826-1828) and Russian-Turkish wars (1828-1829, 1853-1856 and 1877-1878)11. The resettlement had a

Ф. Джаббаров, Армянский экстремизм на Южном Кавказе: вторая половина XIX-начало XX вв (Баку: TEAS Press, 2018), 358.

<sup>10</sup> Having defeated Qajar Iran in wars (1804-1813 and 1826-1828), and in accordance with the treaties of Gulustan and Turkmenchay signed in 1813 and 1828 respectively, Tsarist Russia annexed a part of Azerbaijan which is known as "North Azerbaijan", now the Republic of Azerbaijan, and a larger part of Azerbaijan known as "South Azerbaijan", which currently is situated in the East Azerbaijan, West Azerbaijan, Ardebil, Zanjan, Qazvin and Hamadan provinces of Iran.

<sup>11</sup> N.N. Shavrov claims that in 1828-1830 about 200,000 Armenians were resettled to the Southern Caucasus according to the terms of the Turkmanchay (Article 14) and Adrianople peace (Article 15) treaties. Shavrov noted; "We began our colonization policy in Transcaucasia not by settling Russian people, but by settling foreigners... After the war of 1826-1828 we resettled more than 40,000 Persian and 84,000 Turkish Armenians to Transcaucasia from 1828 to 1830, Armenians from Persia and Armenians from the Ottoman Empire (total 124,000) moved to the Caucasus and settled in Erivan province and Elizavetpol - where before the number of Armenians was almost zero as well in Tiflis region. To settle down they were given more than 200,000 acres of state-owned lands, in addition private-owned lands worth 2 million rubles were bought from Muslims. The mountainous part of Elizabethpol governate and the shores of lake Goycha were occupied by these Armenians. It should

negative impact on the demographic situation in the South Caucasus, causing serious changes in the ethnopolitical map of the region, and, primarily, of North Azerbaijan.

An important sign characterizing the attitude of the Russian authorities towards Muslim population was the ethnic name of the people, distorted in the official interpretation. For many years, in official documents and periodicals, they were referred as "Tatars", "Transcaucasian Tatars", "Azerbaijan Tatars", "Persians", and sometimes, based on their confessional affiliation, "Muslims". The self-chosen name of the people – "Turks", "Azerbaijani Turks" and the language "Turkic", "Azerbaijani-Turkic" – was completely ignored.<sup>12</sup>

The Russian government placed Armenians on the fertile lands of the Azerbaijani Turks, giving them special privileges. In a short time, these settlers, having become rich with the help of these privileges, began to actively oppress the Azerbaijani Turkic population of the region. Until the end of the 1880s, protectionism towards Armenians would accompany the policy of the Russian Empire in the South Caucasus, combining at the same time an open distrust of Muslim Turks and restriction in their rights, in comparison with Armenians. This dualism would constantly be present in the national policy of the Russian Empire in Northern Azerbaijan, causing either minor friction or serious antagonism in interethnic relations between Azerbaijan Turks and Armenians. Using the Armenians as an equipoise to the notorious "Muslim danger", the Tsarist government openly demonstrated selectivity in its policy towards these two peoples.<sup>13</sup>

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Russian government made some changes in its policy towards Armenians. Concerned about their separatist aspirations, ideas to create an autonomous Armenian state on the territory of Russia, in 1903, the Russian authorities confiscated the property and lands of the Armenian Church and banned them from opening Armenian schools. <sup>14</sup> This led to an increase in the influence of the radical terrorist party Dashnaktsutyun (Armenian Revolutionary Federation), which demanded an independent Armenian state. With the beginning of the revolution, a real

be remembered that apart from officially resettled people, that is about 124,000 Armenians, there were a lot of people who resettled illegally, therefore the total number of immigrants exceeds 200,000 people. After the Crimea campaign some more Armenians resettled, but their exact number was not fixed". (Н.Н. Шавров, *Новая угроза русскому делу в Закавказье: предстоящая распродажа Мугани инородцам* (С.-Петербург: Рус. собрание, 1911), 59)

<sup>12</sup> Джаббаров, Армянский экстремизм на Южном Кавказе, 67.

<sup>13</sup> Джаббаров, Армянский экстремизм на Южном Кавказе, 73.

<sup>14</sup> Thanks to the efforts of the governor of the Caucasus I.I. Vorontsov-Dashkovs in April 1905, it was decided to return the confiscated property to the Armenian Church. Р.А. Городницкий, "Учреждения министерства внутренних дел на Кавказе в 1905–1917 гг.", Вестник Московского университета. Серия 21. Управление (государство и общество), №3 (2004): 69.

bacchanalia of terror perpetrated by Armenian radicals, mainly Dashnaks, unfolded in the South Caucasus. Its victims included the Baku governor Mikhail Nakashidze, the chief of staff of the Caucasian military district General Fedor Gryaznov and other high-ranking Russian officials. In addition to attacks on "servants of Tsarism", terrorist attacks by such radicals were instigated on arsenals with the aim of seizing weapons and engaging in armed robberies. The authorities gave preference to the use of force in the fight against the riots. In the spring of 1905, additional military units and two Cossack divisions were introduced to the region. 15

However, the massive resettlement of Armenians, coupled with political discrimination, caused tension and discontent among the Azerbaijani Turks. Imperial laws gave the Armenians more advantages and they became a wealthy ethnic minority with wider privileges compared to the Turkic majority. The Armenians were present in large numbers within the state apparatus while the Azerbaijani Turks (as well as Muslims in general) were almost non-existent in the same apparatus. The oil boom that began in the Absheron peninsula around Baku in the mid-nineteenth century attracted a large number of workers – Armenians, Russians and Azerbaijanis, including from Qajar Iran. Many Armenian oil tycoons emerged in Baku – Mantashev, Gukasov and others. However, growing competition created a basis for conflict, particularly in agricultural areas.<sup>16</sup>

On February 6, 1905, Emperor Nicholas II (1894-1917) issued a decree on the restoration of the Caucasian governorship within the borders of the entire Caucasus, with the exception of the Stavropol province. By decree of May 3 of the same year, the new governor, Count I.I. Vorontsov-Dashkov<sup>17</sup> received the broadest of powers. The governor could also introduce martial law in the region and cancel the decisions of the provincial and regional authorities. The main task that the Tsar set before the new governor of the Caucasus Vorontsov-Dashkov was the suppression of riots, which took on a large scale in the region. As in the rest of Russia, the revolutionary movement in the Caucasus consisted of three components: workers' uprisings in cities, peasant unrest, and national movements. Workers in the cities of the Caucasus received less than in other regions, and their working conditions were especially difficult.18

<sup>15</sup> Городницкий, "Учреждения министерства внутренних дел на Кавказе в 1905–1917", 68.

<sup>16</sup> Ф. Шафиев, "Истоки армяно-азербайджанского конфликта: события 1905-1906 годов", Irs 34, № 4 (2008): 49 ; Farid Shafiyev, "Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict: roots. Massacres of 1905-1906", *Journal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan, №* 18-19 (2008): 16.

<sup>17</sup> Illarion Ivanovich Vorontsov-Dashkov (1837-1916) - Viceroy of Caucasus in 1905-1915.

<sup>18</sup> Городницкий, "Учреждения министерства внутренних дел на Кавказе в 1905-1917", 67.

When we consider the American newspaper publications, there is no doubt that the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacre made a considerable impression on American society. However, characteristically, the American press paid close attention to the events in the South Caucasus in connection with the fires in the oil fields. "Who owns oil rules the world" - these famous words of the British Admiral Fisher reflect the undoubted fact that oil had become increasingly important in the world economy since the beginning of the 20th century. The beginning of the 20th century was characterized by an active growth of industry in the Russian Empire and the Baku province was the main oil base of the country. By this time, the Baku oil industry had moved to the first place in the world in terms of its development rate and production volume, giving in 1901 more than half (672 million pounds) of world and 95% of all-Russian oil production. From 1874 to 1899, 29 corporations were established, including those with the participation of foreign capital. As the position of foreign capital strengthened, the oil industry passed more and more into the hands of foreign investors. Therefore, for example, if in 1902 16% of the capital invested in the oil industry belonged to foreign investors, then in 1912 the share of foreign capital in the oil industry was already 42%. The growing demand of the world's industrial centers for oil and petroleum products contributed to a significant increase in oil production in the Baku province. In 1901, 11 million tons of oil was produced here, which was more than half of the world's oil production. The period that we are studying falls in the crisis years for the Russian industry (from 1900 to the beginning of a new industrial boom in 1908-1909). The outlined overcoming of the economic crisis at the end of 1903 was stopped by the Russo-Japanese War and the revolutionary events of 1905-1907. The decline in the oil industry on the Absheron Peninsula in 1905-1906, during the period of interethnic conflict between Armenians and Azerbaijani Turks, had an impact not only on the economy of the Russian Empire, but also on the entire world economy.

For the Baku province, 1905 was characterized by repeated strikes of workers in Baku and in the adjacent industrial areas, no less frequent strikes of railway employees, a one-and-a-half-month break (from mid-November to the end of December) postal and telegraph communications, and finally, as a result of interethnic massacres throughout the year, accompanied by fires of houses in the city, oil rigs in the oilfields, destruction of property and craft equipment. All this was reflected to a large extent on the state of the oil industry in 1905. Destruction in the Baku oilfields, in August 1905, which destroyed more than half of all production and periodic strikes that continued throughout the Caucasus among oilfields workers, riots and terror reduced oil production in Baku to an extreme minimum.<sup>19</sup> Some researchers believe that foreign

<sup>19</sup> А.В. Коновалова, "Акции нефтяных предприятий в начале XX века на С.-Петербургской фондовой бирже", Экономическая история. Обозрение / Под ред. Л.И.Бородкина, Вып. 10 (2005): 41.

companies, to maximize profit margins, often neglected basic safety requirements in oilfields. It was because of these gross violations that a largescale fire occurred in 1905 in Baku. In a few days in August 1905, 1,429 oil rigs burned down - over 58% of all oilfields in the Caspian, as a result of which the export of oil products from Russia decreased by more than 2 times and Russian companies lost a significant share of the world market. If in 1904 the sales of kerosene from Baku accounted for more than 30% of world exports, this dropped to only about 18% in subsequent years. Some promising markets were almost completely lost - supplies of Russian oil products to China stopped, and Russia's share in the supply of kerosene to India fell from 78 to 2%.20

## **Press Coverage and Modern Interpretations**

Using the articles from *The New York Times* allows us to see how the perception of this conflict changed in the American media in historical retrospect. This allows us to identify what kind of main factors influenced the formation of public opinion about this conflict. An analysis of the American press of that time allows us to assert that the view of the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacre in the South Caucasus in 1905-1906 was dominated by the interpretation of events that the massacre was provoked by the Russian authorities. The American press of that time (like the European one) primarily emphasized the incendiary role of the Russian authorities and the different attitudes of Armenians and Azerbaijani Turks to the 1905 revolution. The newspaper's analysts argued that, in this way, the Russian government carried out the policy of "divide and rule", setting the peoples against each other, that the police set the Azerbaijani Turks against the Armenians, and that they were even given weapons in police stations, and the police were inactive at the sight of street riots.

"Scarcely any better illustration can be found of the way in which the Russian government has played fast and loose with the races under its control that the history of Armenians in the Caucasus and Eastern Turkey. At one time flattering them and giving them hopes of high success, at another time crushing them down by edicts of the most destructive type. It was not very long after this that the Russian Government issued its edicts by which the Armenian language was practically forbidden, Armenian school were closed and Armenian ecclesiastical property were confiscated.

<sup>20</sup> Н.В. Лукьянович and И.В. Прокофьев, "Исторические аспекты нефтяного соперничества России и США", Проблемы национальной стратегии 58, № 1 (2020): 191.

Meanwhile, in the general policy the Moslem had no special share. When however it came to be a question of suppressing the Armenians, naturally the Russian Government was not anxious to appear as prime agency".21

Archival documents at the disposal of modern historians allow us to trace these events in the South Caucasus and their causes and prerequisites. As a result of the introduction of archival materials and documentary sources into scientific circulation and its critical analysis, it became possible to approach the issue of the ethnic conflict between Armenians and Azerbaijanis at the beginning of the 20th century from a different perspective.<sup>22</sup> The author newest to the research of this issue, F. Jabbarov, states the following:

"Today, more than a hundred years after the massacre of 1905-1906, when researchers have access to previously closed archives, and there is an opportunity to put forward an alternative view of the events of the past, it can be reasonably asserted that [the narrative asserting that the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacre was] planned by the ruling circles of Russia does not hold water. The imperial government was the least interested party in unleashing ethnic massacres".23

At the same time, it is obvious that the colonial policy of the Russian Empire in the region played a key role in unleashing and continuing interethnic clashes. This ongoing Russian colonial policy served to intensify discontent of among the Azerbaijani population. The perception of Russian favoritism toward the Armenians exacerbated ethnic relations in the South Caucasus. It seems; however, the Russian administration did not act as the executer of these

<sup>21 &</sup>quot;Russia in the Caucasus", The New York Times.

<sup>22</sup> See more detail at: Б. Наджафов, Лицо врага. История армянского нациоализма в Закавказье в конце XIX - начале XX вв. в 2-х чч. Ч. 1. (Баку: Элм, 1992) ; X. Məmmədov, Azərbaycan milli hərəkatı (1875-1918-ci illər) (Bakı: Sabah nəşriyyatı, 1996) ; D. Seyidzadə, Azərbaycan XX əsrin əvvəllərində: müstəqilliyə aparan yollar (Bakı: Ulduz, 1998) ; S.Y. Süleymanova, Azərbaycanda ictimai-siyasi hərəkat (XIX yüzilliyin sonu-XX yüzilliyin əvvəlləri) (Bakı: Azərbaycan Dövlət Kitab Palatası, 1999); Ф. Шафиев, "Истоки армяно-азербайджанского конфликта: события 1905-1906 годов", Irs 34, № 4 (2008): 48-53; Ф. Шафиев, "Истоки армяно-азербайджанского конфликта: события 1905-1906 годов", Irs 35, № 5 (2008): 18-23 ; E. Özizov, "Difai": XX əsrin əvvəllərində erməni-azərbaycanlı münaqişəsinin ilikn tarixi şərtləri və səbəbləri (Bakı: CBS, 2009); A.Ə. Paşayev, XIX-XX əsrlərdə ermənilərin azərbaycanlılara qarşı ərazi iddiaları, soygırımları və deportasiyalar (arxiv sənəd və materialları əsasında) (Bakı: Çaşıoğlu, 2011) ; И.С. Багирова, Политические партии и организации Азербайджана в начале XX века (1900-1917) (Баку: Элм, 1997); F. Valehoğlu, Tiflis quberniyasında azərbaycanlılara qarşı 1905-ci il kütləvi qırğınları. (Bakı: Turxan NPB, 2013) ; М.Дж. Гасымлы, Анатолия и Южный Кавказ в 1724-1920-е гг.: в поисках исторической истины (Москва: АНО ИИЦ «Инсан», 2014); Ф. Джаббаров, Армянский экстремизм на Южном Кавказе: вторая половина XIX-начало XX вв (Баку: TEAS Press, 2018).

<sup>23</sup> Ф. Джаббаров, "Князь М. А. Накашидзе: организатор армяно-азербайджанской резни 1905 г. или жертва клеветы?", Proceedings of the Institute of Georgian History of the Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University Vol. XII (2017): 342.

events but rather facilitated to the massacres by its inaction and later manipulated the two ethnic groups. The Russian authorities manipulated both sides: the dissatisfaction of the Azerbaijani Turks with the colonial authorities and the revolutionary sentiments of the Armenians were directed into the mainstream of interethnic enmity.<sup>24</sup>

An analysis of the events that took place on the eve and during the interethnic massacre invariably points to the only force interested in destabilizing the situation in the region and provoking an interethnic conflict. This force was represented by the most radical part of the Armenians, represented by the Dashnaktsutyun. During the massacre, the Dashnaks vent their anger both against the Azerbaijani Turks – as the main obstacle for their ideas of "Great Armenia", and against the Tsarist administration for its "Golitsyn" methods of fighting against the chauvinism and separatism of groups like the Dashnaks. 25 Under the influence of a powerful propaganda campaign deployed in the press and at public meetings, rarely did anyone look for the cause of the Armenian-Azerbaijani clashes not in the notorious incitement of the authorities, but in the terrorist activities of the Armenian revolutionary parties, which launched a struggle, on the one hand, against the Azerbaijani Turks population of the South Caucasus, but on the other, against the Russian government.<sup>26</sup>

".. that the educated Armenians are largely responsible for the outbreak, especially the members of the Technical Association. Independent Russian and foreign opinion also blames the Armenian extremists";<sup>27</sup>

American journalists were more inclined to emphasize the fact that the Russian government found its support precisely in the Turks, who were shown as the embodiment of "barbarism".

"Narrow-minded natives opposed all innovations";<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Ф. Шафиев, "Истоки армяно-азербайджанского конфликта: события 1905-1906 годов", Irs 35. № 5 (2008): 23; Shafiyev "Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict: roots. Massacres of 1905-1906", 16, 28.

<sup>25</sup> Джаббаров, Армянский экстремизм на Южном Кавказе, 347.

<sup>26</sup> Ф.Р. Джаббаров, "К вопросу о «панисламистском следе» в межнациональном конфликте на Южном Кавказе в 1905–1906 гг." Исламоведение. Т. 8, № 4 (2017): 54-55.

<sup>27 &</sup>quot;Feared at Shulavery. Tartars kill journalist are conducting a crusade against Newspaper Men — Oil. Workmen Threatened", The New York Times, September 16, 1905, https://www.nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes.com/1905/09/16/archives/many-fights-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes-at-baku-troops-sent-to-kutais-racial-war-nytimes-at-bis-also-feared.html

<sup>28 &</sup>quot;The Baku Oilfields; Great Fires Will Cripple Russia's Oil Trade. Story of the industry Rothschilds and Russian Government Interested in the Fields Which Produce Nearly Half World's Supply", The New York Times, September 10, 1905, https://www.nytimes.com/1905/09/10/archives/the-bakuoilfields-great-fires-will-cripple-russias-oil-trade-story.html

"Moslems were acting with the full knowledge and tacit, if not explicit, approval of Government";29

"M. Nobel says the racial and religious war is merely a complication." The active dangerous elements at Baku being Russians and Armenians, the Government relied upon the conservative Tartar majority to serve as a check whereas it only brought another disturbing element into the field";30

The leitmotif of the attitude of the wider American and world community to the Caucasian events was unconditional sympathy for the Armenians, who were seen as a "cultured people" who became a victim to the provocations of the autocracy, as well as the darkness and ignorance of the surrounding peoples.

"The one element of any positive character has been the Armenian. The Armenians of the Caucasus differs in many respects from his fellow in Turkey. He is more aggressive, more unscrupulous more ambitious. His grip upon trade is even stronger at Tiflis that in Constantinople or Smyrna; his school had better; his share in public life more pronounced";31

"The first and principal cause of the disorders at Baku is the Moslem hatred of the Armenians. This feeling is of long standing and is never absent. The Armenians have been detested as parasites and exploiters of the Mohamedan and other populations in the Caucasus and for several years past the Russian authorities have had much difficulty in restraining the Tartars from cruel and bloody reprisals. The Armenians understood the situation and aware of their danger, armed themselves. The Baku massacres in February showed how well they could defend themselves. This was shown again in the past seven days by the large number of Tartars killed in the rioting"32.

A careful analysis of the mass of newspaper information reveals a multitude of news, reports and articles reflecting the real picture of the events that took place, including the facts of mass killings of the Turkic-Muslim population.

<sup>29 &</sup>quot;Russia in the Caucasus", The New York Times.

<sup>30 &</sup>quot;Moslem Hatred of Armenians", The New York Times.

<sup>31 &</sup>quot;Russia in the Caucasus", The New York Times.

<sup>32 &</sup>quot;Moslem Hatred of Armenians", The New York Times.

- "Yesterday eleven Cossacks, eighty five Tartars and ten Armenians were killed and many houses were fired. The troops and Armenians were acting together against Tartars"33;
- "About 1500 Tartars it is announced [sic] have been killed or wounded"34:
- "After describing the commencement of the outbreak on September 2, when the Armenians massacred 300 Tartars"35;
- "Two Armenian and nine Tartars villages have been already destroyed"36:
- "Turkish Consul at Batum reports that the Armenians are massacring Tartars at the rate of 500 daily"<sup>37</sup>:
- "700 Armenians from a number villagers attacked the Tartar village of Gors<sup>38</sup>, killed 400 of a villagers, and plundered and burned all the property"39;
- "At Elizabethpol the Armenians, who managed to get possession of a number of filed guns, are said to have massacred a great number of Mussulmans"40;

<sup>33 &</sup>quot;Fierce fighting in Shusha 85 Tartar slain in Cossacks and Armenians," The New York Times, September 4, 1905, https://www.nytimes.com/1905/09/04/archives/fierce-fighting-in-shusha-85tartars-slain-in-attack-on-cossacks.html

<sup>34 &</sup>quot;Troops powerless to check Baku mob", The New York Times.

<sup>35 &</sup>quot;Baku is not pacified., The New York Times.

<sup>36 &</sup>quot;New Tartar-Armenian war. Eleven Villages Already Destroyed in Elizabethpol District", The New York Times, October 15, 1905, https://www.nytimes.com/1905/10/15/archives/new-tartararmenianwar-eleven-villages-already-destroyed-in.html

<sup>37 &</sup>quot;Wiping out the Tartars. Armenians at Batum said to be killing 500 a Day," The New York Times, December 23, 1905, https://www.nytimes.com/1905/12/23/archives/wiping-out-the-tartars-armeniansat-batum-said-to-be-killing-500-a.html

<sup>38</sup> Information about the massacre in the village of Gors on the historical lands of Azerbaijan in the Sharur-Daralagez district of the Iravan province, when about 400 civilians of the village were killed in one night, i.e. practically the entire population, naturally suggests an analogy with the events of February 26, 1992, when the Armenian military units in the city of Khojaly (Qarabakh) carried out a massacre that may be deemed as an act of genocide against the Azerbaijani population. This massacre was one of the most heinous crimes committed against the Azerbaijani population during the war of Armenia against Azerbaijan. 613 people were killed (including 106 women, 63 children, 70 old men), 1,000 people of different ages were maimed. 8 families were annihilated, 130 children lost one parent, while 25 lost both parents, and 1275 peace residents were taken hostages, while the fate of 150 of them is still unknown.

<sup>39 &</sup>quot;Massacre 400 Tartars. Armenians Destroy a Village — Mujiks Continue Pillaging", The New York Times, November 15, 1905, https://www.nytimes.com/1905/11/15/archives/massacre-400-tartarsarmenians-destroy-a-village-mujiks-continue.html

<sup>40 &</sup>quot;Slaughter in Caucasus. Armenians Have Field Guns — Rebel Government Runs Courland", The New York Times, January 10, 1906, https://www.nytimes.com/1906/01/10/archives/slaughter-in-caucasusarmenians-have-field-guns-rebel-government.html

"The whole district around Agdam is harried by Armenians and others who are perpetrating horrible atrocities, not giving any quarter to the wounded or to women or children"41;

"in spite of the pledges of the belligerent races to observe a truce during the negotiation for peace, Armenians set fire to several Tartar houses and killed a number of nomad Mussulmans, who came to the assistance of the Tartars"42.

During massacre of the Turkic population in 1905-1906 by armed Armenian gangs, several immovable Turkic cultural heritage, Islamic religious monuments - mosques, tombs, shrines, and other places of worship - were either desecrated or completely destroyed.

"The Mohammedans are greatly enraged at the attack made on the celebrated shrine of Karapirim<sup>43</sup>",

"Armenians during the week sacked and burned last several Mahommedan villages in the Emchiadzin and Erivan Governments, profaning a mosque, attacking women, and slaying promiscuously"45.

At the same time, it can be seen that even the ferocity of the Armenians was perceived as something natural and almost necessary in the given conditions. There were Azerbaijani Turks who were similarly armed and who resisted the violence perpetrated against them. However, based on available documents, we can argue that in most cases it was the Azerbaijani Turks who were the overall victims.

"Information reaches me that after the riots at Baku 300 corpses were counted in the streets. The Tatars were let loose on the Armenians, and the authorities refrained from interference on the old plea that they were without instructions.

<sup>41 &</sup>quot;Armenians give no quarter. Said to be Committing Frightful Atrocities in Transcaucasia". The New York Times, January 21, 1906, https://www.nytimes.com/1906/01/21/archives/armenians-giveno-quarter-said-to-be-committing-frightful.html

<sup>42 &</sup>quot;Article 2 - No Title", The New York Times, August 9, 1906.

<sup>43</sup> The shrine of Kara Pirim was located in the village of Paravend, Agdam region, and again was destroyed by Armenian militants in 1992.

<sup>44 &</sup>quot;Armenians give no quarter". The New York Times.

<sup>45 &</sup>quot;Persians menace Armenians. Mahommedans Plan to Aid Co-Religionists — Barbarities by Armenians", The New York Times, June 27, 1905, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1905/06/27/120277143.html?pageNumber=2

Its looks uncommonly [sic] as if the ill-fated Christians of the East were not better off under Russian than under Turkish misrule"46;

"Sanguinary fighting has taken place between Tatars and Armenians in the village of Khankend. There is great alarms here. All the Armenians shops are closed and troops are patrolling the streets day and night";<sup>47</sup>

"The Bourse Gazette says the authorities at Erivan have discovered unmistakable evidence of a Mohammedan plot for the conquest of the country. A deport of arms has been found on Crown lands bordering on Aras. The agent of this property, a Mussulman, furnished arms to his coreligionist on both sides of the Persian frontier for the massacres at Erevan and Nakhchevan. The Persian Khan of Makin have always been on close terms with the Tartar Khans of Nakhchevan and co-operated with them for the spread of the Pan Islamic propaganda, of which Baku is stronghold.

Proclamations headed, 'Long Like Islam! Down with the Giaours! [infidels]' have been found in the possession of men who attacked the Armenians. Moreover the leaders of the Mussulmans wore red fezes. as if bloody proclaiming themselves farriors [warriors] of the Khalif of Stamboul"48:

"The situation at Baku has again assumed a highly critical phase. The feeling between the Tartars and Armenians is so tense that the slightest incident may provoke a repetition of the massacres.

The Tartars refuse to open their shops, in order to starve the Armenians, many of whom are reported to have died from eating poisoned fruit."49

During the massacre in Tiflis Governorate, not only the Turkic population, but also other Muslims - subjects of the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Iran -

<sup>46 300</sup> Corpses found after riots at Baku. Tatars Were Let Loose on the Armenian Population. Poti reported bombarded Tumult in Many Cities of South Russia — Manufacture of Armaments Stopped. The New York Times, February 24, 1905, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1905/02/24/101409376.html?pageNumber=2

<sup>47 &</sup>quot;Article 2 - No Title", The New York Times, September 6, 1905.

<sup>48 &</sup>quot;War in Caucasus over 1.000 killed. Czar's Troops Are Surrounded by Tartars. Oil towns wiped out. Government Will Lose an Enormous Sum. A Mussulman rebellion. Turkey Accused of Fomenting It - Inhabitants of Many Villages Massacred — Exodus from Baku", The New York Times, September 8, 1905,

https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1905/09/08/101828944.html?pageNumber=1

<sup>49 &</sup>quot;15,000 Troops sent to Russian oilfield. Tartars and Armenians Ready to Fly at Each Other. Many Armenians poisoned. Naphta Operators Decide That No Work Is Possible Under the Present Conditions", The New York Times, September 18, 1905, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1905/09/18/100493385.html?pageNumber=2

were attacked by Armenian gangs, in this connection, the diplomatic missions of these countries repeatedly appealed to the Russian government with a request to ensure the safety of their subjects. At the end of December 1905, the Ottoman Sultan issued a decree in which the border authorities were instructed to accept into the country all Muslims - subjects of the Russian Empire, arriving through Batumi and fleeing the massacre.

"The Turkish Ambassador at St. Petersburg has been instructed to draw Russia's attention to the serious situation at Tiflis, Caucasia, where it is alleged, the Russian authorities are distributing arms to the Armenians and inciting them to massacre the Tartars.

It is stated that the Armenians, with the assistance of the troops, have taken full advantage of the opportunity and have invaded Mussulman residences, including those of Turkish subjects, slaughtering the women and children as well as the men.

The appeals of the Turkish Consul to the local authorities at Tiflis were unavailing"50.

"Telegrams from Tiflis describe the condition of the Caucasus as bordering on anarchy. It is stated that the Armenians, having gained the upper hand, are now massacring the Mussulmans, whom the Government makes no effort to protect.

There is growing feeling in Mussulman circle that the Sultan, who is bound as Khalif to watch over the Mohammedans, ought to send the army corps across the frontier to put an end to the massacres which the Russian government is either unable or unwilling to prevent.

The Austrian and Russian ambassadors have sent to [Ottoman Sublime] Porte lists of outrages, not very numerous, committed by Mussulmans on Christians between May and October in the vilayet of Kosovo, and they request the Turkish government to put the end to the anarchy prevailing. At the Porte it is regarded as showing deplorable lack of humor on the part of Russian ambassador that he should put his signature to such a note at a time when Constantinople is crowed with Christians, Jewish and Muhammedan refuges from the Caucasus and other parts of Russian."51

<sup>50 &</sup>quot;New Caucasus outbreak. Turkey Alleges That Russia Is Inciting Massacres of Tartars. Article 2 - No Title", The New York Times, December 16, 1905, https://www.nytimes.com/1905/12/16/archives/article-2-no-title.html

<sup>51 &</sup>quot;Want sultan to intervene. Mussulmans Say He Should Send Army to End Caucasus Massacres," The New York Times, December 21, 1905, https://www.nytimes.com/1905/12/21/archives/want-sultan-tointervene-mussulmans-say-he-should-send-army-to-end.html

Undoubtedly, the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacres in the Tiflis, Elizavetpol, Baku, and Erivan provinces were tragic events in the history of the interethnic conflict of 1905-1906. Despite the lack of accurate statistics on the number of victims, the available sources create a fairly clear idea of the scale of the terror perpetrated by Armenian radicals against the Azerbaijani Turkic population of the South Caucasus in 1905-1906.

#### Conclusion

Analysis of the materials published in the New York Times allows us to say with firmness that the American periodicals, due to their capabilities, took an active part in covering the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict of 1905-1906. Tadeusz Swietochowski noted "the events were reported in the world press generally with a tone of partiality toward the Armenians". 52 The publications of the newspaper for 1905-1906 in its content bore a clearly pro-Armenian assessment of the events; however, the facts presented in the articles during the analyses indicate the opposite.

With great regret, we must admit that the coverage of this conflict, both in those days and at its present stage, were not and are not endowed with objectivity and impartiality. This is based on the stereotype-fueled perception of the massacre as a conflict between Christian Armenians and Muslim Azerbaijanis. These stereotypes continue to this day, as we unfortunately observe double standards in relation to "Christian" Armenia and "Muslim" Azerbaijan in the Western media. The Western media continues to play on the perceived opposition between Muslim and Christian cultures.

The massacres in the South Caucasus in 1905 and 1906 became the first act of an open, large-scale, and organized attack by Armenians against Azerbaijani Turks. In 1918<sup>53</sup>, as well as at the beginning of 1990<sup>54</sup>, the destruction of the

<sup>52</sup> Swietochowski, Russian Azerbaijan, 1905-1920, 41.

<sup>53</sup> See more detail at: Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. Внешняя политика. (Документы и материалы) (Баку: «Азербайджан», 1998) ; Куба. Апрель-май 1918 г. Мусульманские погромы в документах, (Составитель: д.и.н. Солмаз Рустамова-Тогиди, Баку. 2010); Март 1918 г. Баку. Азербаиджанские погромы в документах (Составитель: д.и.н. Солмаз Рустамова Тогиди, Баку: Индиго-пресс, 2009); Yusuf Sarinay, ed. Azerbaycan Belgelerinde Ermeni Sorunu (1918-1920) (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müd. 2001); А. Халилов, Геноцид против мусульманского населения Закавказья в исторических источниках (Баку: Азернешр, 2000); İ.V. Niftəliyev, İrəvan quberniyasında azərbaycanlıların soygırımı (1918-1920) (Bakı: Elm, 2014); K.N. İsmayılov, Azərbaycanın Zəngəzur bölgəsində türk-müsəlman əhalisini soyqırımı. 1918-1920-ci illər (Bakı: Elm, 2014); V.Ş. Abışov, Azərbaycan xalqına qarşı 1918-ci il soygırımları (Bakı: Elm, 2016); N.R. Gözəlova, Azərbaycanın türk-müsəlman əhalisinin soyqırımı Britaniya Kitabxanasının arxiv sənədlərində (1918-1920) (Bakı: Elm, 2014).

<sup>54</sup> As a result of Armenia's military aggression in 1988-1993, 20 percent of the Azerbaijani territory -Khankandi, Khojaly, Shusha, Lachin, Khojavand, Kalbajar, Aghdam, Fuzuli, Jabrayil, Gubadli, Zangilan regions, as well as 13 villages in Tartar, 7 villages in Gazakh and 1 village in Sadarak region

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Azerbaijani Turks and the centuries-old cultural heritage of Azerbaijan continued in almost the same scenario and with even greater violence. For more than a hundred years, the international community failed to properly condemn the crimes against humanity perpetrated against Azerbaijani Turks, thereby allowing their repetition in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The Aggressive and ultranationalist policy of the Republic of Armenia to this day continues to remain a dangerous destructive factor not only for Azerbaijan, but also for the region as a whole.

in Nakhchivan - had been occupied by the Armenian armed forces. During the Armenia-Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, more than one million Azerbaijanis became IDPs, while 20,000 people were killed in military operations, and 50,000 were wounded or became disabled. During the 2020 44-Day War between Azerbaijan and Armenia, Azerbaijan succeeded in retaking these occupied territories.

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## **ANNEX 1**

# MASSACRE 400 TARTA

Armenians Destroy a Village Continue Pillaging.

TIFLIS, Nov. 14.—It is reported from Erivan that 700 Armenians from a number of villages attacked the Tartar village of Gors, killed 400 of the villagers, and plundered and burned all the property.

# **Ehe New Hork Eimes**

Published: November 15, 1905 Copyright © The New York Times

#### ANNEX 2

CONSTANTINOPLE, Dec. 15. — The Turkish Ambassador at St. Petersburg has been instructed to draw Russia's attention to the serious situation at Tiflis. Caucasia, where, it is alleged, the Russian authorities are distributing arms to the Armenians and inciting them to massacre the Tartars.

It is stated that the Armenians, with the assistance of the troops, have taken full advantage of the opportunity and have invaded Mussulman residences, including those of Turkish subjects, slaughtering the women and children as well as the men.

The appeals of the Turkish Consul to the local authorities at Tiflis were unavailing.

# The New Hork Times

Published: December 16, 1905 Copyright © The New York Times

#### ANNEX 3

# ARMENIANS GIVE NO QUARTER.

Said to be Committing Frightful Atrocities in Transcaucasia.

ELIZABETHPOL, Transcaucasia, Jan. 20.-A courier arrived here to-day from Agdam with dispatches describing the repeated attempts made by the authorities to get a convoy of provisions to the starying and beleaguered Mohammedans of Shusha, Transcaucasia.

The convoy set out three times with a strong escort of troops. Mohammedan volunteers, and auxiliaries, but was intercepted by the Armenians holding the mountain passes.

The whole district around Agdam is harried by Armenians and others, who are perpetrating horrible atrocities, not giving any quarter to the wounded or to women or children. The Mohammedans are greatly enraged at the attack made on the celebrated shrine of Karapirim. After a savage conflict the Armenian attackers broke and fled. leaving fifty dead or wounded.

# The New Hork Times

Published: January 21, 1906 Copyright © The New York Times