

BRITISH NATURALIZATION OF TURKISH ARMENIANS IN BENGAL: AN EXAMPLE OF 'NO PERMANENT ALIENAGE

Bengal'deki Türk Ermenilerinin Britanya Vatandaşlığına Geçiş: 'Süreklilik Arz Etmeyen Yabancılaşma İlkesi'

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Abstract: *Historically the Armenians, are renowned globally for their expertise in trade and commerce. Another distinct category of Armenians is professionals. During the 17th century, Armenians migrated to Baburid India and Bengal. Armenians were the initial foreign visitors to Bengal during Muslim rule. Due to their proficiency and effective communication, they expanded their business throughout the Indian subcontinent. They maintained robust business and political ties with the Nawab of Bengal. They even mediated the establishment of contacts between the Baburid dynasty and the British East India Company. Following the British annexation of Bengal in 1757 and the subsequent colonization of India in 1857, individuals from British India became British subjects by being born within the dominions of the Crown. To become citizens, the others were required to apply for the British Naturalization and Status of Aliens Act (B.N. & S. A.). Accordingly, this study focuses on when and why the Armenians came to Bengal? Under which act did they apply for this naturalization? Which conditions did they have to obey? How was the sequence of the gradual process? And which theory of naturalization matches their acquirement of citizenship?*

Keywords: *Armenian, Bengal, British, Naturalization, Turkish.*

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Özet: Tarihi olarak Ermeniler, ticaret ve iş dünyasında küresel çapta uzmanlıklarıyla tanınmaktadır. Ermeniler arasında bir diğer belirgin kategori ise profesyonellerdir. 17. yüzyılda Ermeniler, Babürlü Hindistanı ve Bengal'e göç etmiştir. Ermeniler, Müslüman egemenliği altındaki Bengal'e gelen ilk yabancı ziyaretçilerdir. Yetenekli iletişim becerileri ve ticaret konusundaki uzmanlıkları sayesinde Hindistan'ın tüm altkıtasına işlerini yaymışlardır. Bengal'in Nevvâb'ı ile güçlü ticaret ve siyasi ilişkiler kurmuşlardır. Ayrıca, Babür Hanedanı ile İngiliz Doğu Hindistan Şirketi arasında temasların kurulmasında aracılık yapmışlardır. 1757'de Bengal'in Britanya tarafından ilhakı ve 1857'de Hindistan'ın sömürgeleştirilmesinin ardından, İngiliz Hindistanı'ndan doğan bireyler, Kraliyet egemenlikleri sınırları içinde doğmuş oldukları için İngiliz tebaası olmuştur. Diğerleri ise, İngiliz Vatandaşlık Tanınması ve Yabancı Durumu Yasası (B.N. & S. A.) uyarınca vatandaşlık başvurusu yapmak zorunda kalmışlardır. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma Ermenilerin Bengal'e ne zaman ve neden geldiklerine, hangi yasaya göre vatandaşlık başvurusu yaptıklarına, hangi şartlara uymaları gerektiğine, sürecin nasıl bir sıralamaya sahip olduğuna ve hangi vatandaşlığa kabul teorisinin, onların vatandaşlık kazançlarıyla en iyi şekilde örtüştüğüne odaklanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ermeni, Bengal, Britanyalı, Vatandaşlığa Geçiş, Türk.

Introduction

Changing residential areas is as ancient as humankind. Since the concept of citizenship, people have also had to obtain citizenship to reside permanently in another place. It is a human right for people to migrate voluntarily, and Human rights also allow for the immigration of voluntary migrants. Generally, one migrant or short-term visitor first becomes an immigrant, then gradually turns into naturalization and becomes a citizen in his new state. Citizenship is a formal association with legal membership in a state.¹ Several fundamental social, political, and civil rights are attached to citizenship.² However, each of these rights may be granted by a state alone, without conferring citizenship on any individual. States do not always grant their residents the same bundle of fundamental rights. Being a citizen means having specific rights and privileges. Only when a membership confers particular rights, benefits, and entitlements does it qualify as citizenship in this broader meaning. Thus, there is a close relationship between citizenship status and the rights that comprise it: In a sense, having no rights would not constitute citizenship at all.³ Certain regions do not grant any political rights at all. For example, Chinese nationals are unable to vote. Different regimes grant their citizens varying combinations of rights from each of the categories above, even in liberal democracies. Being granted citizenship privileges does not automatically make someone

¹ Christian Joppke, *Citizenship and Immigration*, Immigration & Society (Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity, 2010).

² T.H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class: And Other Essays* (University Press, 1950), 10.

³ Daniel Sharp, 'Immigration, Naturalization, and the Purpose of Citizenship', *Pacific Philosophical Quarterly* 104, no. 2 (June 2023), 412.

a citizen. Citizenship is more than just a legal status; in most societies, this legal position carries social connotations.

This study, therefore, examines the legal position of some Turkish Armenians who took British citizenship in occupied Bengal under the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of 1914. The theoretical standard followed here will also be discussed in detail. The paper deals with four who got citizenship under this theory: Simon Mihigian, Martin Varden Daniel, Haikak Aparcar, and Kinaric Louis Baronian, whose documents can be found in the Bangladesh National Archive.

Table: Turkish Subjects who took British citizenship in Bengal

	Name	Birth-place	Birth-year	Arrival Year	Year of Citizenship
1	Simon Mihigian	Van	1888	1914	1936
2	Martin Varden Daniel	Van	1907	1923	1936
3	Haikak Aparcar	Mosul	1897	1907	1939
4	Kinaric Louis Baronian	Erzurum	1911	1920	1940

Source: Compiled by the author

The research will be based on an archival study. Four files related to the topic are found in the Bangladesh National Archive, although the given files show that there may have been other files related to the topic that have not been found. These documents are preserved in the Bangladesh National Archives. No academic research articulated on persons of Turkish subject and Armenian origin who took British Citizenship in Bengal is not found articulated prior to this article. Since no direct academic writing exists, the study requires a review of partially related writings. Two partial things are found here: naturalization and the Armenian diaspora in Bengal. In the academic field of citizenship and naturalization, Oberman contributed masterpiece research, “Immigration, Citizenship, and Consent: What is Wrong with Permanent Alienage?” and Sharp’s research must also be mentioned here; his article, ‘Immigration, Naturalization, and Purpose of Citizenship,’ can be ideal research in this field. He developed a novel egalitarian account of citizenship. Both articles mentioned above are most relevant to this study.

Other partial literature concerns the Armenian diasporic entry into Bengal, their relations with the British, and their reasons for living in occupied Bengal. Here, the accounts of Aslanian, Bhattacharya, Chaudhury, and Roy & Roya are relevant to this article. The authors have discussed the History of Armenians, Armenian commercial history, and their diaspora in India, Bengal, and Kolkata connections. However, no related academic work is found dealt with Armenian Turkish people who got British citizenship in occupied Bengal. Therefore, based on the particular ‘no permanent alienage’ theory, this paper explores how some Armenian Turkish people got citizenship in Bengal and the act after which they got naturalized in Bengal.

This article is structured into seven sections. The 'Introduction' commences with the inherent meaning of citizenship. This section delineates the nature and significance of this investigation. In section II, I succinctly address the development of a theoretical framework. This section specifically addresses the concept and theoretical framework of acquiring British citizenship in Bengal by Turkish Armenians. In Section III, I address the fundamental criteria and the Naturalization process under the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, by which the aforementioned Turkish Armenians acquired British citizenship in Bengal. Section IV advocates for equitable treatment, common factors and the Oath of Allegiance. Section V delineates the identities of the applicants. Section VI, a notably extensive

segment, elucidates the motivations for the existence of Armenians in occupied Bengal. The final portion includes the concluding remarks and ultimate statements.

Theoretical Framework and ‘No Permanent Alienage’

The well-known narratives surrounding naturalization rights are Contribution, Agency, Membership and Coercion. Immigrants make contributions in the same capacities as citizens. However, States might circumvent the need for immigrants to become citizens by preventing them from making contributions. Whenever a state does this, it plays the wrong role twice: once by preventing them from contributing and again by refusing citizenship.⁴ Contributors should receive just a reward for their efforts; additionally, it is the equitable distribution of rewards and responsibilities. It would be inequitable to impose substantial barriers on migrants seeking naturalization who have fulfilled the necessary contributions, as their fundamental entitlement has thus been proved.⁵ In the context of the Agency argument, Sharp says, “*Immigrants are owed citizenship in order to give sufficient security to their located agency*”. Their rights are uneasy, nevertheless, as permanent residents are occasionally more vulnerable to deportation than citizens. However, in the case of subjection, voting rights can be granted to immigrants even without citizenship. This is already the case in some states for municipal elections. Finally, one way to be accepted as a part of society is to be acknowledged as a permanent resident.

Regardless of citizenship status, immigrants are eligible for each right. The process might go like this: Social membership explains the necessity for membership status; agency considerations explain residency rights; subjugation explains voting rights; contribution explains welfare benefits. It is not, however, acceptable for a single state to grant distinctly different privileges to diverse subsets of its members or residents. Advocates of equal citizenship status ought to distinguish between fundamental rights, which a citizenship scheme should grant to every individual, and secondary rights, which allow flexibility. Subsequently, Sharp proposes that fundamental rights either (a) have a significant enough social significance or (b) are objectively required to shield people from social hierarchy. This reasoning does not require everyone to have access to every right the state grants. The state may do away with citizenship and grant each individual the (differential) rights they are entitled to. It is known as perpetual alienation when people or groups are continuously left out of or isolated from full social participation. Political justice seeks to avert this by guaranteeing equitable treatment and opportunities for every citizen. This entails drafting and implementing laws and regulations that uphold fundamental justice, advance inclusion, and combat systematic injustices. Political justice ensures that everyone has a stake in the community and helps integrate marginalized people and groups into society by promoting a just and equitable system. This helps to lessen feelings of alienation. Persistent noncitizen status breeds oppressive interpersonal dynamics. However, these rights could be granted to immigrants even without citizenship.

The argument over these matters obscures a broader agreement that legal immigrants should have the opportunity to become citizens. They cannot be denied citizenship indefinitely; they must at least be allowed to become citizens. Philosophers like Oberman, Carens, and numerous others concur that immigrants should not be refused citizenship indefinitely. Sharp developed an egalitarian account of citizenship to explain its reasons.⁶ They suggest many theories of naturalization. Sharp started this research by asking “why immigrants and citizens should be given the same core rights”. Oberman starts

⁴ Daniel Weltman, ‘Territorial Exclusion: An Argument against Closed Borders’, *Journal of Ethics and Social Philosophy* 19, no. 3 (29 March 2021), 274-275.

⁵ Jonathan Seglow, ‘Arguments for Naturalisation’, *Political Studies* 57, no. 4 (December 2009), 788–804.

⁶ Sharp, ‘Immigration, Naturalization, and the Purpose of Citizenship’, 413.

it by asking, “What is wrong with permanent alienage?” and then investigates the moral distinctions between long-term foreign residents and locals. According to his findings, both are permanently settled in the state. Both must abide by their laws. One may be socially active or socially alienated. Long-term foreign residents and natives should be treated equally, with the former having the same citizenship status as the latter, if there is no discernible distinction between the two. Oberman introduces it as ‘*No permanent Alienage*’ based on ‘Equal Treatment.’ Oberman argues that unless there is a relevant moral difference that can justify differential treatment, indigenous and foreigners should not be treated differently. Treating citizens and immigrants differently would be against the tenet of ‘formal equality’. ‘Similar cases ought to be handled similarly.’ However, Oberman argues that in this instance, no morally significant distinction may support treating people differently. This is because a native-born citizen's key important element is their state of residence. This also applies to established immigrants. Denying someone their citizenship is a particularly troublesome kind of discrimination. Hence, the most powerful case for not alienating permanently can be respect argument. The respect argument posits that prolonged alienage constitutes a deficiency of regard. Seglow contends that the respect explanation circumvents the challenges posed by alternative arguments and aligns most closely with our intuitions regarding naturalization. The respect argument posits that denying citizenship to individuals who are typically resident in society constitutes a failing to show respect. If we honor migrants, as is warranted, we must facilitate a smooth citizenship process for them. Imposing barriers to migrants' acquisition of citizenship demonstrates a lack of regard for them.⁷

This article shows that some Turkish subjects of Armenian origin were also long-term residents in British Colonial Bengal, and they got citizenship there two months after their application. The state and its enacted law were explicitly prepared for whoever fulfilled its regulations. These cases are burning examples of ‘No permanent Alienage’ and ‘Equal Treatment’ in the Twentieth Century. However, the ‘No permanent Alienage’ theory is agreed upon among political philosophers and advocates of citizenship.

The Process of Naturalization under B.N. & S.A. Act 1914⁸

This application for Naturalization used to be submitted to the provincial Secretary through the police commissioner of that province. All the applications that used to be started thus were as follows: “*To the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. Through the commissioner of police, Calcutta.*”.⁹ Here, the application consisted of 11 or 12 points describing the applicant’s identity, intention of living in His Majesty’s dominion for good, adequate knowledge of the English language, good character, having no immovable property in the country of origin or any other foreign country, staying in British India for last four years, having paid initial fee of Rs. 15, seeking to obtain the rights and privileges of British subject under the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914. The applicant also had to submit an affidavit on Good Character from two British subjects.

Particulars relating to the application, including Name, address, occupation, place and date of birth, Nationality, and family information, certainly had to be submitted there. Then, the applicant must make an affidavit in the court of the chief presidency magistrate declaring that everything he stated in the said application is true. The statement, of course, had to be received before the magistrate, identified by a

⁷ Seglow, ‘Arguments for Naturalisation’, 789.

⁸ For detailed information on the Act, see “*British Nationality and Status of Aliens act 1914*”, accessed December 29, 2024, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo5/4-5/17/enacted>.

⁹ Government of Bengal, ‘Application from Mr. Martin Varden Daniel a Turkish Subject of Armenian Origin for a Certificate of Naturalization under B.N. & S.A. Act, 1914’ (National Archives of Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1936).

pleader and turned into a document. One of the Letters says, *“In support of his Memorial, Mr. Mihigian has sworn an affidavit before a Presidency Magistrate, which is attached hereto duly stamped. Particulars relating to the applicant, as required by section 2(1) of the act, are also furnished herewith”*.¹⁰

What the police commissioner says at the end of these letters is explicit from following quoting *“As Mr. Daniel is thoroughly conversant with the English language and bears a good moral character, I would recommend that a certificate of naturalization under the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, be issued to him.”* The Commissioner of Police writes at the end of this letter, *“The initial fee of Rs. 15/- has been realized from Mr. Daniel and credited to the government”*.¹¹

Then, the chief secretary of the province sends it to the secretary of the government of India. After reviewing the application, if it is granted, the secretary or joint secretary of the government of India sends a letter on **‘grant of a certificate of naturalization’** to the chief secretary of the province. Since the government of India was under the Home Department of the British government, the letter used to be sealed by the Home Department. However, if the Home Department grants it, it will be issued to the applicant based on some conditions: if the applicant pays into a Government Treasury the balance of the fee (Rs. 85) and complies with the oath of allegiance before the certain date mentioned in the grant-letter. The letter describes that,

“It should be subscribed as well as taken and should be administrated to him by an officer not below the rank of a Magistrate of the first class. When the oath of allegiance has been sworn, subscribed, and attested in the form indicated above, the endorsement on the certificate of naturalization should be completed and duly attested, and the Government of India informed of the name and official title of the officer attesting it and furnished with particulars as to the date and place of the taking of the oath of allegiance by Mr. Martin Varden Daniel And of the actual issue of the certificate to him. If the oath of allegiance is not taken within the time indicated above or within an extension of the time specially granted for that purpose by the Government of India, the certificate of naturalization shall not take effect and should be returned to this Office”.¹²

According to the text ‘not below the rank of a magistrate,’ an applicant feels honored to get social status. When you give something to someone without showing it to him, you are not legally giving it. The British authority also honored their new citizens following the ‘seen to be done’ policy. The letter also describes that the applicant satisfied the Governor General of India in Council by fulfilling the conditions laid down in the act mentioned earlier for granting a certificate of naturalization. Further, it says,

“Now, therefore, in pursuance of the powers conferred on the Governor General of India in Council by the said Act, the Governor General of India in Council hereby grants to the said Martin Varden Daniel this certificate of naturalization, and declares that upon taking the oath of allegiance within the time and in the manner required by the regulations made in that behalf the said Martin Varden Daniel shall, subject to the provisions of the said Act, be entitled to all political and other rights, powers, and privileges, and be subject to all obligations, duties, and

¹⁰ Government of Bengal, ‘Application from Mr. Simon Mihigian, a Turkish Subject of Armenian Origin for a Certificate of Naturalization under B.N. & S.A. Act 1914’ (National Archives of Bangladesh, 1936a).

¹¹ Bengal, ‘Application from Mr. Martin Varden Daniel a Turkish Subject of Armenian Origin for a Certificate of Naturalization under B.N. & S.A. Act, 1914’.

¹² Bengal, 1936.

*liabilities, to which a natural-born British subject is entitled or subject, and have to all intents and purposes the status of a natural-born British subject”.*¹³

After receiving the acceptance letter, the provincial secretary or undersecretary asks the police commissioner to fulfill these conditions to complete all the orders. The order asks to be resubmitted to the Secretary of India. Where he asks to know that,

- Name and official title of the attesting officer,
- Date and place of the administration of the oath of allegiance,
- Date of the actual issue of the certificate, and
- An acknowledgment of the certificate.

The provincial police commissioner fulfills all the responsibilities mentioned in the letter and resends it to the government's (Bengal) undersecretary. A copy of the oath, which the police commissioner signs and says the applicant took the oath according to the law, is also attached. Another copy is the text of the oath signed by the applicant, and the police commissioner also mentions that it was sworn and subscribed before him. The date when the applicant took the oath is the date of the actual issue of the certificate. The chief secretary of Bengal sends the last letter on this matter to the secretary of the government of India, where he describes the pieces of information that the government of India wanted in its previous letters, such as the name and official title of the attesting officer, date and place of the administration of the oath of allegiance, Date of the actual issue of the certificate. The letter also ensures that the fee balance is realized by the applicant and has been credited to the government.

This procedure used to take 2 or 3 months to complete all the stages. If the applicant does not fulfill all the related conditions, his or her application must be returned. For example, in the case of Haikak Apcar, he did not fulfill the condition of submitting an affidavit of good character from two British subjects. The state authority returned a file that was named as “An application from Mr. Haikak Apcar for a certificate of British naturalization has been returned to the District Magistrate, Dacca, with the request that it may be resubmitted supported by two affidavits from two British subjects”.¹⁴

Suppose the applicant has a wife and children born before the date of this certificate, mentions their names in the application, and follows the rules. In that case, the Governor General of India in Council also declares their citizenship here. The British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1914 says in its 10(1) articles, “*Subject to the provisions of this section, the wife of a British subject shall be deemed to be a British subject, and the wife of an alien shall be deemed to be an alien*”.¹⁵ The British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1933 in article 10 (5) elaborates this section thus,

“Where, after the end of the year nineteen hundred and thirty-three, a certificate of naturalization is granted to an alien, his wife, if not already a British subject, shall not be deemed to be a British subject, unless, within the period of twelve months from the date of the certificate, or such longer

¹³ Bengal, 1936.

¹⁴ Government of Bengal, ‘Naturalization of Mr. Haikak Apcar an Iraqi Armenian Subject of Turkey by Origin under B.N. and S.A. Act. 1914’ (National Archives of Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1939). The first application of Haikak Apcar in 1939 was rejected by the authority. Later, he applied again for his naturalization in 1940 and the application was accepted by the authority.

¹⁵ Anonymous, “British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1914”, Legislation.gov.uk, accessed December 02, 2024, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo5/4-5/17/enacted>.

*period as the Secretary of State may in special circumstances allow, she makes a declaration that she desires to acquire British nationality”.*¹⁶

After analyzing all the applications, the successive processes are:

- Application to the Chief Secretary of the province through the provincial police commissioner
- The Chief Secretary asks for a Report from Police Commissioner
- Commissioner gives a report (Mentioning Initial Fee)
- Provincial (Bengal) Secretary forwards to the Government of India
- Then he replies to Bengal's Secretary and orders related to it
- Bengal's Secretary receives it and forwards it to the Police Commissioner
- Fulfilling the given tasks, he forwards to Bengal's Secretary with related papers
- Bengal's secretary forwards it to the government of India.
- The Government of Bengal keeps its record

Equal Treatment and Oath of Allegiance

Generally, there were 10-12 points on which the applicant made an affidavit. Ultimately, the applicant wanted to say that it is important for him/her at any cost. For example, Kinaric Louis said at the last point of her application, *“That your memorialist further certifies that it is her desire to relinquish her Turkish nationality and that she has not made, nor does she intend to make at any time an application to retain her Turkish Citizenship”.*¹⁷

Some common factors are found in their applications. Such as-

- They had to have adequate knowledge of the English Language
- Expressing their intention to reside in His Majesty's Dominions if the application is granted.
- Having no immovable property or substantial ties in any other foreign country.
- Having no connections with foreign political parties.
- Seeking to obtain the rights and privileges of a British subject under the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of 1914.
- Having mentioned the payment of the prescribed initial fee of Rs.15/ and undertaking to deposit the costs which may be imposed for the issue of a certificate of Naturalization whenever called upon.
- Humbly prays that a certificate of naturalization may be granted to her in pursuance of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914.

Every application also states, *“He/ She resided in British India for a period of four years.”*

¹⁶ Anonymous, “*British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1933*”, Legislation.gov.uk, accessed December 05, 2024, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo5/23-24/49/enacted>.

¹⁷ Government of Bengal, ‘Naturalization under B.N. & S.A. Act 1914 of Miss Kinaric Louis Barondan a Turkish National’ (National Archives of Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1940a).

Although the act did not ask for a character certificate directly from two British subjects, it used to be practiced that every applicant took two affidavits from two British subjects. It is also seen that an applicant did not submit this, and later, he had to resubmit his application.¹⁸

After completing all the processes, the candidate took an oath of allegiance before the police commissioner. This oath was according to article 2 (4) of the B.N. & S. A. Act, 1914. The article says, "*Certificate of naturalization shall not take effect until the applicant has taken the oath of allegiance*".¹⁹ Indicating this clause, the 'grant of a certificate of naturalization' says that "Unless otherwise indicated hereon, if the oath of allegiance is not taken within one calendar month after the date of this certificate, the certificate shall not take effect".²⁰ An example of oath-text of Kinaric Louis Baronian, which she took in front of the Police Commissioner of Calcutta on 27th February 1940, is that "*I, Miss Kinaric Louis Baronian, swear by Almighty God that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty, King George the Sixth, His Heirs and Successors, according to law*".²¹ The Police Commissioner of Calcutta also certifies taking this oath by describing the following text, "*I do hereby certify that Miss Kinaric Louis Baronian, a native of Turkey, has this day taken the Oath prescribed in the Schedule II Section 24 of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1914 and 1918, an Act for the Naturalization of Aliens*".²²

Identities of the Applicants

Simon Mihigian: Simon was born in Van, Turkish Armenia, on January 15, 1888. He is the son of Manoug Mihigian and Lucei Mihigian; both were Turkish subjects of Armenian origin. Therefore, Simon Mihigian is also a Turkish subject of Armenian origin. He came first to British India at the beginning of September 1914, when he landed at Calcutta. Since then, he had been residing continuously in Calcutta for the last twenty-one years and ten months before his application. Simon Mihigian applied for British Citizenship in 1936. He was 48 years old when he applied for it. He was single in his personal life. He was then Headmaster of the famous Armenian College, Calcutta. He applied it at his Institutional address as it was written at the top of his application: "*The Memorial of Simon Mihigian of Armenian College, 4, Kyd Street, Calcutta*".²³

Martin Varden Daniel: Martin having been born in Van, Turkish Armenia, on the 15th day of October 1907. He is the son of Varden Daniel and Masoo Daniel, Turkish subjects of Armenian origin. So, Martin is also a Turkish subject of Armenian origin. Both of his parents were deceased at the time of this application. Martin came to British India at the beginning of May 1923 when he landed in Bombay and proceeded to Calcutta. He resided in Calcutta as a student for five years and eleven months, from May 1923 to April 16th, 1929, and then left Calcutta for Basra on a tour. He returned to Calcutta on 23rd June 1929 after two months, from 16th April 1929 to 23rd June 1929 spent on a tour to Basra and back to Calcutta. And then, he had been residing continuously at Calcutta. He had been a private in the auxiliary

¹⁸ Government of Bengal, 'Naturalization of Mr. Haikak Apar an Iraki Armenian Subject of Turkish Origin under B.N. & S.A. Act' (National Archives of Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1940).

¹⁹ Anonymous, 'British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1914', Legislation.gov.uk, accessed December 02, 2024, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo5/4-5/17/enacted>.

²⁰ This statement is mentioned in all the granted certificates.

²¹ Bengal, 'Naturalization under B.N. & S.A. Act 1914 of Miss Kinaric Louis Barondan a Turkish National'.

²² Bengal, 1940a.

²³ Bengal, 'Application from Mr. Simon Mihigian, a Turkish Subject of Armenian Origin for a Certificate of Naturalization under B.N. & S.A. Act 1914'.

force in India, Calcutta, for seven years and three months from 29th September 1923 to 10 January 1931. Martin Varden Daniel applied to be British naturalized in 1936. He was a veterinary surgeon. Before starting his professional life, he resided in Calcutta as a student. At the time of this application, he was 29 years old. His wife also applied for the acquisition of British Nationality under the provisions of Section 10(5) of the Act as amended by the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1933.²⁴

Haikak Apcar: Haikak Apcar, having been born on the first day of January 1897, is the son of Mr. Apcar Boguse Zerdelian and Mrs. Dolla Thomas (both were deceased at the time of this application), both Armenian residents of Mosul, Iraq. Haikak Apcar was also an Iraki Armenian subject of Turkey by origin. Haikak was a resident of Godenail, Narayanganj, Dhaka. When Haikak Applied for a grant of “Certificate of Naturalization,” he was 42 years eight months of age. Haikak came first to British India in the first part of December 1907 and has been continuously residing in Bengal for the last 32 years (according to the date of application), except 3 months in Kirkee Poona for General Service. He resided in Calcutta for a period of about 9 years as a student of the Armenian College from December 1907 to August 1915 and School Cadet from 1913 to August 1915; he also resided in Haldibari in North Bengal for about 3 years and in different places in the jute growing districts of East Bengal as an Assistant Manager under Messrs Sinclair Murray & Co., Calcutta (a jute concern) for about 10 years at Chandpur, Akhaura, and Choumuhuni up to 1927. He also resided in 1928 for 1 year in Sharishabari in the District of Mymensingh while employed as Manager under the Co-operative Jute Sale and Supply Society and again Joined in July 1929 the service of Mesars Sinclair Murray & Co. at Narainganj and served there up to the end of May 1923 and then joined the jute concern of Mssrs G & M Fogt (A French concern) Godenail, Narainganj as an Asst. Manager where he was working at the time of this application. Mr. Haikak, on leaving College, joined the B.B. Coy., Dacca, and was a member of the I.D.F. until the end of March 1918 and is a recipient of the General Service Medal. He had served the Crown in Kirkee Poona for General Service from 1st January to the end of March 1918. He registered his name under the Registration of Foreigner's Rules 1939 on the 15th of July 1939 before the Registering Officer, Dacca.²⁵

Kinaric Louis Baronian: Kinaric was born in Erzurum, Turkish Armenia, on January 19, 1911. She was at the age of 28 when she applied for it. She is the daughter of Armenac Louis-Baronian and Haikanoosh Louis-baronman, Turkish subjects of Armenian origin. Kinaric herself also was a Turkish subject of Armenian origin. She came first to British India in January 1920 when she landed in Bombay and thence proceeded to Calcutta since January 1920 had been residing continuously at Calcutta for the last nineteen years and eleven months before her application and was successively a student in Pratt Memorial School, Calcutta (January 1920 to end of December 1920) and in the Commercial School of Y.W.C.A., Calcutta (January 1929 to December 1929) and since January 1930 she had been working in the Indian & Eastern Engineer Co. Ltd., Calcutta at first as a stenographer and at latter as secretary in the said firm.²⁶

Reasons for Living of Armenians in Occupied Bengal

²⁴ Bengal, ‘Application from Mr. Martin Varden Daniel a Turkish Subject of Armenian Origin for a Certificate of Naturalization under B.N. & S.A. Act, 1914’.

²⁵ Bengal, ‘Naturalization of Mr. Haikak Apcar an Iraki Armenian Subject of Turkish Origin under B.N. & S.A. Act’.

²⁶ Bengal, ‘Naturalization under B.N. & S.A. Act 1914 of Miss Kinaric Louis Barondan a Turkish National’.

Why did Armenians come to occupied Bengal? What were their general professions? How did they develop their relations with Baburid rulers and increase their relations with the English? Finally, what is the evaluation of these applicants' professions?

Armenians were among the world's earliest trading diasporas. They were historically located where Turkey, Iran, and Russia now meet. Though they were Christian in religion, they managed to maintain positive relations with neighboring Muslim empires.²⁷ Armenians participated in long-distance overland trade with Muslim countries in the ninth century.²⁸ In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Armenian diaspora expanded northward along the Volga from the Caspian Sea and eastward to India. Historians argue that the Armenian trading diaspora arrived in India around this period.²⁹ During the reign of Safavid monarch Abbas (I), Armenians were forced to relocate to New Julfa, a suburb of Shah Abbas' new city, Isfahan.³⁰ According to one tale, Shah Abbas envisioned transforming his capital into a regional commercial hub. Historians argue that Abbas (I) foresaw the potential of Armenian merchants' commercial expertise, abilities, and networks to boost the Empire's trade and commerce. He granted the New Julfa Armenians Persian residency, empowering them to govern their community and practice their religion. The port of Bandar Abbas played a pivotal role in the 17th-century commercial diaspora in India, providing access to the Indian Ocean and facilitating a vast trading network throughout the subcontinent and beyond.

Armenian commercial diaspora significantly impacted Indian Ocean trade until the chartered Companies became more powerful in the first half of the 18th century. Since then, the significance of the Armenian trade diaspora in the Indian Ocean has waned. Bengal was a wealthy commerce hub in the Indian Ocean, providing opportunities for individual merchants, family corporations, and chartered companies. Beginning in the 17th century, there was a significant influx of Armenian merchants. The Armenian commercial diaspora was significant to Bengal trade and politics. The linen trade resulted in temporary settlements in Hooghly, a town near Calcutta. New Julfa became the center of Iran's silk commerce at the same time. According to Barboutian,³¹ the first documentation of Armenian settlement in Bengal links with Murshidabad.³² Murshidabad served as Bengal's capital during Mughal rule. Murshidabad Silk Sharee is still renowned.³³ According to Aslanian, the Armenian Church of the Virgin Mary was built at Saidabad in 1758.³⁴ The Holy Resurrection Church in Dhaka (Դսքրայի Սուրբ Յարութիւն Եկեղեցի) was constructed in 1781.³⁵ The earliest gravestone at the Church of Holy Nazareth originates from 1630. This evidence indicates that Armenians had established a presence near Calcutta at least 50 years before to the British East India Company's initiation of its first commercial venture.

Now, we are trying to identify why they came to Bengal. Armenian businessmen were drawn to Bengal due to its prosperity and trading opportunities. Bengal had its own Apostolic Churches, and remnants of Armenian churches and residences may still be discovered in Bangladesh and West Bengal. Historians

²⁷ Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 1984), 182.

²⁸ Curtin, Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, 183.

²⁹ Razmik Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars*, 1st edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 80-81.

³⁰ Historians such as Philip D. Curtin (1998) demonstrate some practical grounds for the Armenians' relocation to the new city, New Julfa. He claims that during the Shah's struggle against the Ottomans in 1605, the Ottomans advanced toward the territory where Armenians had previously resided. Because of the Ottoman advance, the Shah devised a new plan to combat the Ottoman advance known as the scorched-earth policy, which resulted in a mass exodus from the Aras River area and was also responsible for many deaths among the inhabitants in the surrounding area.

³¹ Armen Barboutian, 'The Emergence of the Armenian Diaspora and Genesis of the Indo-Armenian Community', *Diaspora Studies* 2, no. 1 (September 2009), 105.

³² Saidabad was a suburb of the then-capital Murshidabad, established in 1665.

³³ Achinto Roy and Reshmi Lahiri-Roy, 'The Armenian Diaspora's Calcutta Connection', *Diaspora Studies* 10, no. 2 (3 July 2017): 137-51.

³⁴ Sebouth David Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (California: University of California Press, 2011), 50.

³⁵ Fatma Jale Gül Çoruk, 'Indian Armenians from the Past to the Present', *Review of Armenian Studies*, no. 48 (2023): 94.

agree that Bengal flourished in India throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. During the 17th century, the Mughal emperor Humayun referred to Bengal as Zannatabad.³⁶ Emperor Aurangzeb also referred to Bengal as the "paradise of nations". The Mughals frequently referred to Bengal as "the Paradise of India" in their farmans³⁷, and official records. Bengal was well-known for its raw silk, cotton fabrics, and agricultural items sold throughout Asia.³⁸

How did Armenian family enterprises attain such great success? Historians suggest the ethos of trust, the network of organization, and groupism as plausible answers. The Armenian diaspora in Bengal grew significantly in the 17th century. Armenians arrived in many sections of Bengal, including port cities and remote areas, where commodity supply or trading was feasible. They did not hesitate to travel to the most remote areas of the Kingdoms. Armenian merchants were known for sourcing high-quality Bengali items, even from remote areas. Haikak Apar is one of the applicants for this naturalization, and he went to remote areas for his commercial activities.³⁹

According to Chaudhury, they built trusting networks, shared information, and provided mutual support as an ethnic and religious minority. He viewed Armenians in India as a bunch of merchants.⁴⁰ One of the factors that contributed to Armenian merchants' success was business correspondence. Elderly people simultaneously pass on business knowledge to the younger generation.⁴¹ 'Trust' was tightly practiced among the Armenian merchants, as seen by their contact through letters. Most Armenian merchants in Bengal were connected to their nodal center, New Julfa, and merchant's assembly. There are still traces of their residences and churches in Dhaka. Armanitola is the name of the region where their settlement was formerly.

How was the relationship between the English and Armenians built? The English, Dutch, and French East India Companies relied heavily on Armenian merchants for their dominant position in Bengal commerce during the 17th and early 18th centuries. Armenian merchants mediated between the British East India Company and the Mughal monarch to establish Calcutta through a royal edict. Armenians lived in Calcutta for over three centuries. According to Aslanian, Armenians played crucial roles as diplomatic and financial mediators between the Mughal and Safavid empires and the British.⁴² Thus, the British appointed Armenians as their legal agents (Vakils) in Mughal courts.⁴³ The British East India Company also strongly valued Armenians as trading connections. Khoja Sarhad Israeli was a prominent Armenian trader who liaised between the British and Baburid Sultans to secure territorial rights in Bengal. He acted as mediator to get the Baburid Firman on taluqdari (rent farming), by which they could buy Sutanati, Gobindopur, and Kalikata from a local landlord that later turned into contemporary Calcutta.⁴⁴ Khojah Phanoos Kalandar of Dhaka was the first recorded Armenian to engage in large-

³⁶ Because of its strong economy, it is known as 'the house of heaven.'

³⁷ A farman, was a royal command or decree promulgated by a king in an Islamic state. Throughout different eras, such firmans were compiled and utilized as customary legal frameworks. The English term firman is derived from the Persian farmān, signifying "decree" or "order."

³⁸ Sushil Chaudhuri, 'General Economic Conditions Under the Nawabs', in *History of Bangladesh: 1704-1971*, Sirajul Islam, vol. 2007 (Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1997), 30.

³⁹ Bengal, 'Naturalization of Mr. Haikak Apar an Iraki Armenian Subject of Turkish Origin under B.N. & S.A. Act'.

⁴⁰ Suushil Chaudhury, 'Trading Networks in a Traditional Diaspora: Armenians in India: C. 1600-1800', in *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*, Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Gelina Harlaftis, Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou (New York: Berg Publishers, 2005), 51-72.

⁴¹ Sebouh Aslanian, 'The Salt in a Merchant's Letter: The Culture of Julfan Correspondence in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean', *Journal of World History*, no. 19(2) (2008): 127-88.

⁴² Aslanian, 'The Salt in a Merchant's Letter: The Culture of Julfan Correspondence in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean', 128.

⁴³ Roy and Lahiri-Roy, 'The Armenian Diaspora's Calcutta Connection', 138.

⁴⁴ The famous Mughal Farman (royal edict) of 1715, the English were granted trading privileges and the right to build defenses around their town. In 1717, Khwaja Sarhad Israeli acquired the Grand Imperial Farman for the British. This Farman granted them significant trading advantages over the French and Dutch.

scale business with Europeans. In 1688, he agreed with the East India Company to conduct trade in English vessels with himself and other members of his society.⁴⁵ During the First and Second World Wars, Calcutta Armenians, as Indian nationals, supported the British government and served in the armed forces. The Armenians played a significant role in the commercial development of Calcutta as a trading hub. Their support during the Bengal Famine of 1943 demonstrates their love for their adopted city.⁴⁶

If a settlement had more than 40 Armenians, Armenians could build more churches.⁴⁷ This meant they had the freedom to practice their religion. In 1690, Armenians and Portuguese accepted Governor Charnock's offer to settle here. According to Ray, the disintegration of the Mughal Empire and the growth of British political authority in ports like Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras contributed to the increase in Armenian migration to Calcutta beginning in the late 18th century.⁴⁸ Calcutta's port became increasingly important as marine trade expanded, attracting Armenians from other settlements.⁴⁹ Armenian institutions in Calcutta include the Armenian Church of Nazareth, the Armenian College and Philanthropic Academy, and the Davidian Girls School, Armani-ghat, demonstrating the city's connection to its once-thriving Armenian community. In Dhaka (The capital of present-day Bangladesh), there is an area named Armanitola, the Armenian Apostolic Church of the Holy Resurrection, and Armanitola High School. The writers (Roy & Roy, 2017) visited the Armenian Church in Calcutta, where surviving tombstones and church documents provide insight into the city's Armenian settlement history.⁵⁰ Most Armenians arrived as partners or representatives of wealthy Armenian businessmen from New Julfa. According to Bhattacharya, Armenians were the first foreign immigrants to settle in Calcutta and have had a 500-year history of prosperity and downfall.⁵¹

Armenians significantly contributed to various industries, including services, professions, railways, civil service, armed forces, and business. They introduced rugby to Calcutta and have maintained its popularity until today.⁵² The Armenian population in Calcutta was mostly separated into three classes. Calcutta Armenians were an English-speaking, educated group that included professionals like doctors. The Julfa Armenians arrived from New Julfa and were mostly concerned in trade and business. The Charmahalīs, originally from the Armenian village of Charmahal in Persia, were the last tribe. This group arrived in Calcutta in the early 20th century and was viewed as 'plodding, industrious, clannish, and ambitious' by other Armenians.⁵³

The applicants should be counted in the English-speaking Armenian professional group. A renowned family named Apcar is famous for commercial activities and is from the New Julfa group.⁵⁴ However, the applicant, Haikak Apcar, is not from this group; he may be from an educated group. Other applicants are from professional groups. For example, Simon Mihigian was the headmaster of a famous Armenian college, Martin Varden Daniel was a veterinary Surgeon, and Kinaric Louis Baronian was the secretary

⁴⁵ Anonymous, 'The Armenians', in *Banglapedia: National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh* (Dhaka), accessed 29 December 2024, <https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Armenians>, The.

⁴⁶ Roy and Lahiri-Roy, 'The Armenian Diaspora's Calcutta Connection', 139.

⁴⁷ Jayanta Kumar Ray, ed., *Aspects of India's International Relations 1700 to 2000: South Asia and the World*, Towards Independence 6, 2007.

⁴⁸ Ray, *Aspects of India's International Relations 1700 to 2000: South Asia and the World*, 77.

⁴⁹ Susmita Bhattacharya, 'The Armenians of Calcutta', in *Calcutta Mosaic: Essays and Interviews on the Minority Communities of Calcutta*, Himadri Banerjee, Nilanjana Gupta and Sipra Mukherjee (London: Anthem Press India, 2009), 77.

⁵⁰ Roy and Lahiri-Roy, 'The Armenian Diaspora's Calcutta Connection'.

⁵¹ Bhattacharya, 'The Armenians of Calcutta', 70-85.

⁵² Anonymous, 'Boys' Team of Armenian College, Kolkata Wins the Centenary Plate', *Hetq Investigative Journalists*, 9 July 2012, accessed January 13, 2025, <https://hetq.am/en/article/16360>.

⁵³ Bhattacharya, 'The Armenians of Calcutta', 76.

⁵⁴ Mesrobian Jacob Seth, *Armenians in India: From The Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Calcutta: Asian Educational Service., 1937).

of Indian & Eastern Engineer Co. Ltd. So, the given applicants were from the professional Armenian group.

How did they decline from Bengal? According to Ray & Chatterjee, by the end of the 20th century, only a few Armenians remained in Calcutta. Calcutta's port helped the diaspora spread to the Southern Hemisphere, establishing businesses in Malacca, Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong, etc., and thereby Armenian settlements at each place. Armenians, unlike Jews and Parsees, did not claim geographical ties to India. Additionally, many families did not stay in the same settlement for more than two generations. Despite wealth and affluence, many people hesitated to marry outside their community, resulting in low marriage and birth rates. The emergence of Australian goldmines in the mid-nineteenth century resulted in the first exodus of Armenians from Calcutta.⁵⁵ Following India's independence from British control in 1947, many Armenian businesspeople fled due to concerns about the nationalization and Indianization of their firms. The Indo-China war of 1962 and the India-Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1971 prompted many Armenians to flee Calcutta. This stream of emigrant Armenians went to Australia. The most significant blows inflicted on Calcutta were the relocation of the British capital to New Delhi, the politicization of the city's culture by the Bengali Bhadrakalok class, which resulted in nationalism disrupting trade, and, most notably, the partition of Bengal in 1947.⁵⁶ Thus, Kolkata transitioned from an imperial to a regional city.

Conclusion

Armenians have played a crucial role in the history of India and Bengal from the 17th to the 20th century. Their arrival in India occurred in the seventeenth century and departed in the mid-twentieth century. In this paper, it is stated that certain individuals acquired British citizenship in Bengal during the 20th century. Given the absence of any scholarly research on this subject, it might be asserted as inaugural. The paper incorporates a theoretical framework, specifically focusing on the 'No permanent Alienage' theory for analysis and discussion. The preceding conversation centered on the archival records about the Turkish Armenians who applied for British citizenship in Bengal. Subsequently, it focused on elucidating the complete procedure of acquiring this citizenship, as plainly stated in the application paperwork. While the materials represent the fundamental aspect of the British Naturalization and Status of Aliens Act 1914, This study does not provide a detailed description of the individual parts of the act. The conditions of this act, especially the common factors among all applicants, are also reviewed here. The discussion did not exclude the oath of allegiance. Oath and language tests are also available in modern citizenship tests. Language assessment is utilized as a mandatory component of naturalization procedures. Numerous nations opt to evaluate it through oral or written assessments.⁵⁷ Fortier considered language proficiency as a robust facilitator of integration.⁵⁸

Additionally, certain images sourced from the application files are included here. The information regarding the candidates' lives, as gleaned from their records, is likewise stated above in addition to the primary motive for Armenians migrating to Bengal, particularly the occupation they lived for. Ultimately, the research examines the decrease in the population of Armenians originating from Bengal. Nevertheless, the research examined the theoretical framework and procedural aspects of Turkish

⁵⁵ Bhattacharya, 'The Armenians of Calcutta', 82.

⁵⁶ Tai-Yong Tan, 'Port Cities and Hinterlands: A Comparative Study of Singapore and Calcutta', *Political Geography* 26, no. 7 (September 2007): 851.

⁵⁷ Elçin İstif İnci, 'Citizenship Test as A Migration Policy Proposal in Turkey', *INIJOS: İnönü University International Journal of Social Sciences* 9, no. 1 (2020), 171.

⁵⁸ Anne-Marie Fortier, 'On (Not) Speaking English: Colonial Legacies in Language Requirements for British Citizenship', *Sociology* 52, no. 6 (December 2018): 1254–69.

Armenians in Bengal obtaining British citizenship. Then, one may question what happens to the local population. Individuals from British India held British subject status by being born inside the dominions of the British Crown.⁵⁹

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⁵⁹ Anonymous, 'British Subjects from India and Pakistan: An Enduring Status to Avoid Statelessness', *Nationality and Citizenship Law* (blog), 2020, <https://nationalityandcitizenshiplaw.com/2020/03/13/british-subjects-from-india-and-pakistan-an-enduring-status-to-avoid-statelessnesBoy's/>.

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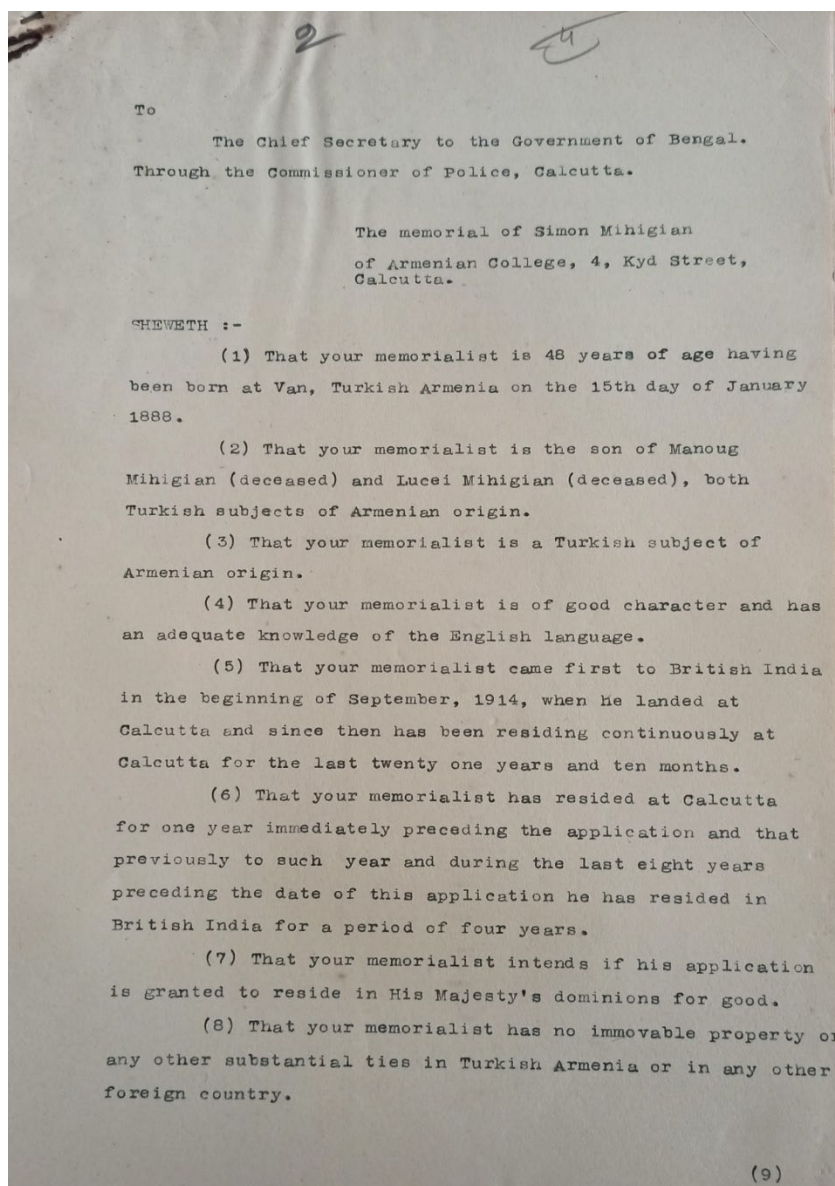
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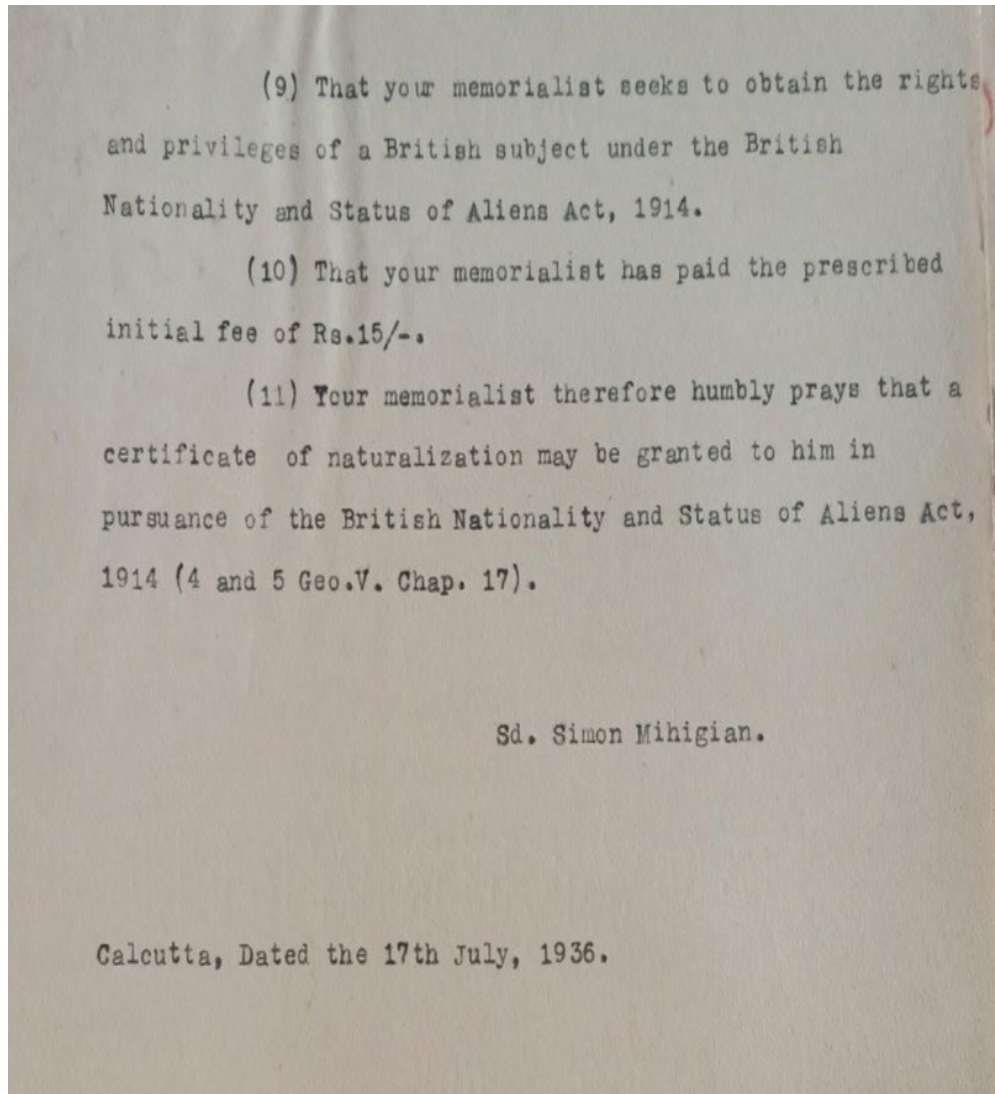
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APPENDIX: Archival Documents

Source: Collected by the author from the National Archive of Bangladesh



Archival Document 01: First page of an application



Archival Document 02: Last page of an application

8.7.40
10.2.40
8
S.P. 10/2
12/2

No. 1020/40-PUBLIC.

FROM

G. J. W. Lillie, Esquire, I.C.S.,
DEPUTY SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

To

Home
Depart-
ment.

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal,
Home Department.
New Delhi, the 7th February, 1940.

10-2-40
5/142
SUBJECT:—Grant of a certificate of naturalization to
Miss Kinaric Louis-Baronian.
SIR,

With reference to your letter no297 P, dated the 19th Jany., 1940,
I am directed to forward a certificate of naturalization under the British Nationality
and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, for Miss Kinaric Louis-Baronian,
and to request that it may be issued to her on payment into a Government Treasury
of the balance of the fee due from her (Rs. 85) and on her complying with the
conditions laid down in the following paragraph.

2. The oath of allegiance in the form endorsed on the certificate forwarded
herewith should be taken by Miss Louis-Baronian,
on or before the 7th March, 1940. It should be subscribed as well
as taken and should be administered to her by an officer not below the rank of a
Magistrate of the first class. When the oath of allegiance has been sworn, sub-
scribed and attested in the form indicated above, the endorsement on the certificate
of naturalization should be completed and duly attested and the Government of
India informed of the name and official title of the officer attesting it and furnished
with particulars as to the date and place of the taking of the oath of allegiance
by Miss Louis-Baronian
and of the actual issue of the certificate to her. If the oath of allegiance is
not taken within the time indicated above or within an extension of the time
specially granted for that purpose by the Government of India, the certificate
of naturalization shall not take effect and should be returned to this office.

3 Mar 1940
9/4

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

G. J. W. Lillie
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

H.D. 8.

H398HD-500-21-12-38-GIPS

Archival Document 03: A document of a 'Grant of Certification of Naturalization'

(Rs 85/-) has been realised from Mr. Daniel and credited to Government.

In this connection I forward herewith a declaration made by Mrs. Daniel for acquisition of British Nationality under the provisions of Section 10(5) of the Act as amended by the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1933.

The prescribed fee of Rs 8/- has been realised from Mr. Daniel and credited to Government.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

W.S. Durgule

for Commissioner of Police.

1/17/39

Archival Document 04: The document on applying for Mrs. Daniel

(7)
other substantial ties in Turkish Armenia or in any other foreign country.

(9) That your memorialist seeks to obtain the rights and privileges of a British subject under the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914.

(10) That your memorialist has paid the prescribed initial fee of Rs.15/-.

(11) Your memorialist therefore humbly prays that a certificate of naturalization may be granted to her in pursuance of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914(4 and 5 Geo.V. Chap.17).

(12) That your memorialist further certifies that it is her desire to relinquish her Turkish nationality and that she has not made nor does she intend to make at any time an application to retain her Turkish citizenship.

Sd/-Kinaric Louis-Baronian.

Calcutta. Dated the 19th December 1939.

Archival Document 05: A document showing the applicant's desire to relinquish her previous nationality.

14

I do hereby certify that Mr. *Simon Mihigian*
..... a native of *Turkish Armenia*
has this day taken the Oath prescribed in the schedule II
Section 24 of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens
Act 1914 and 1918, an Act for the Naturalization of Aliens.

Calcutta Police Office, |
The *14th September* 1936 |

L.B. Durruford
Dy: Commissioner of Police
and Justice of the Peace,
Calcutta.

Archival Document 06: An example document on 'Oath of Allegiance'