



martyrdom and rebirth

Fateful years in Recent Armenian History

MARTYRDOM
and
REBIRTH

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*Fateful Events in the
Recent History of the
Armenian People*

Preface by
G. P. GOOCH, O.M.

published on the occasion of the
50th Anniversary of the
massacres of 1915, by the
Diocese of the Armenian Church of America

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*Dedicated to the Memory of the
over million and a half
Armenians who suffered Martyrdom
in the massacres of the
First World War*

FOREWORD

The year 1965 is sacred to the Armenian people, for it marks the fiftieth anniversary of the martyrdom of over a million and a half Armenians during World War I. The present volume, therefore, has been prepared as a monument to their imperishable memory. Under the title, "Martyrdom and Rebirth," it presents the historic background of the deportation and massacre and subsequent regeneration of the Armenian people. Prepared by competent scholars, this book is a conscientious presentation of historic facts. Even though concise, it covers an inexhaustible subject that could fill dozens of volumes.

The history of the Armenian people is a narration of successive martyrdoms. A progressive race of the Indo-European branch, the Armenian people espoused Christ's gospel of light, goodness, justice, and the brotherhood of men, and gave countless martyrs to preserve its Christian faith, virtually becoming a nation of confessors. The struggle of the Vardanians, in 451, "for Christ and fatherland," was a conclusive proof of that fact. The same martyrdom and witness was continued also in the succeeding centuries. There exists a significant parallel between the mass-martyrdom of the World War I and of the struggle of the Vardanians during the fifth century, even though they are different in the circumstances surrounding them. The battle of the Vardanians was a war for the preservation of the faith, of the fatherland and for freedom of worship. The deportation and massacre of 1915 was the martyrdom of unarmed defenseless people of every social stratum, because of their loyalty to the same faith and fatherland.

This volume has been written with no vengeful motive, but to do justice to the memory of the martyrs, and to record the facts for posterity.

Enemies of the Armenian people sought to destroy a nation which, nevertheless, survived the awful carnage, thanks to its deep-rooted Christian faith and tenacious will to live. As the mythical phoenix, it rose from its ashes—witness the regeneration of noteworthy progress of our native land during the past decades in the domain of science and culture, and the similar display of vitality and progress on the part of the more than a million Armenians in the dispersion.

Our martyrs bravely walked through the shadows of the valley of death for their Church and nation; they sacrificed themselves for their

descendants; through their death the nation survived. Honor to their cherished memory.

Before concluding our words, we wish to express our grateful appreciation, for a most appropriate preface, to Dr. G. P. Gooch, O.M., the venerable dean of British historians, whose deep concern for the fate of the Armenian people was first inspired by the late Lord James Bryce.

A word of appreciation is due also to the group of scholars who worked with great devotion in order to present to us as complete a picture of contemporary Armenian history as might be condensed within the confines of this book.

SION ARCHBISHOP

P R E F A C E

I welcome this opportunity of expressing my life long interest in the Armenian race, my deep sympathy with its sufferings, and its courage in facing its problems.

I first became aware of this historic community when Sultan Abdul Hamid massacred thousands of his Armenian subjects in the streets of Constantinople.

This little volume appears fifty years after the still more terrible atrocities of 1915 which rank with Hitler's extermination campaign against the Jews among the most sensational of historic crimes. The Armenians were already a civilized community before Europe had begun to learn the lessons of civilization from the Jews, the Greeks and the Romans, and when Christianity dawned on the world they formed an independent Church which they have maintained ever since. The history of the last 2000 years has been a record of misgovernment by many masters. This depressing narrative has been summarized in an instructive contribution by Dr. Sarkissian who also provides a detailed reconstruction of the great massacres of 1915. These chapters no less than the other contributions to this symposium should be widely read by Armenians in many lands and also by students of history. Believing as I do in the fundamental unity of the human family there is no section which does not concern the rest of us. As an old Gladstonian Liberal I value the contribution of little states to the treasure house of civilization. Nature loves variety, and so do I. Lord Acton in one of his celebrated aphorisms declared that the best test of the merits of a regime was the provision that it makes for minorities. During my long life and above all since the shattering experiences of two world wars there is, I think, a greater disposition on the part of the major states to live and let live. Armenians have already given us much which is of value, and I feel no doubt that they have more to give us. It is not only my fervent wish but my confident expectation that their troubles are now over. Dr. Sarkissian and his colleagues are to be warmly congratulated on recalling the attention of readers throughout the world to the race of which they are distinguished ornaments.

23 March 1965

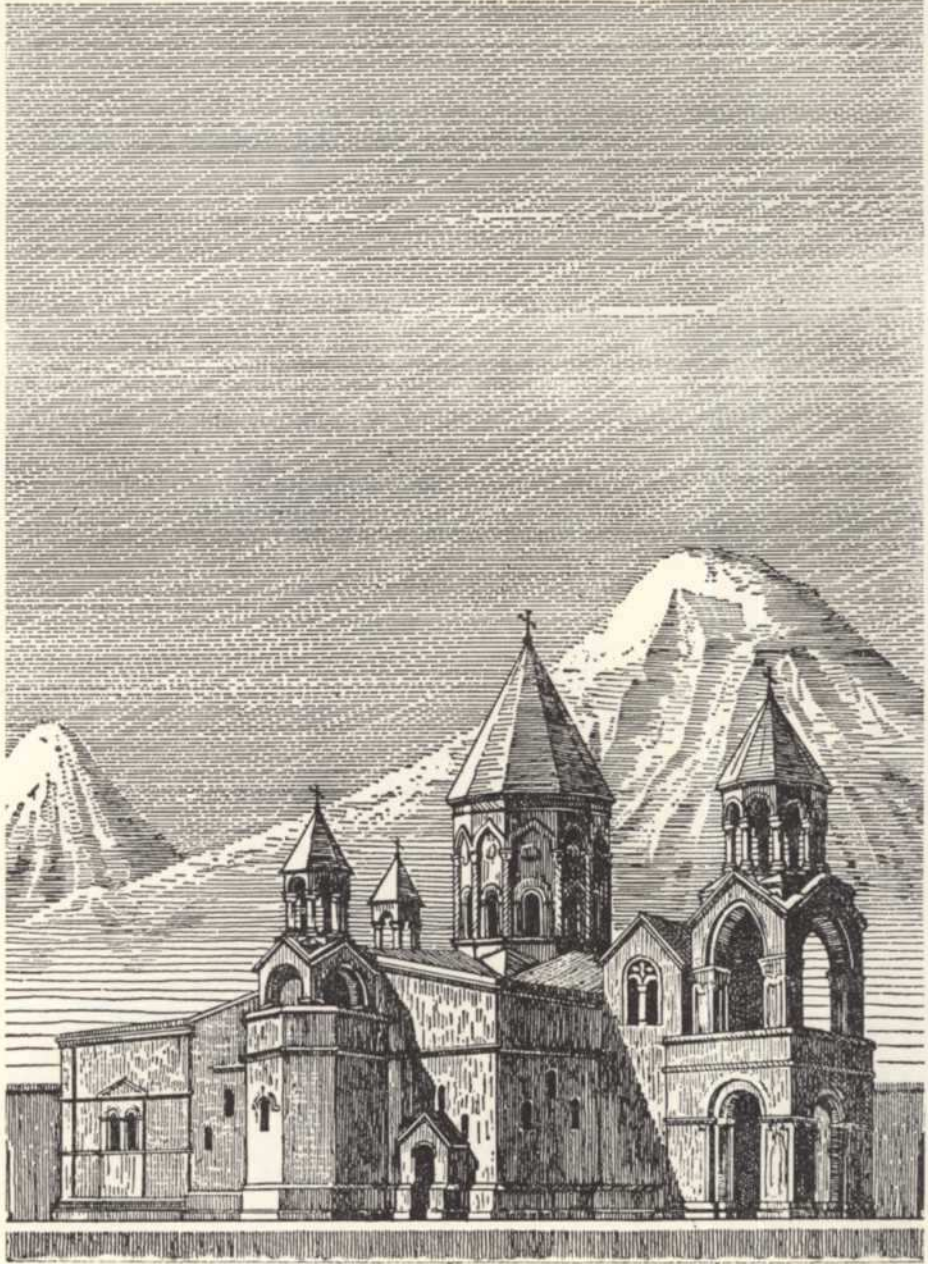
G. P. Gooch

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Historical Background to 1915

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Holy Etchmiadzin with Mt. Ararat in background

I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO 1915

A Sketch of Early Armenian History



Throughout their 2,500 year long turbulent history, the Armenian people steadfastly clung to their ancestral home on the lofty Armenian plateau and struggled almost continuously to maintain their national independence. Following the comingling of Indo-European and Urartian elements late in the second millenium, Armenians emerged at about 600 B.C. as an ethnic group, whose kings were vassals of the rulers of ancient Persia. Centuries later when the Persian empire was broken up by Alexander the Great, most of Armenia became part of Alexander's empire, and so remained under the suzerainty of his heirs for more than one hundred years. Then, early in the second century (B.C.) Armenians asserted their freedom and attained their national independence under their own redoubtable and resourceful king Artashes. That event of the years 190-189 marked the birth of the first Armenian state as a sovereign entity under an able and energetic king. This kingdom attained the height of its greatness and glory under Tigranes the Great during the first half of the first century, B.C. (94-56). The empire of Tigranes was later humbled in the course of its encounter with Rome and compelled to give up its extensive conquests. Thenceforth, for more than four centuries, the Arsacid kings of Armenia had to contend with the rivalries between Rome and Persia, who finally partitioned the country in 387 A.D. Nevertheless the Arsacid kings continued to rule under the suzerainty of Persia until 428 A.D., after which the country was governed by Marzpan (governors-general) until the invasion and conquest of the Arabs, in the seventh century.

Christianity in Armenia

Before the partition of Armenia an event of supreme significance had taken place there, one that was to play a decisive and crucial part in the history of the Armenian people. In the year 301 (even earlier, according to some historians) King Tirdat of Armenia had proclaimed Christianity as the national religion, thereby making Armenia the first state to embrace the new faith. This revolutionary change from paganism to Christianity, was viewed with disapproval by Armenia's mighty Persian neighbor, for the Persians were quite eager to see the Armenians embrace the Zoroastrian religion. Naturally and inevitably this led to the deterioration of their relations. But the Armenians clung to their new faith even at the risk of national safety.

Despite unfavorable political circumstances the fifth century witnessed the Golden Age of Armenian literature. The Armenian alphabet came into existence through the efforts of Mesrop Mashtots and within an astonishingly short time the Bible was translated into Armenian. It proved to be one of the best versions in existence. The chief translator was Sahak, the Catholicos of the Armenian Church, at Etchmiadzin. Original works of history, theology and religious poetry which were written at that period, constitute one of the high points of Armenian literature. Vardan Mamikonian, reputed to be the first boy to learn the new ABC grew up to be the commander in a battle against the Persians at Avarair in 451. At issue was the right of the Armenian people to profess openly the Christian faith. Vardan and many of his comrades were martyred. The struggle was nevertheless continued in the form of guerrilla warfare until the Persian King Balash was obliged to grant Armenians complete religious freedom in the early eighties of the century. The Sassanid kings of Persia, fanatical as they were in matters of religion, were thus compelled to admit the failure of their forcible attempt to convert the Armenian people to a religion that had no attraction for them.

Armenians under the Arabs

Toward the middle of the 630's the Arabian peninsula was in turmoil. The followers of Mohammed were on a rampage of conquest. In the years 638-639 Arab hordes advanced to the borders of Armenia, and in a few years overran the whole country. Henceforth the Armenians were fated to live and suffer under a succession of cruel Mohammedan conquerors. However, from the late 9th century to the early 11th, Arab rule in Armenia showed signs of weakening, enabling the

Armenians to attain complete autonomy in certain parts of the country. Bagratid Armenian princes of exceptional ability were thus able to establish their dynastic rule, with a resplendent capital at Ani.

Now a situation of relative peace allowed the Armenians to show forth their creative diligence in works of enduring cultural significance. A book (recently translated into French) of unusual depth and breathtaking style by Gregory of Narek, dealing with man's despair and fulfillment in God is the pearl of the literature of that period. It was during the reign of the Armenian king Abas (928-953) Armenians enjoyed a good measure of freedom. Abas' successor Ashot the Merciful was crowned in Ani, which was one of the most beautiful cities of the Middle Ages with a magnificent cathedral and many churches, some of them constructed on the walls surrounding the city, for the use of watchmen. Ashot and his Queen founded several monasteries of which Sanahin and Haghbat became celebrated centers of learning. An architect, Tirdat was famous throughout the Byzantine empire. He designed the cathedral under Sembat II (977-990) whose reign marked the apogee of the renaissance of this period.

The Cilician Kingdom

Late in the 11th century a daring band of Armenians successfully staked a part of south-western Anatolia as their new homeland. However, the scions and the sceptre of Mohammed, like ubiquitous ghosts, ceaselessly haunted them in their new abode in the mountain fastnesses of the Taurus and on the plains of Cilicia. The Mamelukes of Egypt eventually overwhelmed Little Armenia in Cilicia late in the fourteenth century, putting an end to its independent existence, and carrying off its king as a prize prisoner of war. Nevertheless another peak of achievement sometimes referred to as the Silver Age of Armenian culture blossomed for the duration of this kingdom outside the historic Armenian frontiers. Saint Nersess the Graceful (+1173) is the leading religious figure of this period, while Leo II stands out as a very competent political ruler. Nersess was, to use an adjective that has come into favour today, one of the most ecumenical-minded clergymen in the history of the church. To this quality must be added his erudition as a theologian and his exceptional poetic gifts. His epistles are as relevant today as when he issued them from his castle at Rhomkla. Owing to the intellectual atmosphere which was thus created by Nersess, the Kingdom of Cilicia became under Leo II (who ascended the throne in 1187) an area of feverish intellectual and commercial activity.

Back in Armenia proper, for more than a century (beginning about the year 1240) the Armenian people lived under the rule of the then all-powerful non-Moslem Mongol warlords, who had displaced the Seljuk Turks as the sole masters of the Armenian tableland. But, excepting such brief interludes of non-Moslem rule, including the intermittent subjection of certain parts of the country to Byzantine emperors, for some twelve centuries Armenians were surrounded in their homeland by Mohammedan people and were with few exceptions subjected to their arbitrary and usually oppressive rule.

Ottoman Turks in Armenia

Meanwhile Ottoman Turks had secured a firm foothold in western Anatolia at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Even though they had expanded their newly founded empire in all directions, for nearly two hundred years they had not attacked or annexed any territory in the Armenian tableland. After the conquest of most Byzantine provinces and the capture of Constantinople, Ottoman Turks proceeded to consolidate their conquests both in Europe and Asia. Their slow eastward expansion into eastern Asia Minor did not at first threaten or endanger Persia's firm hold over Armenia. Until the first decade of the fifteenth century it looked as though the Ottoman Turks were deliberately avoiding a head-on collision with Persia for the possession of this strategic area. This important land bridge, or "the open doorway between the East and the West," for which many world conquerors and warlords had waged wars for centuries, could not at first induce Ottoman sultans to resort to aggressive action. But the accession to the Ottoman throne of a new sultan in 1512 in the person of Selim I (known as Selim the Grim) ushered in a new era for the people living there, and which eventually proved to be tragic for the Armenian people.

In less than two years after his accession Sultan Selim was at war with Persia. At the head of his huge army of 140,000 troops he crossed into Persia in the summer of 1514, and in August he was almost within sight of Persia's capital city of Tabriz. In a pitched battle on August 16th he temporarily eliminated Persia as a dangerous rival for the possession of Armenia. In that decisive battle, fought between two rival Moslem powers of differing sects on the plains of Chalderan, the fate of the Armenian people seemed settled. As the tragedy unfolded during the successive centuries, climaxing in the total uprooting of the people in their Turkish Armenian homeland four centuries later, it seems that

the real losers in that ferocious battle were not the defeated Persians but the Armenians behind the Ottoman fighting lines.

Ottoman Rule and Policy in Armenia

Thus as the result of a single decisive battle most of Armenia became part of the Ottoman Empire, and with it Ottoman rule extended over a very large segment of the Armenian people, still holding fast to their ancestral homes. Up to then in many parts of Anatolia, in Constantinople itself, in the Balkans, and even in the Crimea, Armenians had become subjects of Ottoman sultans, and had known what it meant to be ruled by the stern and unrelaxing regimes of Ottoman overlords. But the initial direct contact of the Armenian people with Ottoman Turks in their homeland began in the year 1514, and from that fateful year on until the first World War the preponderant majority lived, worked, and suffered under the yoke of Ottoman sultans. This was true even when the Turks lost part of their territorial possessions in Armenia, and with them a considerable percentage of the total number of their Armenian subjects, to Persia late in the sixteenth century, and to Czarist Russia in the nineteenth century.

From the very inception of their domination over Armenia, the sultans brought about certain administrative changes which eventually rendered precarious the safety and security of the new subjects of the Ottoman realm. Soon after his crushing victory over the Persians, Sultan Selim appointed a native Kurd of Bitlis, Idris Hakim by name (better known as Idris the Historian), governor of the country and gave him a free hand to reorganize the government there. One of the first moves of Idris was the transfer of large bodies of Kurds from their strongholds in the south and in the east to Armenia, offering them free land. This move is best summarized by an authority as follows:

After the defeat of the Persians in the plain of Chalderan in 1514 it became necessary to arrive at a permanent settlement of the Kurdish provinces; and it formed part of the plan pursued by Edrisi, . . . to remove a portion of this turbulent people from the country of their home and to settle them along the new frontier of Turkey in the districts bordering upon Persia and Georgia. . . . It is said that they were granted a perpetual immunity from taxation on the condition that they would act as permanent militia.¹

This shift of habitat did not affect the Kurds' nomadic way of life; nor did it alter their tribal organization. Idris compelled some Kurds to

¹Lynch, H. F. B., *Armenia*, vol. II, p. 421.

adapt themselves to a relatively settled life on lands which were given them, hoping that other Kurds would follow suit on their own initiative. But the Kurds acted otherwise, and except under compulsion, refused to give up their nomadic mode of life. The end result was even then in sight; the number of Kurds, whether nomadic or sedentary, was on the increase in the historic home of the Armenian people. Thus a startling and ominous change in the ethnic composition and demography of the population of the country was under way at the instigation of the government. Prior to the coming of the Ottoman Turks as overlords of the country the Armenians had constituted a clear majority, perhaps even a substantial majority of the total population there, for which reason the area was known as "Armenia." After it became part of the Ottoman Empire we sometimes find "Kurdistan" substituted for "Armenia," and at other times the two names combined as "Kurdistan-Armenia." The substitution was supposed to have been made for administrative and fiscal purposes, but before long other administrative changes gave clear indication that the change was inspired by definite, overriding motives.

In the course of the preceding centuries migrant tribal hordes which invaded the country did not establish permanent settlements. The Turkoman tribes, and especially the Mongols and the followers of Tamerlane, preferred to roam and ravage new lands. They either drifted back into the Azerbaijani area and the steppe country to the east, or moved on to other parts of Asia Minor in the west and south.

The changes brought about by Sultan Selim had the prime object of increasing the number of Kurds in Armenia, and to use them as agents of oppression. This was effected in the following manner: Idris divided the country into numerous administrative units (known in Turkish as *Sanjaks*), and appointed a number of Kurdish chieftains as governors of these *Sanjaks*, thereby increasing Kurdish power and authority. These Kurdish chieftains naturally considered themselves privileged characters, quite above the law, empowered to deal with the Armenians much as they pleased. Even when the Armenians far outnumbered the Kurds, the latter still felt and acted as the unchallenged overlords of the Armenian peasantry. As Moslem co-religionists, they expected favorable treatment from Turkish authorities.

Nor were the Kurds disappointed in their expectation, for even in those early days the Turks treated them with unusual leniency in sharp contrast to the stern treatment accorded to Armenians. This is brought out rather strikingly in a recent work by two distinguished authorities.

"The Ottoman policy was," they stated, "to people the vacant lands in Armenia with Kurds; to divide the whole area up into small *sanjaks*; and to place those that were easily accessible under the control of officials appointed by the Porte, leaving the rest in that of local chieftains. This was to favour the Kurds, who had aided Selim against Ismail (the Persian Shah), because the latter had sought to control their depredations. Although the Ottoman conquest restored some tranquility to the region, it was in the long run deleterious to the Armenians, since it added to their disabilities as *Dimmis* (tolerated infidels) a dominance by their mortal enemies, the Kurds."¹ In sum, this meant abandoning the unarmed Armenians to the mercy of fully-armed wild Kurds.

Discrimination, Disabilities and Taxes

In addition to this deliberate policy of favoring the Kurds against the Armenians and encouraging other migrant tribes to settle in Armenia, the Ottoman authorities had subjected the Armenians to severe disabilities and discriminations, and had imposed on them special taxes. That is to say, the Armenians were penalized because of their religion, as were all non-Moslem peoples whose lands were conquered by the Turks and who had thus become Ottoman subjects. Some of these disabilities and discriminations were degrading and demoralizing, intending to reduce non-Moslems to a lowly and subservient status.

The Moslem sacred law provided that, through wars and conquests, when non-Moslem "People of the Book" (in the present instance the Armenians, Greeks and Jews constituted the "People of the Book" under the Ottoman Turks) become subjects of Moslem rulers, such people "shall be permitted under special conditions to practice their religions as before." These people were then known by the Arabic word *Dimmis*, that is, tolerated infidels. The special conditions under which these "tolerated infidels" could enjoy a degree of safety and freedom to worship as before, were spelled out, in spirit at least, in the form of a "contract" (which should rather be called a decree) between the Moslem ruler and his non-Moslem subjects. The principal terms of this "contract" are given in the following quotation:

By the terms of this contract with the *Dimmis*, the Moslem ruler guarantees their lives, their liberties, and to some extent their property, and allows them to practice their religion. The *Dimmis* in return undertake to pay the special poll-tax, called *Cizya*, and

¹Gibb, H. A. R. and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. I, Part ii, p. 227.

the land-tax called Harac, and agree to suffer certain restrictions that mark them out as a caste inferior to that of their Moslem fellow subjects. These restrictions are of various kinds. In the first place *Dimmis* are at a disadvantage legally in comparison with Moslems: for instance, their evidence is not accepted against that of a Moslem in a *Kadi's* court; the Moslem murderer of a *Dimmi* does not suffer the death penalty; a *Dimmi* man may not marry a Moslem woman, whereas a Moslem man may marry a *Dimmi* woman. In the second place, *Dimmis* are obliged to wear distinctive clothes so that they may not be confused with true believers, and are forbidden to ride horses or to carry arms. Finally, though their churches may be, and in practice have frequently been, converted into mosques, they are not to build new ones. The most they may do is to repair those that have fallen into decay.¹

These were the terms and conditions under which a non-Moslem was allowed to live. The only way out of this predicament was to embrace the Moslem religion. Nevertheless, non-Moslems with few exceptions chose to live as "tolerated infidels," and to fulfill their part of the "contract" by putting up with all disabilities and discriminations and extra taxes. The only circumstance that saved them from dehumanization was the conviction of being culturally superior to their oppressors and their deep-rooted Christian optimism.

The Armenian Patriarchate

Decades before the Armenians in Armenia proper were brought under Ottoman rule, their kin in and around Constantinople had already become "tolerated infidels" under Ottoman sultans. A few years after his capture of the city, Mohammed II created the office of the Armenian Patriarchate in 1461, thus setting up a convenient and useful machinery for the administration of Armenian communal affairs. The first incumbent of the office, reportedly an old acquaintance of the Sultan, was duly vested with certain privileges and prerogatives which were already granted to the Greek Patriarch in 1453. These privileges and prerogatives included many matters related to the personal life of the members of Armenian communities, such as marriage, baptism, burial, inheritance, the maintenance of schools, and other charitable institutions, and the right to levy taxes for the maintenance of these institutions.

There has been so much confusion and misunderstanding about the nature and extent of these privileges and prerogatives that it seems

¹Gibb and Bowen, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

necessary to make an attempt to clarify certain important points. These privileges and prerogatives were not to be construed as rights; "tolerated infidels" living under Ottoman sultans had no rights as such. These were never meant to be any more than they actually were: grants, or gracious concessions made by the sultans, subject to withdrawal at any time. Moreover, these grants did not in any sense endow the Armenians (and for that matter other "tolerated infidels") with any power or authority which they did not already possess as rights before the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. While the sultans appeared gracious and generous in making these grants, actually these did no more than confirm what had been the practice in Constantinople for more than 900 years, since the days of Justinian the Great in the sixth century. Nevertheless, the compliance of Mohammed II with the Moslem law with regard to the "People of the Book" proved quite expedient for his purposes. The supposition that the Sultan made these grants and concessions out of humanitarian considerations, and that he was motivated by a spirit of religious toleration in endowing his non-Moslem subjects with privileges and rights, is a legend of relatively recent origin. To an outside observer it might appear that Christian communities did enjoy extensive privileges and rights under Ottoman sultans, but the appearance is deceptive and misleading. This is stated with unmistakable clarity by an outstanding authority;

The Catholics in Ireland and Protestants in Austria might envy him [Sultan's Christian subject] his privileges [to exercise] his religion, to educate himself as he pleased, to accumulate wealth. . . . Yet he remained essentially a slave, liable at any moment, by some caprice of greed or suspicion on the part of his master to be hurled from wealth and power into penury or death.¹

There should be no more confusion, or misunderstanding of this much-disputed matter after this eloquent statement by an eminent historian.

¹*Cambridge Modern History*, vol. X, pp. 170-171.

The writer was mournfully and unforgettably impressed by this idea of master-slave relationship existing between the Sultan and his non-Moslem subjects. During 1915-1919 while serving in a Turkish household, he was reminded of it quite frequently by his Turkish captor as follows: in the course of war and conquest the Sultan overran Armenia and took its inhabitants into captivity as war booty. He had the choice of either putting them to death, and had the Armenians understand that they were no more than slaves, to be disposed of at any time and in any manner he chose, upon the slightest suspicion of disservice or disloyalty on the part of the Armenians. In 1915 they were suspected of both, and had to suffer accordingly. That was his understanding as he imparted it to his "slave."

The Armenians, Kurds and the Ottoman Authorities

It is clear that the terms and conditions of the aforementioned "contract" between the Ottoman Sultan and his "tolerated infidel" Armenian subjects place the relationship between them in a different light. Before the country became part of the Ottoman Empire, when the Armenians suffered at the hands of the Kurds and Turkoman tribal chieftains, they could defend themselves with all the means at their disposal, at times successfully. They had the right to self-defense against the Kurds and other unruly elements in the country and exercised this right as best they could. But commencing with the year 1515, the conditions imposed by the Ottoman sultans denied them the right to self-defense. Armenians, thus stripped of all means of self-defense were surrounded by armed, aggressive, and greedy neighbors. The upshot of it all was that in their own homeland they had become easy prey to Kurdish depredations and Turkish official mendacity.

In addition to the discriminatory imposition already listed, often under "sumptuary laws," such as the wearing of distinctive clothes and the prohibition to ride horses, there were others which not only made them second-class subjects, but simply reduced them to sub-class human beings. That is why the sultan's Christian subjects were known as *Rayahs*, meaning flock or sheep, or herd. And the Armenian peasantry not only suffered as *Rayahs* but had to put up also with numerous extra impositions, in addition to the special land-tax, the *Cizya* (or the poll-tax), the military exemption (or service tax), the *Kishlak* or the winter-quarterage tax, the hospitality tax, and some other taxes.

Of these the most obnoxious were the last two, *Kishlak*, and the hospitality tax. The former was exacted by the Kurds as their right to free winter quarters in Armenian villages. For this "right" Kurds were obliged to pay a sum of money to the ranking Turkish government official. It was little wonder that the government did not disturb the Kurds when the latter pillaged and plundered Armenian homes, robbed and even murdered them. This gratuitous winter-quarterage required of the Armenians was considered by the British consul at Erzerum in the 1830's as "the heaviest imposition of the whole." Hardly less obnoxious was the hospitality tax, which meant that the Armenian villagers were required to provide free lodging and food for a specified number of days annually to government officials, and to all those who passed as such.

How the Armenians managed to survive such oppression for so

many centuries is a matter of amazement. Their survival until their total uprooting from their homeland early in World War I, testifies to their vitality, resourcefulness, and robust individuality and extraordinary tenacity. They were determined to keep their ancestral homes and their Christian faith.

Placed in such a dilemma, it is not at all surprising that on the surface at times they may have appeared to have lost much of the valor, the spirit of resistance and rebellion and love of freedom they once possessed. It is therefore little wonder that some travellers who saw them in their homeland in the course of the last century found them wanting in "courage" and "independence" of mind. When based on long and close contact with the Armenians in the various parts of Turkey, however, the comments were encouraging. "They are charged," wrote an illustrious British antiquarian in the 1890's "by the voice of almost every traveller, with timidity and even with cowardice; but for centuries they had the choice offered them between submission or death. If the Armenians subject to Turkey tend towards a timid and submissive type, the contrast of the free Armenians [elsewhere] proves that the timidity is the result of the long repression and the 'reign of terror.'"

It is undoubtedly true that the Armenians were law abiding subjects. Perhaps that is the principal reason why they were considered among the most faithful subjects of the Ottoman sultans, and for centuries the Armenian community remained the faithful community (*sadik millet*, as the community was known to the Turks.) Throughout much of the nineteenth century, "when excitement reigned in all parts of the Turkish Empire, the history of the Armenians remained singularly uneventful." When the rebellious Serbs, Greeks, and Bulgarians in Europe, the Egyptians staged revolts—and some of these rebels eventually succeeded in casting off the Ottoman yoke—the Armenians could not bestir themselves. After mid-nineteenth century, however, it seemed clear that under the appearance of abject submission, the spirit of valor and gallantry, of rebellion and revolt, was not dead; the latent spark was not extinguished. The forces that were at work in the Balkans among the other oppressed subjects of the Ottoman regime also began to work among the Armenian people. They were aroused from centuries-old paralyzing lethargy to realize that the age of freedom was on the horizon if they would only work and fight for it. With the encouragement and aid of fellow-Christians in Europe, they might attain the goal.

Among the forces instrumental in rousing the Armenian people from their apathy, there may be singled out as of special importance the work of American missionaries in Armenian communities in the Ottoman Empire, the role of the growing number of educated and European-oriented Armenians in Armenian community life, and lastly, the fast awakening public sentiment and widespread sympathy in Europe and America for the suffering Armenians.

American missionaries had been at work in Armenian communities in Turkey since early nineteenth century. Their ever-expanding activity had extended from coastal towns and commercial centers to many parts of the interior, and to the towns in the Armenian provinces, where their endeavors were better appreciated and proved most rewarding. There they founded educational institutions, and the Armenians were the first to take full advantage of the wonderful facilities and opportunities offered in these institutions. The education these institutions provided had a startling effect in bringing about a change in their outlook on life. Gradually these missionary schools instilled in the Armenian youth a yearning for security, a sense of justice, and an unquenchable desire for freedom. Thus the American missionaries in Turkey, quite unwittingly acted as midwife in the birth of Armenian nationalism, in the recrudescence of national spirit among the Armenian people.

Closely paralleling this development was the increase of Armenian communal leaders who were educated in European schools. Nearly all of these were imbued with European liberal (even some radical) ideals, and they seemed determined to guide the destiny of the Armenian people in Turkey along decidedly liberal lines. In the 1850's these leaders were preoccupied with the task of exploring and devising ways which would, in some measure, improve and ameliorate the lot of their compatriots in the Ottoman Empire, particularly the sad lot of those living in the Armenian hinterland. Their efforts culminated in a charter which was proposed in 1862, and approved by the Ottoman authorities in the following year. In that charter some privileges were confirmed, and Armenians were allowed to a form of internal "administrative-legislative" council at Constantinople under the Armenian Patriarch. But this instrument, which is known as a Constitution lacked the power to bring about any improvement in the conditions under which the people lived in the Armenian provinces. The Armenian leaders then advocated specific administrative, judicial and fiscal reforms for the provinces, confident that such reforms, if introduced and

implemented in good faith, would improve the existing conditions. In the 1870's, during the crisis of the Eastern Question, and while the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8 was raging, this reform movement not only gathered momentum among the Armenians, but its reverberations were echoed and re-echoed in the European press, and in a number of official European circles. Persistent clamor for reforms on the part of Armenians and supported by sympathizing Europeans, raised the issue to the level of international diplomacy. Thus was born officially "the Armenian Question," the question of sorely needed reforms in the Armenian provinces of Turkey.

Reform Proposals and Promises

The two treaties signed at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8 (the San Stefano Treaty of March, and the Treaty of Berlin, of July, 1878) embodied certain reforms for the Armenian provinces. Specifically, in the Treaty of Berlin (which had suspended the earlier treaty) the Ottoman government pledged to realize, without further delay, the ameliorations and the reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Kurds and Circassians. By this same treaty the sultan's government also undertook to render periodic "account of the measures taken with this intent to the Powers" under whose supervision these reform measures were to be put into force. Here we have, for the first time, the Turkish government's official admission of the need for reforms in these provinces, the sultan's pledge to introduce these reforms under the supervision of certain European governments, and also his promise to report periodically to the principal signatories of the treaty on the progress of these reform measures. This is how the question of Armenian reforms became an international issue between certain interested European governments, and the government of Turkey. These reform proposals (some of which will be dealt with later) were formulated, proposed, and pressed upon the sultan by the Powers, and the sultan, while pledging to introduce them, was allowed to delay and postpone, and eventually to evade their implementation through various pretexts.

Meanwhile the British government, after successfully supplanting the Russian government as the ardent proponent of reforms, tried to have these stipulated "ameliorations and the reforms demanded of local requirements" put into force under the supervision of its own consular agents. For more than two years (1879-1881) these carefully

selected agents, under the exceptionally able leadership of a distinguished military administrator (General Sir Charles Wilson) tried to make some sense out of the hopeless chaos. They found conditions in these provinces far worse than they had been led to believe. Under arbitrary, corrupt and inefficient government all subjects suffered, but the Armenians suffered most because they were always singled out by roving and robbing Kurds as their ready prey, and also because of the disabilities and discriminations under which they lived. All the efforts put forth by Britain's consular agents did not and could not bring about any change in the conditions in these provinces, and the unhappy lot of the Armenians remained unaltered. These agents struggled on in a growing flood of difficulties mostly raised by the Turkish authorities, with whom they were in constant conflict. It was their specific assignment to report all oppressions and corruptions brought to their notice, and "to intercede in favor of innocent victims." All that proved not only an impossible but a truly thankless task, and in view of the impossibility of their doing any good there, they were recalled early in 1881. While late in 1880 Salisbury unequivocally could declare that "Britain will spare no diplomatic exertion to obtain good government for the population of Asiatic Turkey," even the idea of "good government" was fast vanishing from Asiatic Turkey. Thus the British government's first serious and in all appearances honest attempt at reforms in these provinces came to an end in total and abysmal failure, mostly because of the unwillingness of the Turkish government to introduce such reforms.

With the withdrawal of British consular agents, the British as well as the governments of other principal European powers tacitly admitted the difficulty, if not the impossibility of introducing effective administrative, judicial and fiscal reforms in Asiatic Turkey, especially in the Armenian provinces of Turkey. The detailed and graphic reports and studies prepared on the spot by these agents, and duly published in the voluminous official "Blue Books" convinced these governments that the task was too big and too important to be left to any one government. But failure of these governments to unite on this issue, in order to impress the sultan with their resolve, meant the abandonment of the helpless Armenians to their sad fate—one that is faithfully reported, in all its heartrending and despairing details in the published British "Blue Books." This was the only serious and sustained attempt at reforms in these provinces. The reform project of 1895, more or less forced upon a stubborn sultan, was bogged down by the patent dis-

agreements among the European powers. And the last ill-fated reform project of 1914, providing for two European inspectors-general named by the Powers and ultimately responsible to them, was under way in its initial stages, when it was called off by the infuriated Turks (infuriated at the Armenians for inviting European reformers, and equally angry with European governments for interfering in their internal affairs) at the start of the war in 1914.

Stirrings, Activists and Reforms

"Some races seem doomed to failure as corporate bodies," wrote a veteran British diplomat at the turn of the century, "they cannot succeed in forming national political organizations strong enough to hold their own against the adverse circumstances by which they are surrounded. A familiar example of this is afforded by the Poles, . . . The Armenians are another example of political failure, . . . a section of the Armenians, who are chiefly agriculturists still dwell in Armenia, little affected by external influences. Unfortunately, however, they do not constitute the whole or even the majority of the inhabitants of the districts comprised under that vague name. And this circumstance is the chief cause of their troubles."¹ These severe remarks were written prior to 1918. Though too sweeping and categorical, they have some elements of truth in them. In part they are factual: for a long time the Armenians have found it impossible to form a political organization strong enough to hold their own against the adverse circumstances surrounding them because of the Ottoman government's sinister policy which saw to it that Armenians did not constitute the majority of the inhabitants in the very areas designated as "Armenian provinces."²

These two hard facts, the first geographic, over which they could have had no control, and the second governmental policy, which they could not effectively combat, made their state a most difficult one. It was different from those of other Christian subjects of the Ottoman Turks in the Balkans, who, with the aid of certain European governments, had succeeded in reconstituting their own states. The Armenians were not so fortunate. Deep in the Sultan's Asiatic dominions they were a minority, surrounded by Moslems, and their interests could not coincide with those of European powers. This made their cause a class by itself, "one of the most difficult in the entire range of Near Eastern problems." "War and conquest had failed to destroy them," wrote a

¹Eliot, Sir Charles (Odysseus), *Turkey in Europe*, 1908, ed., pp. 382-3.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 283-3.

conscientious student of the subject, "for with a surprising toughness of racial fiber they had lived on under all of the various empires that the history of the region had witnessed. . . . Despite some intermixture with the Turks and other surrounding peoples the main racial stem remained remarkably pure. They had subornly refused to be converted or to be absorbed but had ever maintained the ideal of a united Christian Armenian people, free to live their own lives after their wishes in their upland homes."* But the realization of hope, however fervently and devoutly wished for, was difficult, if not impossible to achieve. "It was not," added the same writer, "an easy problem to solve. From whatever angle it be approached, the difficulties in any solution were great, the possibilities of success slight."¹

Educated and enlightened Armenian leaders, at least many of them, were fully aware of these difficulties, and of the slight possibilities for the solution of the problem, but they could scarcely foresee the rising flood of other difficulties. One must ruefully admit, after so many years, that in their almost unbelievable naïveté, they refused to believe that Christian Europe would not come to their aid, if on their part they made the requisite effort to better their own lot, attracted the attention of European governments and enlisted their sympathy. This was the dominant thought among many influential and vocal leaders. It meant teaching and educating the Armenians, especially of the provinces, reminding them of the glory that was part of their history. They were to be taught to reassert their lost rights and rendered capable to fight for them.

Since the late 1870's a good network of public-parochial school system had been set up throughout the Armenian provinces in Turkey. In the course of a few years every Armenian community, even in small settlements, was provided with schools. In many cases philanthropic and educational organizations subsidized certain number of teachers in these schools and in a few instances certain organizations assumed the total expense of such schools. As Armenian communities in coastal commercial centers prospered they were generous to the needs of their less fortunate kinsmen in the interior. The people in the interior also were doing a little better financially. Despite all the exactions of government officials and the depredations and devastations committed by the Kurds, through industry and ingenuity, hard work and native shrewdness, as farmers and traders, as artisans and laborers, they succeeded in bettering their economic status. Yet everything the Arme-

¹Tyler, M. W. *The European Powers and the Near East*. 1908, pp. 283-3.

nians did along these lines seem to work against them; every move they made seemed to affect their lot adversely. The fact that, because of their industry, they were on the whole more prosperous than their Kurdish and Turkish neighbors, militated against them, making them an object of envy to the less industrious Turks and offering additional inducement to the lawless Kurds to robe them. Nor did their advancement in the sphere of education and schooling endear them to their non-Christian neighbors. The remarkable spread of literacy among the Armenians within a few years, seemed to erect barriers between themselves and their unschooled neighbors. Taking such progressive steps made them suspect, because the authorities, despite the heavy censure of all textbooks, were fearful of the introduction of European idea and learning into Armenian schools.

But Armenian leaders seemed firmly resolved to move along on the highway of progress, and they meant to carry the mass-mind with them. They would do this through hard, conscientious, and persistent work, performed voluntarily and through organizations. The first and the real pioneer among these was the *Armenakan* organization. It was founded in 1885 with its very active headquarters in Van, in the heart of Armenia. The eventual aim of its founders was the gradual attainment of some degree of autonomy for the Armenian provinces in Turkey. And the most effective means for attaining this goal was through education: only by education would people recognize their mutual interests and learn the value of unity, and of the nobility of spirit in working for the common good. Though many *Armenakan* leaders were hounded and persecuted by the authorities as revolutionists, and though some among them indiscreetly vaunted their revolutionary ideas, they were not real revolutionists. Rather, they could be labelled as advanced middle-of-the-roaders. But however we label them, these *Armenakan* leaders and their rank and file followers, performed effective educational work, and considerable ground-breaking at the grass-root level in Armenian communities by rousing the people from fatalistic indifference to their national fate. They planted the seed of nationalism in many fervent and fertile minds, and were quite proud of their remarkable accomplishments in the course of just a few years, when they were sidetracked and eventually ditched by two other organizations.

These newcomers were the Social Democrats, (Hunchakists) organized in 1887, and the Revolutionary Federationists, (Dashnakists) founded in 1890. The leaders of these organizations were, for the most part, young, dedicated visionaries, who wanted to attain their goal of

securing justice and security for the Armenians in Turkey through their own exertions if possible, but if that proved impossible, they expected intervention and aid from certain European governments. The Armenian Patriarchs of Constantinople were on the whole not in favor of revolutionary activities and urged extreme circumspection so as not to provide the Turkish government any excuses for increased oppression. During the dozen years following 1878 they had counted on European aid while praying for a change of heart on the part of the Sultan.

Year after year they and their European friends pleaded their cause in official circles in Europe. Year after year Armenian deputations from the provinces arrived in Constantinople, petitioning, entreating and begging, through the Armenian Patriarchate, for some betterment of their lot. The European governments failed to agree among themselves on the means and methods of introducing the necessary reforms. Armenians naturally felt that these governments had abandoned them to the tender mercies of the Sultan. On his part, the Sultan realized the inability and unwillingness of Europe's statesmen to come to grips with the Armenian problem and simply did nothing. He would introduce "reforms" in his domain, as he pleased, and he was not to be pressed or bullied by Europe's statesmen or by Armenian petitioners.

Here then was the dilemma that needed a drastic and quick solution, but with no solution in sight. Armenian leaders of all ranks faced this dilemma at the beginning of the last decade of the last century, in the year 1890. They were almost in despair because their efforts had produced no results. Conditions had not changed for the better in the Armenian provinces; in fact such changes as had been made, affected the Armenians adversely. The path they had taken had led to an impasse, and their efforts to achieve modest goals had proved ineffective. They now were forced to use other means and tactics to which the leaders of the two revolutionary organizations felt they were irrevocably committed. They believed, moreover, that European intervention in Turkey on behalf of the Armenian people was conditioned by the successful use of revolutionary tactics. They wanted to do things, and were prepared to undertake bold and dangerous moves if necessary at any cost. There was no room for caution, circumspection, or vacillation. Despite their skepticism of European statescraft, with notable exceptions, they expected Europe's intervention and aid.

On July 27, 1890, in a demonstration staged by these activists a few soldiers and some civilians were killed. The people showed that they could demonstrate in the Sultan's capital, under the very eyes of Europe's ambassadors. In the European press the event was reported as "the first occasion since the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in which Christians dared to resist soldiers in Stamboul." Here were a handful of men bold enough to brave the consequence of their acts of defiance. The fact that Europe had taken note of this event was thought to be worth more than all the sacrifices that were entailed. News of the event heartened and electrified Armenians in the provinces. Intermittent clashes became frequent there between the Kurds and Armenians. The latter were not only giving good account of themselves but in certain engagements proved themselves more than the equal of the Kurds.

As these encounters spread to the countryside the Armenian peasantry was somehow able to secure arms. No longer could they abide by a law that had tied their hands while allowing their deadly adversaries to arm. The government responded to the demonstration in Constantinople, and to the armed clashes between the Armenians and the Kurds, by organizing the Kurds in cavalry troops. The formation of these units, known as *Hamidiyeh* regiments, was hastened, and by 1892 there were 35 such regiments of 500 men each. The official explanation given to the embassies in Constantinople was that these new regiments were to act as auxiliary frontier guard troops for use on the Russian border.

When the Sultan decreed the formation of these regiments, he was well aware of the paralyzing jealousy that prevailed among European governments, and knew that he could therefore proceed with his sinister plans with impunity. At the same time, on his orders "Moslem fanaticism was inflamed; Moslem cupidity was given a free hand; all the barbarous masses were encouraged to enrich themselves and prove their fidelity to their faith by robbing and killing their Christian neighbors." Of course these moves alarmed and terrified the Armenians. Even the activist groups felt that the situation was becoming desperate. In the provinces some underground resistance groups were formed (one of these was entrenched in Sassoon), but beyond that they could do little. Armenians were being robbed, dishonored and murdered on any pretext. In July 1894 several thousand Armenian villagers in Sassoon, after a heroic resistance, were overwhelmed and massacred.

These "horrors unutterable, unspeakable, unimaginable by the mind of man" prompted European governments to draw up another proposal for reform. On May 11, 1895, the three principal governments concerned with these reforms presented the proposal to the Sultan. The proposal "contained the very minimum of the measures and reforms . . . necessary to apply in the provinces disturbed by recent events to re-establish order and security, and guarantee the Armenian population against a return of disorders." The crucial points of the project dealt with the appointment of governors, the participation of Armenians in government and in the *Gendarmerie*, and the establishment of a supervisory commission to "superintend the strict application of the reforms." On June 4 the Sultan rejected the proposal, stating that his government would draw up its own reform project and would put into force "reforms which are not contrary to laws and regulations already in existence . . ." When this promised project was delayed, and the European governments demanded some action, the Sultan declared that he could not be pressed and pushed around by foreign governments. On October 20 the Sultan's own reform project was embodied in a government order to provincial governors. By that time the pressing need was not reform but the stoppage of widespread massacres which had been organized by the Sultan himself. They were carried out in many areas of Asia Minor.

Unfortunately Armenian activist leaders had presented the Sultan with a made-to-order excuse to carry out his sinister policy. A demonstration "with no aggressive character whatever" was organized and staged on September 30, 1895, in Constantinople, with the hope of inviting European intervention. But there was no intervention. On the contrary massacres succeeded one another in the capital and in the interior, where victims could be counted by the tens of thousands. A year later when another band of revolutionaries in another daring move broke into the Ottoman Bank and held it for some 24 hours, likewise motivated by the same naive and disastrous reasoning, more than 6,000 innocent Armenians were murdered in the Sultan's capital by Turkish mobs before the eyes of Europe's ambassadors. Yet the anticipated European intervention did not occur. At least one hundred thousand Armenians perished in the massacres of the 1890's. Some authorities place this figure much higher.

The situation did not change after 1896, and under the circumstances it could not change. In 1904 the British ambassador reported

that the "vice of gross misgovernment continues to render the life of every Armenian unendurable."

However, the Young Turk Revolution, which came with the slogan "Freedom, Justice, Equality, Fraternity" for all, proved to be a short-lived, illusionary promise. The Revolution was supposed to endow all Ottoman subjects with equal rights, irrespective of race or religion. All this sounded too good to be true. Nevertheless many Armenian leaders fell in line with the idea, and one powerful activist group, the Dashnagists, joined hands with these Young Turk leaders in the fond hope of bettering the conditions in the Armenian provinces. Now was the time to test the genuine sincerity of these Young Turk leaders. This "honeymoon" lasted not more than two years, though the Armenians worked wholeheartedly with the Young Turks. They did this despite the absence of actual reforms and even after the massacre of some 30,000 Armenians in Cilicia, in 1909. It soon became clear that the Young Turk leaders were not much different from the old Turks.

Late in 1912 Armenian leaders, especially the Patriarchate, again actively sought the official support of European governments. To their unexpected surprise, this time their cause was sympathetically supported by the Czarist government of Russia. British and French governments also showed revived interest. Russia took the lead to act more or less officially for the British and French governments, as well, and carried the negotiations for reform to a successful conclusion. The Turks accepted the scheme and reforms, and the protocol to confirm it was signed on February 8, 1914, between Russia and Turkey.

This last reform proposal provided for the grouping of the Armenian provinces into two units, each with an Inspector-General as senior administrative official, designated by the Powers and confirmed in his office by the Sultan.

Despite their repeated disappointments, Armenians somehow managed to retain a degree of optimism in the conviction that, despite everything, God willing, their energy and intelligence would finally overcome their insurmountable difficulties, and constantly kept searching for light, for freedom, and for achievement. It is a matter of record that in an extremely short period (1908-1914) under the unreal and precarious freedom of the Young Turkish regime, the Armenians experienced throughout the country an unprecedented renaissance.

New and larger commercial enterprises were established, schools were built in the remote hamlets, and young Armenians went in ever

growing numbers to study in institutions of learning in Europe and America.

Constantinople, and to a lesser degree the cities in the provinces, became centers of enlightenment. Newspapers and periodicals vied with each other for the best writers. Poets, novelists, essayists, philosophers, educators met in cafes and editorial offices. Nor was the fair sex without noteworthy representatives in this intellectual revival. The Armenian language acquired a new richness, agility, and effervescence.

It is at this time that the Armenian national epic, *David of Sasoon*, transmitted orally from generation to generation, came to light and was taken down in writing. It has now been translated into such languages as English, French, Russian, and Chinese, and is on its way to becoming a literary work of international significance. It is essentially the story of victory of spiritual vision over brute force, man's undying hope that goodness will prevail. It was also at this time that authentic Armenian music was "discovered" and enchanted audiences in the capitals of Europe.

Genocide

II.

GENOCIDE

The Plan Unfolds



The year 1915 was the *annus terribilis*, the terrible and terrifying year for the 2,500,000 Armenians then living in the Ottoman Empire. The war was on, and they had reason to be apprehensive for their future, but were nevertheless thankful to be alive at the beginning of 1915. But by the end of that year only a handful of Armenians were spared the deadly scourge that swept over every Armenian community throughout the country and took its toll of 1,500,000 Armenian lives. The monstrous machinery which the rulers of Turkey had devised for bringing on this human carnage worked so effectively that before the end of that year Turkish officials could congratulate themselves for having rid Turkey of its Armenian population and of the ever recurring question of Armenian reforms. Thus in less than a year all Armenian families (except those in Constantinople and Smyrna) were uprooted. Most of them were massacred outright, while others were deported to the desolate Syrian and Mesopotamian deserts there to perish by massacre or starvation.

The story of the horrifying crime of the First World War perpetrated by a band of madmen bent on "solving" a minority problem through mass murder is not as well known as it should be. Excepting the two very valuable and very voluminous collections of documents bearing directly on this tragic part of Armenian history,¹ there is really no factual and fully documented account readily available to

¹*The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-16*, edited by A. J. Toynbee and issued as a British official publication in 1916; and *Deutschland und Armenien, 1914-1918*, edited by Johannes Lepsius, published in 1919.

the interested reader. Now, after a lapse of fifty years, it seems most appropriate to inquire into the real causes which brought on this national tragedy, and also to explain the motives of Turkey's wartime leaders for perpetrating this heinous crime against humanity.

Reasons and Pretexts

The principal cause for the deportation and massacre of the Armenians must be sought in the birth of the Armenian Question as an international issue between the government of Turkey and the principal European powers. For nearly four decades the Armenian people had petitioned the Turkish government for elemental measures to safeguard their families and their property. Only after they realized the futility of petitioning the government did they in desperation seek outside aid or mediation by some international authority. This aspect has been presented in the earlier section.

In 1914, conditions in the provinces were no better than they had been during the four prior decades. The loss of some 200,000 Armenian lives in wholesale massacres had not brought security to the survivors. The revolution of the Young Turks in 1908 had made the latter masters of the empire. The institution of a fairly liberal constitution under the Young Turks, to the accompaniment of the slogan "liberty, equality and fraternity," inspired the Armenians with new hope. Henceforth, all Turkish subjects were to be endowed with equal rights and duties, irrespective of race or religion. Armenian leaders had welcomed the change and had cooperated wholeheartedly with Turkey's new masters. In 1909 Sultan Abdul Hamid was deposed, and there was wild rejoicing especially on the part of the Armenians who thereby found more reason to cooperate with the new masters of Turkey. Even the massacre of 30,000 Armenians, in 1909, shocking though it was, did not appreciably decrease their optimism. Many leaders still felt that nothing was to be gained by withholding their support from the new government; and they were still inclined to accept the government's apologies for the "untoward" event on the promise that those who were guilty would be duly punished.

By 1910-1912, however, Armenian leaders felt bitter disillusionment. The government found one excuse after another to evade the institution of reforms. It is true that during this period the government was preoccupied with the Tripolitan and Balkan Wars, but its studied coolness and total indifference to reform, and its tendency to disprove and disregard complaints lodged by the Armenians, instead

of trying to redress wrongs utterly disgusted the Armenians who now felt themselves to have been deceived and betrayed. The ruling triumvirate of Turkey, (Enver, Jemal and Talaat,) were just as reluctant to introduce reforms in the Armenian provinces as was the government of Abdul Hamid. In this bitter frame of mind they once more looked around for outside help, and this time their cause was taken up in earnest by the Russian government, strongly seconded by the British and the French. The Russian government was able to impress upon the Turks the urgency of reforms in the Armenian provinces, and, as stated in Chapter I, a program of reforms was drawn up, and a protocol for its implementation was signed between Russia and Turkey on February 8, 1914.

Negotiations for reforms between the Russian government, (acting in consultation with the head of the Armenian Church at Etchmiadzin, in the Caucasus) and Turkey had been in progress for more than a year. From the very first the Turks naturally disapproved the whole idea, and were quite displeased with the way the reform question was being taken up by the Russian government. They tried unsuccessfully to have Armenian leaders in Turkey deny any interest in such reforms, promising them reforms without invoking the interference of European governments in their formulation and implementation. But the Armenian leaders were not in a mood to accept these promises. There had been enough promises from Turkish officials since 1908 without tangible results. The Turks were politely reminded of the series of broken and unfulfilled promises, and the apparent impossibility of bringing about reforms except through surveillance and supervision of European governments. The fact that Armenian leaders had had the audacity to tell Turkish officials that they could no longer count on Turkish promises to implement measures for reform without foreign supervision, infuriated the Turkish government. Though there was no outward show of hostility or anger on the part of the officialdom, subsequent events demonstrated that the rebuff was something Turks could not forgive or forget. This was made clear in specific statements made by many Turkish leaders, including Talaat himself, when as Minister of the Interior he let loose, early in 1915, infernal forces of death and destruction in all Armenian communities throughout the Ottoman Empire. When, during the early phase of deportations and massacres the Patriarchate in Constantinople implored the Turkish officials to put a stop to these inhumanities, it was told that the victims were paying with their lives for the grievous

mistakes and miscalculations their leaders had made in asking for reforms under foreign supervision.

Yet there is evidence that as early as 1913 and even earlier, the Turks had been secretly planning to put an end to the vexing Armenian Question by eliminating the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire at the first opportunity. All allegations and charges by the perpetrators of the crime and by their apologists to the effect that the Armenians had been plotting uprisings and revolts vanish when confronted with impartial and documentary evidence.

The Plan and Procedure of the Massacres

After the fateful decision which called for the total extermination of the Armenian people in the Ottoman Empire—by uprooting them from their homes and deporting them to inhospitable deserts, by killing all able-bodied males, by enslaving the youth of both sexes and by starving the rest—the Turkish government did not have to wait long to carry out its carefully secreted, fiendish plan. The outbreak of the war in August, 1914, presented the hoped for opportunity. They would guard the secret; not even their ally Germany would be informed of it. Of course, when the plan got under way it would be difficult to conceal the crime, but such considerations were not to interfere with its execution. They would have a free hand during the war, and would turn a deaf ear to all humanitarian pleas from the missionary-minded European governments. They would even ignore protests by the German government, suggesting that they do not meddle in Turkey's internal affairs. In all these calculations these evil men were brutally realistic, and unfortunately able to gauge the situation quite correctly both as to circumstance and timing.

Soon after the outbreak of the war the Turkish government abruptly dismissed the two European Inspectors-General, and unilaterally abrogated all reforms which it had undertaken by the protocol signed on February 8. This was followed by the mobilization of the army for eventual participation in the war. In the autumn a general order for conscription for all men between the ages of 18 and 50 was in force. Of course Armenians were conscripted with the rest. By the end of October mobilization was completed and Turkey was at war on the side of the Central Powers. In December Turkey's military operations began against the Russians. Initially the Turks were successful and for a few weeks they made considerable advances in the Caucasus under the leadership of their War Minister Enver. But by January

1915, their luck seemed to have run out, and soon they were in full retreat all along the Caucasian front. On their eastern front the Turks faced some Armenian elements fighting in the Russian ranks (because they were Russian subjects). These Armenian units had distinguished themselves in the course of the fighting, which had tragic consequences for Armenians fighting on the side of the Ottoman Empire.

Soon Enver was back in Constantinople, and caused rumor to be spread to the effect that the defeat of the Turkish army was due to treacherous Armenians fighting on the Russian side. That in itself was more than enough to strain relations between the Armenians and Turks in many communities. But Enver inflamed the tense situation further by charging that Armenian draft-dodgers in Turkey had crossed into Russia and were fighting against the Turks. Such irresponsible talk coming from the Minister of War could not fail to have the intended impact upon the mass of the Turkish populace. Thus officially the Turks could blame their disaster on the Caucasian front to the defection and treachery of Armenians. The allegation, unfounded and baseless though it was, became a sinister weapon in Turkish hands. It meant that the Armenians in the Turkish armed forces could not be trusted, and therefore something had to be done to neutralize them. And something was done without delay.

A decree was issued to army commanders ordering them to disarm Armenians in all fighting units, to take them out of the fighting ranks, and to regroup them into special labor battalions. This was late in January, 1915. Orders went out to requisition arms of all description owned by Armenians. These were to be collected by local authorities on the pretext that the government needed all arms for the prosecution of the war. In February, the conscription age for Armenians was extended to include all males between the ages of 15 and 60. While these orders, issued in strict secrecy, were being carried out, the government showed its hands by the sudden and wholesale arrest of some 1,000 prominent Armenians on the night of April 24 in Constantinople. Those arrested included community leaders in all walks of life: clergymen, teachers, journalists, physicians and lawyers, men of letters, merchants and well known businessmen. They were sent under heavy guard to the interior of the country, and subsequently were murdered.

This single and ominous event shocked and stupefied the Armenians in Constantinople. They did not know what was happening, and even had they known, they were utterly helpless to do anything

about it. "In reality," wrote Arnold Toynbee, who amassed and studied many hundreds of documents bearing directly on these tragic events,¹ "the situation had been growing tenser before the spring began. In outlying villages, the inquisition of arms had been accompanied by open violence. Men had been massacred, women violated and houses burnt down by the gendarmerie patrols, . . ." Such acts were not limited to outlying villages. Similar outrageous acts were soon to take place in many towns throughout the country.

The procedure for the deportations and massacres varied in different localities and areas, even though they followed a general pattern devised by the central government in Constantinople. Professor Toynbee's summary of the procedure for deportations and massacres is well worth quoting:

On a certain date, in whatever town or village it might be (and the dates show a significant sequence), the public crier went through the streets announcing that every male Armenian must present himself forthwith at the Government building. In some cases the warning was given by the soldiery or gendarmerie slaughtering every male Armenian they encountered in the streets . . . The men presented themselves in their working clothes, leaving their shops and work-room open, their ploughs in the field, their cattle on the mountain side. When they arrived, they were thrown without explanation into prison, kept there a day or two, and then marched out of the town in batches, roped man to man, along some southerly or southeasterly road. They were starting, they were told, on a long journey—to Mosul or perhaps Baghdad. . . . But they had not long to ponder over their plight, for they were halted and massacred at the first lonely place on the road. The same process was applied to those other Armenian men who had been imprisoned during the winter months on the charge of conspiracy or concealment of arms. . . . This was the civil authorities' part, but there was complete co-ordination between Talaat Bey's Ministry of the Interior and Enver Pasha's Ministry of War, for simultaneously the Armenian Labour Battalions, working behind the front, were surrounded by detachments of their combatant fellow soldiers and butchered in cold blood.²

Such was the general procedure by which nearly two million Armenians were uprooted from their homes—some deported to distant places to find slow death in sun-scorched deserts, some butchered

¹Toynbee, in *The Treatment of Armenians* . . . p. 639.

²Ibid . . . p. 640.

in cold blood, others sold into slavery to Arabs and Kurds, still others enslaved in Turkish homes and harems, while a few hundred thousand were fortunate enough to manage to escape to neighboring Persia and Russia, or took to the mountains and lived as outlaws until the end of the war. In about six months, by late fall of 1915, all Armenians in Turkey, excepting some 150,000 in Constantinople and Smyrna (thanks to the efforts of the U. S. Ambassador Mr. Henry Morgenthau), not only had been uprooted from their ancestral homes, but already half of them were dead, and the other half awaited slow but certain death. Such was the unenviable lot and tragic fate of the 2,500,000 Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in the annus *terribilis* 1915.

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS

What fearful agonies did the woe-laden caravans of uprooted humanity suffer on these torturous roads to the distant Arabian desert, no pen can describe, and no man with a spark of humanity can read without extreme revulsion. Yet no book on this incomprehensible story of mass martyrdom can avoid giving some conception, no matter how inadequate, of the veritable hell through which a gifted, industrious people were made to walk to their doom.

It has seemed advisable to the editors of this book that this most mournful part of the total story be left to reputable contemporary non-Armenian sources. The selections which appear in the following pages are by no means the most heart-rending to be found in the literature on the deportation and massacre of Armenians, but because of the restraint and objectivity which characterize them, they can serve as convincing historic documents.

The first three newspaper dispatches, which are reprinted here, are from "A Treasury of Great Reporting," by Louis L. Snyder, through the courtesy of Simon and Schuster, New York. The last items, the account of German missionaries, is reproduced here from "The Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire," by Arnold Toynbee, 1916, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

United Press, Aug. 14, 1915

For nearly three months now, the 2,000,000 Armenians of Turkey have been undergoing at the hands of the Young Turk government a renewal of the atrocities of Abdul-Hamid that so far has fallen short only of actual massacre.¹

So critical is the situation that Ambassador Morgenthau, who, alone, is fighting to prevent wholesale slaughter, has felt obliged to ask the co-operation of the ambassadors of Turkey's two allies. Baron von Wangenheim, the German Ambassador, and Margrave Pallavicini the Austrian representative at Constantinople, have responded at least to the degree of joining with Ambassador Morgenthau in endeavoring to convince the Turkish government what a serious mistake it would be for Turkey to permit again a renewal of all the atrocities of the old Turkish regime.

In the meantime, the position of the Armenians and the system of deportation, dispersion, and extermination that is being carried out against them beggars all description.

Although the present renewal of the Armenian atrocities has been under way for three months, it is only just now that reports creeping into Constantinople from the remotest points of the interior show that absolutely no portion of the Armenian population has been spared.

It now appears that the order for the present cruelties was issued in the early part of May, and was at once put into execution with all the extreme genius of the Turkish police system—the one department of government for which the Turks have ever shown the greatest aptitude both in organization and administration. At that time sealed orders were sent to the police of the entire empire. These were to be opened on a specified date that would ensure the orders being in the hands of every department at the moment they were to be opened. Once opened, they provided for a simultaneous descent at practically the same moment on the Armenian population of the entire empire.

At Brusa, in Asiatic Turkey, the city which it is expected the Turks will select for their capital in the event of Constantinople falling, I investigated personally the manner in which these orders were carried out. From eyewitnesses in other towns I found that the execution of them was everywhere identical.

At midnight, the police authorities swooped down on the homes of all Armenians whose names had been put on the proscribed list

¹This newspaper dispatch was written when the full extent of the deportations and massacre was not known.

sent out from Constantinople. The men were at once placed under arrest, and then the houses were searched for papers which might implicate them either in the present revolutionary movement of the Armenians on the frontier or in plots against the government which the Turks declare exist. In this search, carpets were torn from the floors, draperies stripped from the walls, and even the children turned out of their beds and cradles in order that the mattresses and coverings might be searched.

Following this search, the men were then carried away, and at once there began the carrying out of the system of deportation and dispersion which has been the cruelest feature of the present anti-Armenian wave. The younger men, for the most part, were at once drafted into the army. On the authority of men whose names would be known in both America and Europe if I dared mention them, I am told that hundreds if not thousands of these were sent at once to the front ranks at the Dardanelles, where death in a very short space of time is almost a certainty. The older men were then deported into the interior, while the women and children, when not carried off in an opposite direction, were left to shift for themselves as best as they could.

The terrible feature of this deportation up to date is that it has been carried out on such a basis as to render practically impossible in thousands and thousands of cases that these families can ever again be reunited. Not only wives and husbands, brothers and sisters, but even mothers and their little children have been dispersed in such a manner as to preclude practically all hope that they will ever see each other again.

Of all the terrible vengeance so far meted out by the Turks in the present anti-Armenian crusade, none appear to have equaled that inflicted on the population of the city of Zeitun. Twenty thousand Turks from Thrace were taken to Zeitun and established in the houses that for generations had belonged to the Armenian families. The latter were then scattered to the four winds of the empire.

I talked with eyewitnesses who, coming to Constantinople from the interior, had seen this miserable population being dispersed and deported. They were being herded across the country by soldiers in groups ranging from fifty to several hundred. Old men who were unable to maintain the fast pace set by the mounted soldiers were beaten till they fell dead in their tracks. Children who were likewise too tender to stand the terrible strain dropped out by the wayside,

while the mothers were driven relentlessly on with no hopes of ever again being able to find their little ones. Other mothers with babies in arms, unable to see the latter die under their very eyes, unable to give them the nourishment necessary to sustain life, and unable to bear the agony of leaving them by the wayside to an unknown fate, dropped them in wells as they passed, thus ending the sufferings of the little ones and having at least the consolation of knowing their fate.

Fresh massacres took place in 1916. A German eyewitness, reported how the Armenian settlement at Mush was burned to the ground, a model for a later Lidice. "Every officer boasted of the number he had personally massacred as his share in ridding Turkey of the Armenian race." The dead Armenians, dumped in the town of Harput, remained long unburied, with dogs and vultures licking their bodies. Testimony was unearthed by neutral observers that the eyebrows of Armenians were plucked out, their breasts cut off, their nails torn off—"all done at night time, and in order that the people may not hear their screams and know of their agony soldiers are stationed around the prisons beating drums and blowing whistles." "Now let your Christ help you," the Turkish soldiers sneered.

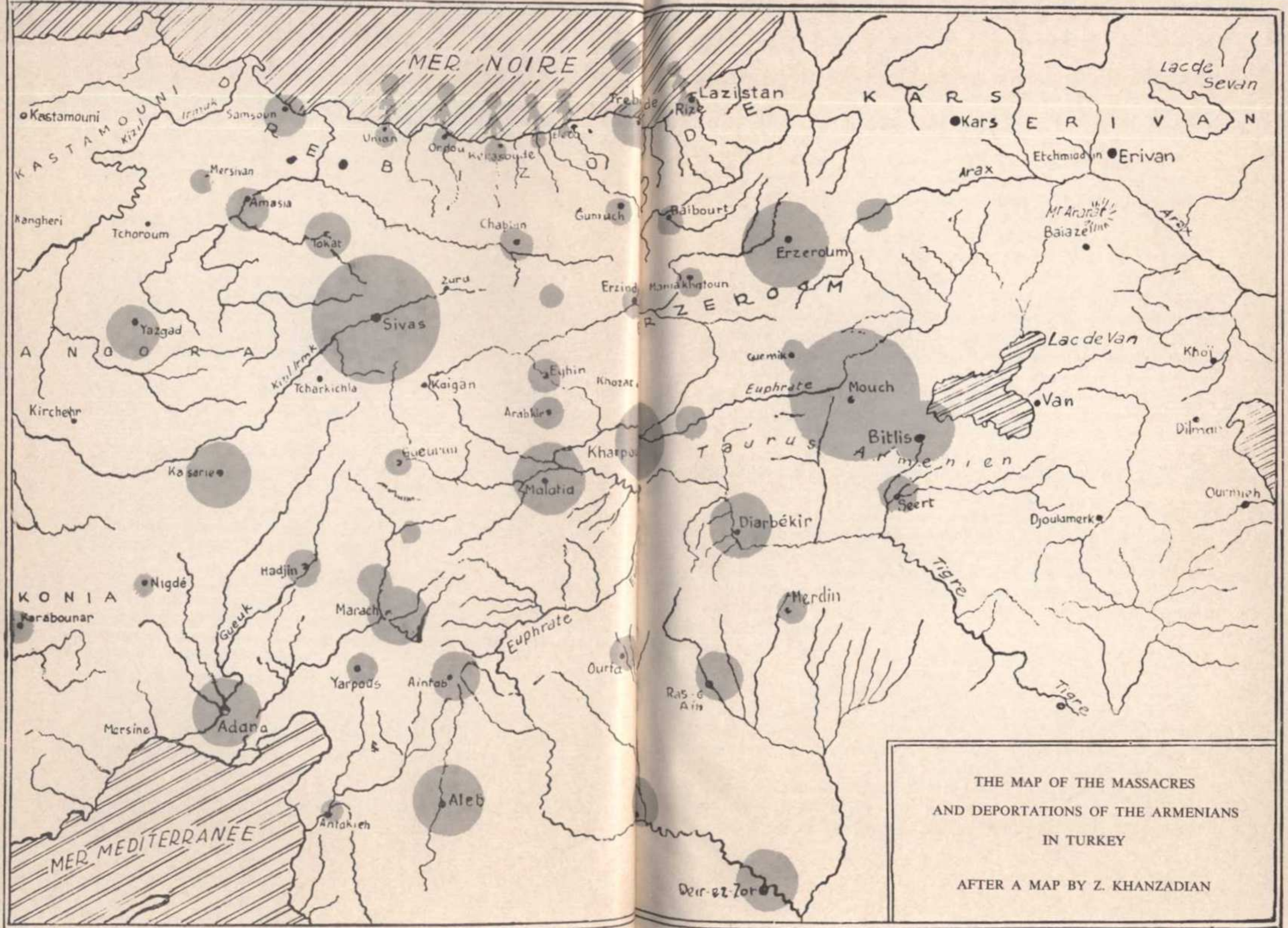
Describing the horrors that blighted Mesopotamia, Henri Barby, a French war correspondent for "Le Journal" of Paris, who had previously covered the campaigns in Serbia and brought to light evidence of war atrocities by the Austro-Hungarian armies, sent to his paper an account of an interview with Dr. H. Toroyan, an Armenian physician formerly in the service of the Turkish army.¹

Le Journal (Paris), July 13, 1916

Along the burning banks of the distant Euphrates, between sultry Mesopotamia and the Badiet-esh-Sham, the desolate desert of Syria, are encamped the several thousands of deported Armenians who have escaped the great massacre.

Their collection there is such that no words can express the horror of it. That is the unanimous testimony of the rare travelers who have succeeded in visiting the camps where the unhappy victims are dying off, between Aleppo and Bagdad. They are subjected to frightful sufferings—without shelter either against the deadly cold of last winter or against the terrific heat of the present summer, which grows more

¹A number of Armenian doctors were spared by the government owing to the acute shortage of physicians in the country.



THE MAP OF THE MASSACRES
AND DEPORTATIONS OF THE ARMENIANS
IN TURKEY
AFTER A MAP BY Z. KHANZADIAN

pitiless every day—and daily they are perishing in great numbers, though those struck down by death are the least to be pitied.

I am now in a position to cite unimpeachable testimony as to the facts of these unheard-of atrocities.

A Turkish army physician, Dr. H. Toroyan—an Armenian by birth, as appears by his name—was commissioned by the Young Turkish government to visit the exiles' camps. The horrors of which he was a helpless witness in the course of his mission, and the hideous scenes at which he was present, affected him so deeply that he determined to make his way out of Turkey, at the risk of his life, in order to reveal to the civilized world the barbarity and infamy of the guilty parties, that is, of the present rulers of Turkey and their accomplices.

Dr. Toroyan, in spite of the almost insurmountable difficulties with which he had to contend, succeeded in escaping and reaching Caucasia. There I met him, and his first words with me were these:

“My unhappy countrymen deported to Mesopotamia have besought me to make an appeal on their behalf to the civilized world, to the Caucasian Armenians in particular, and above all to the Armenians in America, whose women and children are dying every day—decimated by suffering, hunger, and disease and subjected to the devilish cruelty of the *zaptiahs* who are in charge of their place of exile.”

He proceeded to show me the notes which he had taken day by day in the course of his tour of inspection down the Euphrates. It is a long series of awful pictures—stories of murders and tortures and revolting rapes. The bestial instincts of human nature are unleashed in the presence of tears and blood. The Turkish butchers amused themselves by massacring men “for pleasure” and hunting women like beasts of the field.

It was on November 25, 1915, that Dr. Toroyan left Djerablus and began to descend the Euphrates on a raft. At Djerablus he saw a convoy of Armenians from Syria and twenty-five Armenian families from Aintab, who were being driven along by gendarmes toward the military tribunal under blows of the lash. Armenian families were coming in from Kaisaria and Konya by railway. From the moment they left the train they became the victims of the most atrocious outrages. The Chechens carried off three hundred women and girls (the prettiest) in order to sell them as slaves.

But I will let Dr. Toroyan tell his own story:

"This camp," he continued, "was still congested when I left it, with Armenians from Adana and Cilicia. Most of them were women and girls. Two of them whom I knew well but only recognized with difficulty, to so lamentable a condition were they reduced, cast themselves at my feet:

"Tell the gallant soldiers (of the Allies) to come quickly to Mesopotamia,' they cried to me between their sobs. 'We are worse than dead.'"

The doctor went down on his raft with the current as far as Meskeneh. There he landed and, escorted by two Turkish gendarmes, paid a visit to the Armenian camp.

"The poor people were in rags which barely covered their bodies," he said, "and had nothing to shelter them against the weather. I asked my gendarmes what all the strange little mounds of earth were which I saw everywhere, with thousands of dogs prowling round about them.

"Those are the graves of the infidels!" they answered calmly.

"Strange, so many graves for such a little village."

"Oh, you do not understand. Those are the graves of these dogs—those who were brought here first, last August. They all died of thirst."

"For whole weeks together we were forbidden to let them drink."

"I arrived at last at the extremity of this vast field of graves. There were two old men there, crouched on the ground, sobbing. I questioned them: 'Where are you from?' They made no answer. They were stupefied by suffering. Perhaps they had lost the power of speech. Further on, however, another exile, prostrate on the ground, in the midst of other victims belonging to the same family, did give me an answer. I learned that the camp contained five thousand Armenians from Mersin and other Cilician towns.

"But now my two gendarmes came up to me. They pointed to a girl: 'Effendi, let us take her and carry her with us to Bagdad.' Without waiting for my answer they called the poor girl. She approached, shrieking with terror. She said several words to me in French. Before she was deported she had been a schoolmistress at Smyrna. She was dying of hunger. I tried to learn from her precise details about the martyrdom of the exiles, but she could answer nothing but: 'Bread!'

"She is dead! The schoolmistress, too, has died of hunger, piteous voices cried around us. But the gendarmes were anxious to take advantage of their victim's unconsciousness to gain possession of her. Already they had seized her and were carrying her toward our raft.

I stopped them. Then I poured several drops of brandy between the poor girl's lips, and she came to herself again.

"A mother came to implore me. She offered her honor and her life if I would save her son, who was in agony, devoured by a fever. I gave her a little aspirin.

"And now they crowded round me in thousands—these poor emaciated beings with hollow cheeks and eyes, either dulled or unnaturally bright. From every side they flocked together with all the haste they could, and surrounded me with a tumult of despairing cries: 'Bread! Medicine!

"The gendarmes rushed at them. Into this pitiful crowd they struck at random with kicks and blows as hard as they could. I left the scene, desperate at my powerlessness to alleviate this infinite suffering.

"I saw two women, one of them old, the other very young and very pretty, carrying the corpse of another young woman. I had scarcely passed them when cries of terror arose. The girl was struggling in the clutches of a brute who was trying to drag her away. The corpse had fallen to the ground. The other girl, now half unconscious, was writhing by the side of it, the old woman was sobbing and wringing her hands.

"I could not interfere. I had the strictest orders. Shaking with rage and indignation, I took refuge on my raft, which was moored to the riverbank.

"In the middle of the night I was awakened by desperate shrieks. My two gendarmes, who had remained on shore, had seized some Armenian girls. It was their intention to violate them, and they were striking savagely at the exiles who were trying to interfere. The tumult, which I heard without seeing it, continued. At last the gendarmes returned, the boatman unmoored the raft and bent to his oars. We were starting. The great river boat glided over the smooth water. Suddenly the gendarmes shouted and guffawed as if they were watching a fine farce:

"The girl! The girl we had tonight!"

"I looked, and saw floating on the surface a corpse which they had recognized and which I recognized, too. It was the schoolmistress from Smyrna, the poor girl to whom I had spoken only a few hours before. It was she who, in the darkness, had been the victim of these two wild beasts."

Only a military defeat for the Turks could end the atrocities. On March 11, 1917, General Frederick Stanley Maude led his British forces into

Bagdad, the chief city of Mesopotamia, thus shattering the dream of Pan Germans for a Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway. In his Seven Pillars of Wisdom (1926) Colonel Lawrence describes the riotous welcome afforded the conquerors. The steps and stairs of the Town Hall were packed with a swaying mob, "embracing, dancing, singing. Damascus went mad with joy. The men tossed up their turbushes to cheer, the women tore off their veils. Householders threw flowers, hangings, carpets, into the road before us; their wives leaned, screaming with laughter. But a somber sight met the eyes of Edmund Candler, whose account of a refugee camp at Bagdad appeared in the London Times, June 21, 1917. A veteran traveler in the Orient, Candler had been a London Times and Mail correspondent on the western front in the first years of World War I and subsequently covered the campaigns in Mesopotamia for The Times. Candler later confessed in an article in Blackwood's that the sights he saw convinced him of the "senselessness" of the "disease" of war. Here are some of those sights.

The Times (London), June 21, 1917

by Edmund Candler

Bagdad, April—One of the best things that are being done in Bagdad is the salvage of Armenian women and children who have survived the massacre and who are now living in Mussulman families. These are being gathered into homes financed by the British government, and their own community are looking after them.

I visited one of these institutions yesterday. The inmates were all young, many of marriageable age, and there were a great number of children under six who have already forgotten their language and their faith.

The bald statements of what they have suffered and seen is damning and an unanswerable arraignment against the Turkish government. The first girl I saw was a child of ten from a village near Erzurum. She and her family had started on donkeys with a few of their belongings, but in three days the Kurds had left them nothing, and they had to walk. The Turks had issued a proclamation in all the villages that the Armenians were to be sent away to a colony that was being prepared for them, and that their property was to be kept under the care of the

government during the war and then restored. This was more than a year ago. The gendarmes were very pleasant to them in their homes, and told them that they were to be given new land to cultivate, and that their journey would not be long. The first assurance, as they guessed, was visionary. In the second the gendarmes did not lie.

For many of them it was all over on the third day. Two or three hundred of the men were separated from the women and killed at a distance, shot or cut down with a sword. After that the same sort of thing happened nearly every day. The guards were very haphazard; there was no system. Some of the women were pushed into the river; others thrust over precipices. Twelve hundred left the two villages near Erzurum; four hundred only reached Ras-el-Ain. The survivors were all women and children; there was not a man among them or a male child over the age of nine.

I met a refugee from the Karahisar district who, with six companions, had been saved by some Armenian women he found established in a Bedouin camp. Eight hundred families in all had left Karahisar. Half of these were capsized and drowned on Arab boats on the Euphrates. The survivors, when they reached Deir-ez-Zor, were placed in an internment camp. While here, they approached the mutessarif, hoping to purchase their release. They offered him three thousand liras. It was not enough. They made a second collection; every piaster they could raise was thrown into the pool. This time the sum was nearly five thousand liras, and the mutessarif accepted the bribe on conditions that they should sign a paper, "We, the Armenians of, give this sum willingly to the Turkish army."

But it did not save them. The hated gendarmes accompanied them on the march, and nine miles from the city the massacre began. Sticks and stones and knives and daggers were employed, and a few merciful bullets. But, as always happens, the assassins tired of their work; even the physical part of it was exhausting, and the last act was postponed from day to day. In the end a tired gendarme gave them the hint to go. The night was dark, and the guard more careless than usual, and the last remnants of the party, fifty-five in all, made their escape.

Another man I heard of was the sole survivor of a group of refugees who disappeared between Ras-el-Ain and Nisibin. They were taken into the desert and formed in line, as in a Chinese execution, to be dispatched with the sword. There was no shortage of ammunition, I was told, but the sword was employed for reasons of economy. While waiting for his turn, it occurred to the Armenian that a bullet would be an

easier death, So he broke from the line. In the confusion the gendarmes missed him. It was almost dusk; he hid in the brushwood; by a miracle he escaped and found his way to Bagdad.

The main features of the massacres are much the same. The emigrants are kept a few days. Here they find a large camp of two or three thousand or more. Soon notice comes from Constantinople that the refugees of a certain district have been allotted land for cultivation, and they are told they must start on their journey again. This, they know, is probably the death sentence, but they nourish a thin hope. For the first half day they are generally safe, as murder on a large scale is deprecated near a town. Nobody, for instance, saw anyone killed in Trebizond; but a few days after the Armenians had left the city their bodies came floating down the river. The desert is a non-conductor. What is done there leaves only vague rumor.

Few Armenian women were so fortunate (as a Bagdad refugee whose honor was respected). Many were killed with as little scruple as the men. Plainness or good looks were fatal in different ways. The old and ugly died by violence or were starved; the young were taken into the families of the Turks. A traveler now in Bagdad was given a letter by an official at Ras-el-Ain to deliver to the gendarme in charge of the road.

"Choose a pretty one for me," he wrote, "and leave her in the village outside the town."

At Aleppo and Ras-el-Ain German officers stalked side by side with these specters of famine and murder and death, and not a finger was raised or a word said. "It is impolite to interfere" is the German watchword.

Information regarding events in Armenia, published in the "Sonnenaufgang" (organ of the "German League for the Promotion of Christian Charitable Work in the East"), October, 1915 and in the "Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift," November, 1915.

INTRODUCTION

This testimony is especially significant because it comes from a German source, and because the German Censor made a strenuous attempt to suppress it.

The same issue of the "Sonnenaufgang" contains the following editorial note:

"In our preceding issue we published an account by one of our sisters (Schwester Mohring) of her experiences on a journey, but we have to abstain from giving to the public the new details that are reaching us in abundance. It costs us much to do so, as our friends will understand; but the political situation of our country demands it."

In the case of the "Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift," the Censor was not content with putting pressure on the editor. On the 10th November, he forbade the reproduction of the whole current issue of the magazine. Copies of both publications, however, found their way across the frontier.

Both the incriminating articles are drawn from common sources, but the extracts they make from them do not entirely coincide, so that, by putting them together, a fuller version of these sources can be compiled.

In the text printed below, the unbracketed paragraphs are those which appear both in the "Sonnenaufgang" and in the "Allgemeins Missions-Zeitschrift"; while paragraphs included in bold brackets ([]) appear only in the "Sonnenaufgang" and those in light brackets ([]) only in the "Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift."

Between the 10th and the 30th May, 1,200 of the most prominent Armenians and other Christians, without distinction of confession, were arrested in the Vilayets of Diyarbekir and Mamouret-ul-Aziz.

[It is said that they were to be taken to Mosul, but nothing more has been heard of them.]

[On the 30th May, 674 of them were embarked on thirteen Tigris barges, under the pretext that they were to be taken to Mosul. The Vail's aide-de-camp, assisted by fifty gendarmes, was in charge of the convoy. Half the gendarmes started off on the barges, while the other half rode along the bank. A short time after the start the prisoners were stripped of all their money (about L6,000 Turkish) and then of their clothes; after that they were thrown into the river. The gendarmes on the bank were ordered to let none of them escape. The clothes of these victims were sold in the market of Diyarbakir.]

[About the same time 700 young Armenian men were conscribed, and were then set to build the Karabaghche-Habashi road. There is now no news of these 700 men either.]

It is said that in Diyarbekir five or six priests were stripped naked one day, smeared with tar, and dragged through the streets.]

In the Villayet of Aleppo they have evicted the inhabitants of Hadjin, Shar, Albustan, Goksoun, Tasholouk, Zeitoun, all the villages

of Alabash, Geben, Shivilgi, Furnus and the surrounding villages, Fundadjak, Hassan-Beyli, Harni, Lappashli, Dort Yol and others.

[They have marched them off in convoys into the desert on the pretext of settling them there. In the village of Tel-Armen (along the line of the Bagdad Railway, near Mosul) and in the neighbouring villages about 5,000 people were massacred, leaving only a few women and children. The people were thrown alive down wells or into the fires. They pretend that the Armenians are to be employed in colonizing land situated at a distance of from twenty-four to thirty kilometres from the Bagdad Railway. But as it is only the women and children who are sent into exile, since all the men, with the exception of the very old, are at war, this means nothing less than the wholesale murder of the families, since they have neither the labour nor the capital for clearing the country.]

A German met a Christian soldier of his acquaintance, who was on furlough from Jerusalem. The man was wandering up and down along the banks of the Euphrates searching for his wife and children, who were supposed to have been transferred to that neighbourhood. Such unfortunates are often to be met with in Aleppo, because they believe that there they will learn something more definite about the whereabouts of their relations. It has often happened that when a member of a family has been absent, he discovers on his return that all his family are gone—evicted from their homes.

[For a whole month corpses were observed floating down the River Euphrates nearly every day, often in batches of from two to six corpses bound together. The male corpses are in many cases hideously mutilated (sexual organs cut off, and so on), the female corpses are ripped open. The Turkish military authority in control of the Euphrates, the Kaimakam of Djerablous, refuses to allow the burial of these corpses, on the ground that he finds it impossible to establish whether they belong to Moslems or to Christians. He adds that no one has given him any orders on the subject. The corpses stranded on the bank are devoured by dogs and vultures. To this fact there are many German eyewitnesses. An employee of the Bagdad Railway has brought the information that the prisons at Biredjik are filled regularly every day and emptied every night—into the Euphrates. Between Diyarbekir and Ourfa a German cavalry captain saw innumerable corpses lying unburied all along the road.]

[The following telegram was sent to Aleppo from Arabkir:—"We have accepted the True Religion. Now we are all right." The inhabi-

tants of a village near Anderoum went over to Islam and had to hold to it. At Hadin six families wanted to become Mohammedans. They received the verdict: "Nothing under one hundred families will be accepted."

Aleppo and Ourfa are the assemblage-places for the convoys of exiles. There were about 5,000 of them in Aleppo during June and July, while during the whole period from April to July many more than 50,000 must have passed through the city. The girls were abducted almost without exception by the soldiers and their Arab hangers-on. One father, on the verge of despair, besought me to take with me at least his fifteen-year-old daughter, as he could no longer protect her from the persecutions inflicted upon her. The children left behind by the Armenians on their journey are past counting.

Women whose pains came upon them on the way had to continue their journey without respite. A woman bore twins in the neighbourhood of Aintab; next morning she had to go on again. She very soon had to leave the children under a bush, and a little while after she collapsed herself. Another, whose pains came upon her during the march, was compelled to go on at once and fell down dead almost immediately. There were several more incidents of the same kind between Marash and Aleppo*.

The villagers of Shar were permitted to carry all their household effects with them. On the road they were suddenly told: "An order has come for us to leave the high road and travel across the mountains." Everything—wagons, oxen, and belongings—had to be left behind on the road, and they they went on over the mountains on foot. This year the heat has been exceptionally severe, and many women and children naturally succumbed to it even in these early stages of their journey.

There are about 30,000 exiles of whom we have no news at all, as they have arrived neither at Aleppo nor at Ourfa.]

From an address by an American Professor. Delivered in America, December 13, 1915.

In Samsoun, one of the most prominent Protestant Armenians of the place was not allowed to go with the crowd that was first sent out. The Governor came and said to him: "You are a man, a real man; we do not want you to be lost. Now just say that you will be a Turk, and your life and that of your family will be saved." The man replied: "But I cannot say I believe a thing of which I am not convinced. I do not believe in the Mohammedan religion; you must educate me."

So they sent their teachers to him, and every few days would send in an official and ask him: "Now, are you not convinced?" Thus two weeks went by and finally the official's patience wore out, for the man continually said: "No, I cannot see what you see, and I cannot accept what I cannot understand". So the ox-carts came to the door and took the family away. The wife was a delicate lady, and the two beautiful daughters well educated. They were offered homes in harems, but said: "No, we cannot deny our Lord. We will go with our father."

In a mountain village there was a girl who made herself famous. Here, as everywhere else, the men were taken out at night and pitifully killed. Then the women and children were sent in a crowd, but a large number of young girls and brides were kept behind. This girl, who had been a pupil in the school at X., was sent before the governor, the Judge and the Council together, and they said to her: "Your father is dead, your brothers are dead, and all your other relatives are gone, but we have kept you because we do not wish to make you suffer. Now just be a good Turkish girl, and you shall be married to a Turkish officer and be comfortable and happy." It is said that she looked quietly into their faces and replied: "My father is not dead, my brother is not dead; it is true you have killed them, but they live in Heaven. I shall be with them. I can never do this if I am unfaithful to my conscience. As for marrying, I have been taught that a woman must never marry a man unless she loves him. This is part of our religion. How can I love a man who comes from a nation that had so recently killed my friends? I should neither be a good Christian girl nor a good Turkish girl if I did so. Do with me as you wish." They sent her away, with the few other brave ones, into the hopeless land. Stories of this kind can be duplicated.

Unsung Heroes

III

UNSUNG HEROES

People Who Challenged Fate



Writers on the deportation and massacre of Armenians often give an unbalanced picture, for in their preoccupation with the details of that incomprehensible story of mass murder, they hardly touch upon the thousand and one individual and collective acts of courage and audacity which are an integral part of the total story. It took courage of the highest order for the nation to accept the challenge of repeated crucifixions as the price of its loyalty to the Cross. Yet it would be a grievous distortion of history and of the true national character to represent Armenians as people who have known how to die, but who have not known how to fight so as to live. The entire history of the Armenian nation is a negation of such an interpretation. Even in recent history, after six centuries of political servitude, the Armenians had not lost their capacity for audacious, even foolhardy, action against impossible odds. Yet under a despotic, fanatical regime, where the presence of even one revolutionary in a village might result in its total destruction, non-resistance was often deemed the better part of valor. For this very reason Armenian revolutionaries, whose costly exploits range from heroic and bold to foolhardy and at times foolish, have been criticized, with some justification, for their occasional failures to exercise self-restraint even under extreme provocation. For heroic is the man who will fight for a just cause, but no less heroic is he who restrains the impulse to strike back so as not to jeopardize the lives of his neighbors.

During the massacre and deportation of 1915, resistance was out of question, for the Turkish government had rendered the people leaderless through the sudden apprehension and murder of all the

political, religious, and intellectual leaders. Even the most valiant army may be instantly transformed into a hopelessly disorganized mob upon the loss of its commanders. Moreover, as explained elsewhere, young Armenians who had been loyally serving in the Turkish army, were transferred into "road-building" units and thereby conveniently disarmed, soon to be murdered by their Turkish comrades-in-arms.

Left leaderless, unarmed, and without the protection of their young men, the people could do nothing but comply with the government's cruel decree.

Nevertheless, despite its carefully prepared plan, the Turkish government was confronted with serious and unexpected resistance in Van, Shabin Kara Hissar, Ourfa, Musa Dagh, and in a number of smaller localities. There was unexpected opposition from groups and individuals who took to the mountains, some of whose exploits have become legend.

The following account of the heroic but hopeless struggles in self-defense which a number of Armenian communities waged, even though brief, may serve to provide a more balanced picture of the manner in which Armenians reacted towards their oppressors.

Shabin Kara Hissar

In the city of Shabin Kara Hissar, when the government issued its deportation decree, the Armenians seized the ancient citadel which commands the city, raised the flag of insurgece, and resisted the besieging army units and armed Turkish rabble for over a month. It was an act of sheer audacity, for those people, totally isolated from the outside world, short of provisions and ammunition as they were, could have no illusion concerning the outcome of that hopelessly one-sided struggle.

Ourfa

Similarly at the city of Ourfa, the people responded to the order for deportation by fortifying themselves within the Armenian quarter. Having seen how the exiles from the brave mountain city of Zeitun had been treated, they resolved to die fighting in their homes rather than submit to the government's cruel decree. "The Ourfa Armenians," writes Toynbee, "were in a hopeless position from the first. They were far from the sea, and even in the town itself they were only a minority

of the population. A fully equipped expeditionary force of Turkish regulars was immediately sent against them, and they succumbed, after resisting desperately for a month."¹

Van

More fortunate were the people of the ancient city of Van, whose month long successful resistance was made possible primarily by two factors: The partial failure of the efforts to destroy all the Armenian leaders of the city, and the city's nearness to the Russian border.

Remarkable was the alacrity with which the Armenians of Van organized not only their defense against the regular Turkish army, but created overnight a government with smoothly functioning judicial, police, and sanitary departments under Aram Manoukian. According to one American missionary, the city of Van never had such good government under Turkish rule.

The fighting, which began on April 7, 1915, was directed by a military council led by the cool-headed Armenak Yekarian. Strict orders were issued to the fighting men not to drink, not to blaspheme the religion of the enemy—an old Turkish custom—to spare women, children and unarmed men, and to respect neutrals.

Thirty thousand Armenians were thus besieged in an area of two square miles. Some 1,500 fighting men, of whom only 300 had regular arms and some military training, faced an army of five to six thousand, supported by artillery units and countless kurdish irregulars.

The entire population of the besieged area was galvanized into action. Non-fighters strengthened the positions of the fighting men by digging trenches and building walls; Boys served as scouts. Women and girls undertook the care of the sick and the children, did all the cooking and serving for the fighters, and performed dangerous assignments at the fighting lines. As the fighting dragged on and ammunition ran low, they succeeded in manufacturing smokeless powder and three mortars, under the direction of Professor M. Minassian. They made 2,000 cartridges a day and blacksmiths made spears so that they could continue to fight when ammunition was gone. They also dug underground passages through which they blew up the nearby Turkish barracks, one after another. When the Turkish artillery destroyed one strong barricade, it found behind it a second line stronger than the first.²

¹Toynbee, *The Treatment of Armenians*

²Ibid

"The resistance of the Armenians was terrific and their valor worthy of praise," states Rafael de Nogales, Inspector General of the Turkish forces in Armenia, a Christian, a professional soldier who, of all people, was the man who directed the attack on the beleaguered Christian community: "Whenever our troops advanced," De Nogales goes on to say, "they received a strong and well directed fire. Each house was a fortress that had to be conquered separately."

Deliverance came when a Russian army approached the city with a vanguard of Armenian volunteers, putting to flight the Turkish governor and besieging army and irregulars.

But rejoicing by the Armenians was short-lived. A little more than two months later the Russian general in command suddenly decided to retreat before stronger Turkish forces. On July 30, Armenians of the Van province were told to flee for their lives. The local American missionaries of Van, who had generously used their large compound as a refuge for thousands of non-combatants and had rendered medical and other services as well (they had rendered a similar service to the Turkish residents of the city during the short-lived Russian occupation) decided to join the Armenians in this great exodus over 150 miles of rugged, trackless, waterless country, constantly harassed by the Turks and their Kurdish allies. Many lost their lives despite the valiant defense by the Armenian volunteers. An estimated 200,000 persons, which included the people of Van and those from the surrounding area and even distant points who had sought security behind the Russian occupied area, took part in this tragic but largely successful march of epic proportions.

Zeitun

A citadel of freedom was the mountain city of Zeitun, which had retained a semi-independent status since the fall of the Cilician Armenian kingdom in 1375, and more than once had humbled army units which the sultan had sent against it. It was overcome in 1915, through the treacherous apprehension and murder of some of the leaders, through military pressure and false promises. There had been an urgent plea by the Catholicos of Cilicia not to offer resistance, for fear that the Turks might use an insurrection at Zeitun as a pretext for the massacre of the defenseless Armenian population of the entire country. When the city did surrender, and there followed the usual massacre and

¹"*Four Years Under the Crescent*," by Rafael de Nogales, New York 1926.

deportation, many of its hardy sons escaped to the mountains and provided considerable headache to the authorities in the surrounding area until the end of the war.¹

Diarbekir

"I know nothing set to sterner heights of fruitless courage," states Talcott Williams, "than the way the Armenian-Greek quarter in Diarbekir, when arms and deportation were demanded, barricaded street and flat roof and for three weeks held off regular troops with casual weapons until artillery was trained on the beleaguered, desperate defenders. Fire started and massacre followed. There was house-to-house fighting, while some few—not many—escaped in the Roman waterway that runs under the houses."²

Marash

After the Armistice, upon the occupation of Cilicia (Vilayet of Adana) by French forces (it included a large contingent of Armenian volunteers) some 25,000 Armenians returned to the city of Marash. The dream of these ex-deportees of resuming a peaceful life under the protection of the French tricolor was short lived however. For the Kemalist Turks raised the flag of insurgence in the old fortress of the city, in an open affront to the French commander. They grew stronger and bolder, and soon began to attack Armenians and the French soldiers. In vain did the Armenians ask for protection or for arms with which to defend themselves. Armenian soldiers in the French Legion who sought to aid their countrymen were severely punished by their French officers. Therefore the people decided to organize their defense as best they could. They joined various Armenian quarters through underground passages and fought valiantly for nearly fifteen days. At this point the arrival of French reinforcements overawed the Turks for a short while. But suddenly the French forces withdrew, at night, without warning. Some 5,000 of the 25,000 Armenian population, upon learning what was afoot, hastily followed the retreating army. In a severe snow-storm, the next day, many women and children froze to death. Others

¹Even though the city's 25,000 exclusive Armenian population (with nearby villages) was virtually decimated, some 1,500 survivors returned to their mountain homes after the Armistice, since because of the allied victory, they had reason to hope for a better and more peaceful life. But this was not to be. In 1920 the Kemalist Turks attacked this brave people, who were eventually overcome.

²*Turkey, a World Problem*, Talcott Williams, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1922.

who had had a late start or could not move fast enough were overtaken by the enemy and massacred, as were those who remained in the city, fighting to the very last.

Hajin

The mountain city of Hajin, totally deserted by the French, fought on until overwhelmed by starvation and exhaustion in a long and hopeless struggle that lasted nine months.

Aintab

The Armenians in Aintab organized a successful resistance under the leadership of Adour Levonian. They transformed their homes into a fortress and eventually effected a successful exodus to Syria and Lebanon with comparatively few losses. Mr. Levonian died in ripe old age in 1964, in Philadelphia.

Mousa Dagh

The story of the peasants of the Jibal Mousa district has been immortalized by Franz Werfel in a somewhat fictionalized form, in his "Forty Days of Mousa Dagh."

Having watched, for several months, the pathetic caravans of deportees from other parts of Cilicia, the villagers of the Jibal Mousa region decided to withdraw to the heights of Mousa Dagh, taking with them as large a supply of food and implements as they could. All the flocks of sheep and goats were driven up the mountainside. They had only 120 modern rifles and shotguns and perhaps three times as many old flint-locks and horse pistols. More than half the men were without weapons. They dug trenches all the next day, and in the evening held an election for members of the Committee of Defense. Scouts, messengers and a reserve group of sharpshooters were chosen.

The first attack by some 200 regulars was ingloriously driven back, but the second attack by some 3000 regular soldiers and 4000 irregulars brought the enemy to within four hundreds yards of the Armenian encampment. The situation had suddenly become critical; therefore the Committee of Defense, after a hasty consultation, decided upon a bold action. In the dead of the night the Armenian fighters crept around the Turkish positions in an enveloping movement and then in a sudden, tumultuous attack threw the Turkish camp into utmost confusion. In less than an hour the woods had been cleared of the enemy, which retreated in utter disorder, leaving behind more than 200 dead.

The Turks then decided to lay siege to Musa Dagh so as to starve the Armenians into submission. A horde of some 15,000 Turks were summoned from the surrounding area for this task. The seaside—the mountain rises from the shore of the Mediterranean—was not too well guarded. The only hope for the survival of the group was in the chance appearance of allied warships on patrol duty. Therefore, the defenders erected a large sign which read "CHRISTIANS IN DISTRESS: RESCUE." Moreover they composed an appeal, in English addressed "to any English, American, French, Italian, or Russian Admiral, captain or authority whom this petition may find." Copies of the appeal were then given to three swimmers who were to be on constant watch for any passing ship, so as to carry their message to the outside world. Ammunition and food resources were running low, a fact which could not have been altogether a secret to the Turks, who made one more determined but unsuccessful attack. At one point of vantage, the Armenians rolled boulders down the mountain side with disastrous effects upon the enemy.

On Sunday morning, the fifty-third day of the siege, a ship, the French warship, Guichen, was sighted by the scouts. Instantly the swimmers were on their way to the warship. Soon an invitation came from the captain of the ship for a delegation to come on board. Their story was relayed by wireless to the flagship, *St. Jeanne d'Arc*, which soon appeared on the horizon followed by other ships. Orders were given by the Admiral that the entire people of the besieged mountain be taken on board the warships. A little later the French men of war were joined by an English cruiser, which assisted in transporting the brave people of Musa Dagh to a safe haven at Port Said.

Thousand and One Acts

Countless are the unrecorded stories of courage, valor, and self-sacrifice. Several hundred Armenian leaders of Kaiseri, who had been taken from their homes by the police, without warning, in the middle of the night, were subjected to weeks of merciless beating to force them to betray their Armenian friends and acquaintances who owned firearms. With the exception of one or two weaker members, they refused to betray anyone and chose instead to die from the severity of the ordeal.

Heroic were the Armenian women who served both as protectors of their families in the absence of menfolk and displayed great courage at the fighting lines. During the siege of Van, for instance, some

Armenian women made a sport of their dangerous assignment of hastily pulling the fuse out of slow moving Turkish cannonballs and covering them with wet blankets in order to salvage the gunpowder they contained. No less heroic was the middle aged woman who during the siege of Aintab regularly went behind the Turkish lines in the garb of a Turkish woman, serving as a courier between the French forces and Armenian defenders, at the same time gathering information on Turkish movements.

"If you ever erect a monument in Armenia, let it be dedicated to the courageous Armenian women," said Miss Mary L. Graffam, who has the distinction of being the only non-Armenian who shared the ordeals of the deportee Armenians. Even though she was not allowed to go all the way with her beloved Armenian people of Sivas, she had seen enough to be filled with admiration for those courageous representatives of the weaker sex.

All heroes are not warriors. An oppressed and disarmed people may hide a brave heart under a quiet exterior, as is illustrated by the simple story of Hagop Aghpar.

But who was Hagop Aghpar?

Hagop Aghpar (Brother Hagop) was a soft spoken, saintly, lay preacher. When, in 1896, the massacre of the Armenians began in Sivas, along with five other Armenians he sought refuge in a nearby Armenian house. But while his companions sought safety by hiding in the attic above the third floor, he refused to join them, saying that the third floor was safe enough.

Soon the Turkish mob attacked the building in which they were hiding. Hagop Aghpar's friends implored him to come to their attic hiding place.

For several anxious moments, the mob ransacked the first and second floors. Then a few of them made for the stairway to the third floor, but abruptly changed their minds. Evidently the house had not proved sufficiently lucrative. There were many wealthier homes to be plundered. During all this time, however, Hagop Aghpar had made not the slightest move from harm's way. When all was over, his companions chided him for being so "stubborn." He didn't answer them. But some time later he confided to a friend the reason for his obstinacy.

"I reasoned," he said, "that all my companions were married men, with wives and families to look after. I had none. Therefore I thought that if the Turks caught me where I was, they would not take the trouble of looking further for additional victims."

Relief and Rehabilitation

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IV

RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

Efforts by Armenian Groups



When visited by an extraordinary disaster, a proud nation will try its best to bring relief to its people before appealing for help from the outside. But the blow which descended upon the Armenian people during World War I was total in its devastating effect, for it fell upon the entire nation within the boundaries of historic Armenia and beyond.

The virtual annihilation or deportation of the Armenians of Turkey had been hardly completed when the comparatively secure and fortunate half of the Armenians in the Russian zone also were suddenly subjected to a series of calamities, which began with a violent revolution followed by invasion, massacre, hunger and pestilence.

During the earlier years of the war, Russian Armenians had taken energetic measures to aid their refugee brethren who had escaped or fought their way across the Russian border, as did the brave people of the city of Van. But Russia was soon overtaken by the Bolshevik revolution. The consequent disintegration of the Russian Army of the Caucasus, which until then had pushed the Turks as far back as Erzinjan, left the Armenians virtually alone to face the war-tested Turkish Army, with only hastily organized, poorly armed and provisioned regular and volunteer fighting units. But they fought with admirable courage, slowing the Turkish advance by five months, which proved a great boon to the British Army in Mesopotamia. But the price which the Armenians paid for their audacity was fearful. Armenians, civilians or soldiers were massacred wherever they were overtaken by the Turkish Army. Famine and plague completed the trials of this indescribable period, which paradoxically saw the birth

of a small but independent Armenia after more than six hundred years of political servitude!

Under these circumstances the task of providing relief and rehabilitation for the stricken nation had fallen on the shoulders of the Armenian community in the United States, composed of comparatively recently arrived immigrants, then numbering not more than 50,000, and the much smaller community of Armenians in Egypt. And let it be said to their credit that, despite their extremely limited resources and the magnitude of the disaster, they accepted the challenge without hesitation. Refugee aid was provided individually by thousands to their relatives and acquaintances. There were formed a score of compatriotic societies, which along with the existing political groups, energetically sought out survivors from their respective towns and villages and gave them much needed assistance. There was also formed an Armenian "Red Cross," primarily for the purpose of providing medical aid, which as the Armenian Relief Corps, later extended its activities to educational work as well. But the main responsibility for providing refugee aid rested with the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU).

A.G.B.U. was founded by a group of Armenian intellectuals and industrialists, headed by Boghos Nubar, with a program which aimed to give strong impetus to education, to aid Armenian peasants, and to create a capital fund which would be sufficient to provide instant relief whenever the nation was visited by natural or man-made disaster.

The Union did not have long to wait to prove the wisdom of the founders, for it was a fledgling of only three years when in 1909, there occurred the Adana Massacre, with the loss of some 30,000 souls. The A.G.B.U. was first to reach the disaster area with food, shelter in the form of tents, and medicaments.

But even then the leaders of this organization were not prepared for the cataclysmic disaster which was soon to unfold before their eyes beneath the clouds of war that covered the ravished and desolated cities, towns, and villages of Turkish Armenia. The predicament which the organization faced has been described in an AGBU booklet devoted to the period which states:

Aside from being a national calamity of the first magnitude, the loss of the people of Turkish Armenia dealt a severe blow to the AGBU. For at one stroke the young organization lost one of its most important strongholds with more than eighty chapters and

a fast growing membership. Gone were all the schools and orphanages with their pupils and teachers; the work of a whole decade was swept away. In 1915 the report of the General Board of Directors of the AGBU stated this heart-breaking fact in one restrained sentence: "Today the only school maintained by the Union is the Siswan School for the Refugees at Port Said."

But this was no time for lamentation. Wherever suitable buildings could be found, there were established orphanages, hospital-dispensaries, and shelters for young women rescued from Mohammedan harems. These were located in Cairo, Port Said, Damascus, Aleppo, Mosoul, Dort Yol, and Adana. The task which the AGBU assumed was not of short duration, nor were the luckless people allowed respite to tend to their wounds. For instance, in 1919 the AGBU orphanage and hospital which had been established in Damascus, were transferred to Hajin, Turkey, which was considered safe since the city was then under French occupation. However, a few months later, Turkish guerillas and regular soldiers under Mustapha Kemal attacked also the city of Hajin among a number of localities. Even though the French garrison was more than adequate to hold back the attack, it was withdrawn, suddenly and without warning to the Armenians, virtually deserting the luckless people who were finally overwhelmed after several months of desperate fighting. As was expected, they were massacred without mercy, among them 207 orphans of the AGBU institution.

The orphans and people of French-occupied Mersin were spared a similar fate through a hurried exodus to Beirut, Lebanon, when Kemalist Turks overran Cilicia. The twin orphanages in Deort Yol were likewise hastily deserted—as were all other AGBU shelters, dispensaries, etc.—and the orphans removed to Beirut. Thousands joined this second tragic exodus towards relatively safe havens in Syria, Lebanon, and elsewhere. Nor was this the end of tribulations.

In 1922, owing to the defeat of the Greek Army at the hands of the Turks, the beautiful city of Smyrna or Izmir was sacked and the Christians of the city put to the sword, save for those who managed to get on board Greek transports to be taken to Greece. Thus was created another refugee Armenian community of 30,000 souls.

Despite the feverish relief and rehabilitation efforts on the part of the Armenians, their resources were woefully inadequate to provide the necessary aid for the hundreds of thousands of destitute survivors, especially the orphans. For this reason the Armenian people remember

with gratitude the helping hands which were extended to the stricken people by the people of the United States of America.

American Relief Activities

During the ten years (1915-1925) which marked the great ordeal of the Armenians, no single philanthropic group played a more effective role in the task of salvaging Armenian lives than was performed by the American-based Near East Relief Committee. It was the first time in America's history that a call for "foreign aid" opened a floodgate of American compassion and generosity toward the oppressed in another part of the world. Engineered through private rather than governmental initiative and resources, it began as a modest emergency relief measure. It became, before the end of the war, a humanitarian enterprise of large-scale proportions which collected and administered through 1930 the sum of \$116,000,000, for the benefit of the million and a half Armenians and Greeks who were left homeless and destitute by the massacres and deportations over the period 1915 to 1922. For this huge endeavor, the Near East Relief, and to some extent also the American Red Cross, were supported by other national organizations, four presidents, intellectuals of all faiths, businessmen, educators, missionaries, doctors, lawyers and many dedicated laymen. Through a campaign involving the press, the pulpit and its own monthly magazine, "The New Near East", Americans were constantly reminded of destitute refugee Armenians.

James L. Barton, one of the founders of the Near East Relief and chairman until 1930, has described the dramatic beginning of the organization in his book, "The Story of the Near East Relief."

Early in September 1915, an emergency cable from the American Ambassador to Turkey, Henry Morgenthau, alerted the State Department in no uncertain terms that "the destruction of the Armenian race in Turkey is rapidly progressing," and urged the formation of a committee of responsible citizens to raise needed funds. The message was relayed to Mr. Barton, Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and he in turn appealed to Cleveland H. Dodge, head of the board of trustees of Robert College and friends of missionary organizations in the Near East. In response to Barton's urging that "the Armenians have no one to speak for them and it is without question a time when the voice of Christianity should

be heard," a meeting was called in Mr. Dodge's New York office to consider "Armenian matters."

The group¹ which met on September 16 represented administrative heads of American institutions and missionary organizations in the Near East—all American leaders personally familiar with conditions in the localities concerned. It immediately enlisted the concerted effort of the Palestine-Syrian Relief Committee, the Persian Relief Committee and the Armenian Relief Committee.

With the cooperation of the press,² it published a campaign to raise \$100,000 for the general relief of 200,000 Armenian survivors of the massacres forced to flee from their homelands in Turkey to Persia and the Caucasus.

In the following months Associated Press reports repeatedly confirmed Ambassador Morgenthau's story.³ Arbitrary arrests and deportations by the thousands throughout Turkey unmistakably announced the beginning of a "campaign of race extermination." While many thousands had been driven to the desert-land of Dier-Ez-Zor, there to perish, an ominous report from Tarsus read: "No pressure from embassies able to do anything."

The desperate plight of a helpless, uprooted people was the subject of the report which Morgenthau delivered in person on his return to the United States in February 1916. Pinpointing the disaster areas, he estimated that \$5,000,000 would be required to relieve the suffering of Armenians, Greeks and Syrians who had been brutally deported from their ancestral homes. Mr. Barton gave details of the painful deportations as follows:

The caravans of deportees isolated by soldiers and forced to move onward continually. Boys and girls escaped from their village homes in terror and sought protection in American buildings.

The children that were gathered from the roadside or left upon the doorsteps formed the first nucleus of the future orphanages.

Almost overnight relief centers were organized and workers enlisted for service in the four major areas: Turkey, Syria, Persia and the Caucasus. Funds from America were administered by existing mission stations. At first the help was haphazard. Things were too mobile and unstable.

1. The Committee was known successively as the Armenian Relief Committee, the Armenian and Syrian Relief Committee, the American Committee for Relief in the Near East and finally the Near East Relief Committee.

2. John F. Finley, editor of *The New York Times*, was a staunch supporter of the Committee and became its Vice-Chairman.

3. See "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story," Doubleday Doran, 1918.

The most haunting spectre for child and adult alike was death by starvation. Particularly grave was the situation of the remnants of Armenian deportee caravans which had managed to reach Syria. There by order of the Turkish commander, Jemal Pasha, foreigners had been forbidden to provide any assistance to the unfortunate people. Not until the British army had advanced into Syria were the British and Americans able to bring their measure of relief—chiefly medical aid and food. There began, then, a widespread feature of the Near East Relief's operation: "the soup kitchens" which provided each person with two or three meals a week, a meager ration but enough to ward off fatal diseases so rampant in the refugee-ridden villages.

Up to the end of the war, provision of food, clothing and temporary shelter was the primary concern of the Committee. With the Armistice there came a new need: Rehabilitation. The immediate answer and first step from "general relief" was employment. Men were employed by the thousands to rebuild roads. Women made garments for soldiers. Work was also provided for girls who had escaped from harems and were placed in Christian homes. In Constantinople, Beirut, Athens, the Near East Relief set up workrooms for women with native ability in lacework and embroidery; these finally became the basis for the Near East Industries whose products sold abundantly to American customers and helped to add to the funds of the Committee.

As the Armenians began to emerge from the amorphous mass of suffering humanity, American field-workers began to remark on their distinguishing characteristics: their tenacity, their sense of honor and pride, their boundless faith. One such observer, Dr. Mabel Evelyn Elliott, Medical Director of the Near East Relief, tells in her book, "Beginning Again at Ararat," the poignant story of an Armenian girl who at the first opportunity fled from the Turk she had been forced to marry. Though she confessed that she had grown to love him, she would not live with him because he was a Turk, a non-Christian. Dr. Elliott was moved to comment:

"This Eastern meaning of religion is alien to us. It is not so much a guide in living as life itself. It is dearer than earthly life or hope of heaven; it goes deeper than the individual. It is the life of the race, the memories and traditions of generations of ancestors and the immortality of a people on earth."

Other qualities of ingenuity and industry became revealed in the immediate postwar period when thousands of uprooted Armenians set

about rebuilding their lost homes. Repeatedly frustrated in their attempts to return to their homeland (which had become a pawn in the hands of the Allies and the enemy) and faced with the alternative of starving in the streets, a group of 180 families boarded a ship from Constantinople destined for the farm colonies of Thrace. There, with a minimum of food supplies, building material, seeds and tools, they started a new life. "They made the forsaken untilled land blossom and produce harvest," reported Mr. Barton, "within a year two villages of happy citizens replaced the despair of the city refugee camps."

From the end of the war to 1922, the Committee had largely discontinued adult relief work to focus its attention on the enormous problems of resettlement and care of war orphans. But with the break of the Smyrna disaster in the summer of 1922, a second war emergency was created involving the lives of large numbers of Greeks and Armenians. Until an international refugee settlement program could be set up, the Near East Relief, together with the Red Cross, took on the task of mass feeding and evacuating some 22,000 children from orphanages in the interior of Turkey to Syria and Greece, going on donkey back and foot.

Rehabilitation became a problem once again in 1923. Particular emphasis was placed on the health of the refugees who were often stranded in areas where no hospital or simple medical aid was available. Their plight became increasingly acute as near-starvation led to epidemics of typhus, trachoma, malaria and other diseases. Soon after the war, the Near East Relief formed a medical commission headed by Dr. George Washburn of Boston (son of the former president of Robert College) and enlisted the services of 86 doctors and nurses. Fifteen complete hospital units were purchased with medical supplies, and shipped to various parts of the Near East. By 1923 the Committee had established 82 hospitals and clinics, and had enlisted the services of 60 doctors and 142 nurses. In the Caucasus alone 30,000 children, mostly Armenians, had been provided shelter and medical attention that saved many lives.

In the beginning children were interspersed with adults in the common refugee resettlement program, but before long the children were separated and given first claim and attention. The huge return of \$19,485,000 of the Near East Relief campaign of 1919 helped the Committee launch its widespread orphanage program. The majority of the 150,000 orphans of war were Armenians.

Mr. Barton writes:

"The fact that such large numbers survived was a striking tribute to the sacrificial spirit of the adults, especially the mothers who gave everything that the children might carry on, somehow, the glory of their former homes and prosperity."

As the Committee assumed the role of international child welfare agency, it set about to reunite broken families. Temporary shelters eventually became orphanage units, where medical aid was administered along with educational programs. By 1923, the orphanage enrollment had reached 60,000, of which 4,000 were in homes under Near East Relief supervision.

As feeding of the body was supplemented by feeding of the mind, the orphanages became known as "American schools." Trained teachers from mission boards of that region and from American colleges in Beirut and Constantinople were given charge of the children's education. The purpose of the Near East Relief, as stated in the words of its general secretary, Charles V. Vickery, became henceforth: "Not only to *save* life but to *make* life, bigger life, better life for a better day . . ." Or, in Mr. Barton's words "The tragic past had to be effaced by new activities and every child taught the simple art of smiling."

Mention must be made, too, of the post-orphanage programs of the Near East Relief which continued the work of rehabilitation into the children's later teens. Not only was work found for the "graduates" but low rental homes were maintained for the newly employed. And those who had unusual talent and ability were helped to obtain advanced education in major training schools and colleges.

By 1925, the Near East Relief Committee had drawn on the support of such organizations as the National Education Society, the International Federation of Labor, the Boy Scouts of America, the Federal Council of Churches and many others. It engaged as speakers such prominent figures as Bishop Cannon, Rabbi Wise, John F. Finley and Calvin Coolidge, not to mention the child movie star, Jackie Coogan who helped to publicize the milk campaign so effectively. Through its Golden Rule Sunday (the first Sunday in December), and its monthly magazine "The New Near East" (1920-24) it familiarized Americans with the Armenian story as no newspaper reports could have done. And having stirred the American conscience, it accomplished its great mission with rare distinction. By 1929, it was maintaining 47 orphanages,

65 hospitals and 23 other institutions whose aim was the physical and moral restitution of the displaced.

Owing to insufficient documents, we are unable to relate here in detail the help provided by the Lord Mayor's Fund of London, and by Danish and Swiss relief societies. The name of the great explorer and humanitarian, Fridtjoff Nansen of Norway, who was instrumental in establishing the "Nansenian passport," is always remembered with deep gratitude by Armenians, for it made it possible for stateless Armenians to travel from country to country. Moreover, Nansen headed a League of Nations mission to Armenia to arrange for the repatriation of over ten thousand refugees to Soviet Armenia.

The story of the revival of Armenians from desolate refugee status to respectable and distinguished citizenship over the period 1925-1930 and onward remains to be written. In its absence, one may aptly quote the following remarks of R. R. Reeder, from a book to which he contributed in 1924, "Reconstruction in the Near East:"

"The least helpless and most industrially efficient of all these deportees are the Armenians. Industrially and economically they "dig in" wherever they land with the least loss of time and means. In this respect their resourcefulness is little short of marvelous. Instead of living in great open or common barracks, they build family homes out of any material that comes to hand—straw, brush, boards, old pieces of tin, burlap or any other material that offers. Thus whole cities are quickly built, housing families from three to fifteen thousand people. Productive industry develops with the home building. . . . It is indeed an inspiration to anyone to see the manner in which these people land on their feet under circumstances as adverse as ever faced a pillaged, persecuted and deported people. Few if any Armenian hands were held out to us for alms in a country and among other peoples with whom 'backshish' is a characteristic word."

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Rebirth and Resurgence

REBIRTH AND RESURGENCE

Post War Period

The Armistice of 11 November 1918 brought respite for much of the world, but not for the Armenians. The Turkish armies, beaten by the Allies, retreated to central Anatolia. There was a temporary peace which gave assurance to the decimated remnants—men who had escaped or had miraculously survived the genocide, as well as women and children who had not become totally isolated in Turkish, Kurdish, or Arab villages or harems—to return to their ancestral homes. They were especially encouraged to do so in view of the occupation by Allied forces of various areas in Turkey, such as Cilicia (the Adana vilayet), Smyrna, Constantinople, Trebizon, and points in the interior.

But soon Allied interests gave rise to political maneuvering against one another. Unable to agree with the British on the division of the territorial spoils, the French who occupied the district of Cilicia, for reasons which to this day remain obscure, secretly armed the Turks, who lost no time in attacking Armenians in the very area of French occupation. Thus soon after their return to their homes, the luckless repatriates once more were obliged to fight for their very lives. At Aintab they successfully resisted the Turks and effected a remarkable exodus of the entire Armenian community through the Turkish lines into safer havens in Syria and Lebanon. At Hajin, after months of desperate resistance, they were finally overwhelmed and massacred (October 14, 1920), hoping to the very end for French relief forces which never came. Similarly massacred were the people in Marash, (January, 1920), Sheikh Mourad, (July 24, 1919), and elsewhere. An estimated 25,000-30,000 Armenians lost their lives. On September

4, 1921, the French ordered the evacuation of Armenians from Cilicia, followed quickly, on October 21, 1921, by a treaty with the Kemalist Turks. The exodus from Cilicia once more scattered the people and obliged them to seek refuge in countries of eastern Europe and the Middle East.

The small independent Republic of Armenia, which was established in 1918 in territory formerly held by Russia, and confirmed in August, 1920, by the Treaty of Sevres, likewise was in deep trouble. Hunger, pestilence, isolation from the outside world, threatened its existence. The American Near East Relief reported that from 200,000 to 250,000 people were at starvation point. 30,000 orphans were cared for in the city of Alexandropol (later Leninakan) by the Near East Relief. In November, 1920, the Turkish army attacked Armenia without provocation, with intent to destroy both the Republic and the Treaty of Sevres, which had been signed only three months earlier. Armenians had no choice but to become a member of the Soviet Union to save the remainder of the impoverished land and people from loss and annihilation.¹

At the Lausanne Conference between Turkey and the Allied Nations, between November 22, 1922 and February 7, 1923, there were two competing interests: one eager to make concessions to Turkey to gain oil rights, and the other, to uphold the rights of Christian minorities and the American rescue work in Asia Minor. The Lausanne Conference sacrificed the rights of minorities. "At Lausanne," reported E. H. Bierstadt "the Allies sold their birthright for a mess of pottage."²

In a speech delivered on October 14, 1922 in Manchester, Lloyd George, then the British Prime Minister declared: "Since 1914 the Turks, according to testimony—official testimony—we have received, have slaughtered in cold blood a million and a half Armenians, men, women, and children, and a half million Greeks without any provocation at all." (from E. H. Bierstadt). As William Gladstone had declared many years earlier, "Turkey was guilty of deeds surpassing in magnitude and vileness the most imaginative pictures of hell ever conceived." This was the lot of an unhappy people, whose main fault lay in an uncompromising will to hold to their Christian faith and their love of freedom. It was of these people that the historian Rene Grousset

1. The rejection of the American mandate on Armenia by the U.S. Senate, contrary to the wish of President Wilson, was a source of profound disappointment to all Armenians without exception.

²The Great Betrayal, Robert M. McBride & Co., New York, 1924.

wrote "What remains forever in the Armenian civilization, its cathedrals and its poets, its saints and its martyrs, is its spirituality. And this indestructible spirituality is Armenia." Reverend Charles E. Dole wrote: "The highest possible wish that we have for our Armenian brethren is that they will lead the world in their humanity. Their suffering gives them the first right to do so."

The Great War was won at the cost of tremendous sacrifices on the part of the Allies. But the vanquished enemy emerged a victor at the bargaining table.

Life and Progress in the Diaspora

A people of vision and of faith are not easily destroyed. This volume does not end with the horrors that have been described all too reservedly in the earlier chapters. We turn now to examine the experiences of the remnants who became scattered in countries far and near.

Whether in favorable or unfavorable environment, the Armenians managed to survive, to improve their lot, and indeed to make major contributions to the economy, progress and stability of every country that gave them refuge. In the fifty years that have elapsed since the days of horror, they have experienced a rebirth of rare quality. There seems to be almost no area of art, science, education, literature, sport, industry or profession, to which their members are not making substantial contributions around the world.

The Armenians came to Lebanon and Syria in utter destitution. In Beirut, Lebanon, they congregated in various quarters or open spaces surrounding the city and named their new homes after the towns they left behind. These new suburbs were named *Nor-Sis*, *Nor-Hajin*, *Nor-Marash*, *Nor-Adana* (Nor = new), etc. In their new homes they reconstructed their broken lives and economy. They soon held important positions in banking, in commerce, in the manufacture of flour, leather, rugs, metallurgy, lumber, photoengraving, printing, chromeplating, rubber goods, etc. Through their intensive industrial and cultural activities, the new settlers have contributed remarkably to the national economy of Lebanon.

In Lebanon Armenians are well known as architects, agricultural specialists, builders, and are well represented in the professions and in education. The majority of them are mechanics, artisans, skilled workers, tailors, shoemakers, goldsmiths, watch repairmen, stone masons or carpenters. They take pride in their work, and have helped to extend these qualities and skills to their fellow Lebanese workers.

They participate in the political life of their adopted country and have five Armenian members in the Lebanese Parliament. In Lebanon and Syria they now number 180,000, divided about equally between the two countries.

The educational achievements of the Armenian community in the Middle East are among the highest. (See Table I).

The schools are operated and supported by the Armenian communities and through the financial aid they receive from elsewhere, particularly from Armenian organizations in the United States of America. The Armenian General Benevolent Union maintains a dozen or more excellent primary and secondary schools in Beirut and other Near Eastern centers, and provides scholarships for university students. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, located in Lisbon, Portugal, makes grants in the form of University scholarships, for teacher training, teacher-in-service education, and for school maintenance.

The Melkonian Institute in Cyprus, the Armenian Haigazian College, and Palanjian (Lycee) Jemaran, of Beirut, are of note. In Aleppo, there is the Aleppo College which is a joint enterprise of the Armenian Protestant community, the Arab Protestant community, and the American Board of Missions. The Near East School of Theology in Beirut, Lebanon, is also a joint enterprise. There are two seminaries: one at Antelias, Lebanon, maintained by the Catholicate of Cilicia, and the other by the Armenian Patriarchate of St. James in Jerusalem. In Jouni, Lebanon, the Armenian Catholic community maintains a school for students preparing for priesthood. Wherever there is a sufficient number of Armenians, say 500 or more, there is a church and a school. The Armenian Catholic community is headed by a Patriarch-Catholicos, with a monastery at Zemmar and a church at Ainjar. The Armenian Evangelical community has three churches in Beirut, one in Tripoli, one in Zahle, and one in Ainjar.

Scores of Armenian students are graduated from the American University of Beirut and French University of St. Joseph. In 1955, thirty-six Armenian professors taught at the American and about a dozen at the French University.

Armenians have founded a number of modern hospitals: At the Azounieh Sanatorium, Armenians as well as Arabs are treated. One could mention also four smaller hospitals, the Armenian Clinic of the French St. Joseph University Medical School, 20 smaller clinics, and two maternity hospitals. The Armenian Medical Association publishes an official medical journal in Armenian.

TABLE I
EDUCATIONAL AND POPULATION CENSUS OF THE
ARMENIANS IN THE MIDDLE EAST
(1955)

Legends	Lebanon	Syria	Iraq	Jordan & Israel	Kuwait	Egypt	Cyprus	Turkey
Armenians:*	115,000	100,000	22,000	6,000	5,000	30,000	3,600	120,000
<i>Communicants</i>								
Apostolic	80,000	72,000	20,000					
Catholic	22,000	20,000	2,000	250	250			
Protestant	6,000	6,000	—	250				5,000
<i>Schools</i>								
Primary & Secondary	70	68	10	4	1	8	5	35
Students	13,502	16,850	2,176	613	?	1,670	656	5,000
Teachers	750	700	85	22	?	75	45	205
Pupil/ Teachers	18	24	25	28		22	15	24
<i>Newspapers</i>								
Dailies	4	1		1		2	2	2
All others	27	6		1		2	2	13

*During 1946-1948, about 100,000 Armenians from Lebanon, Syria and Iran were repatriated to Soviet Armenia.

Among cultural activities, scores of young Armenians have been graduated from the Lebanese Conservatory of Music and play important roles in the musical life of Lebanon. There are a number of cultural and educational organizations such as The Armenian General Benevolent Union, Hamazkayin, Veradsnount, Tekeyan Cultural Association, the Armenian Athletic Organization, and Armenian Young People's Association.

Armenians contribute to the literary life of Lebanon through Armenian as well as Arabic publications. About 21 newspapers and periodicals are published in Armenian in this busy little country.

It should be noted, however, that not all Armenians in Lebanon, Syria or in other countries of the Middle East have found success. There are many who continue to remain in very low income status because opportunities are scarce.

The Western Hemisphere has offered both safe shelter and opportunity to work, to learn, to build, and to contribute. The ingenuity

and innate capacity of Armenians for hard work and study in this environment of freedom and cultural advantage have been demonstrated in a remarkable way from the time of the first immigrants. When they first arrived men and women struggled, as did other immigrants, to keep body and soul together. No job was too lowly for them so long as it offered some chance to earn a living, to learn trades, to provide education for their children, and to become respected members of their new community. It was not easy for them to learn the American way of life, since their contacts were more often with immigrants of other ethnic groups than with native born Americans. But they managed. Those who were able to enter the medical and legal professions in the 1920's, did so at great price. But as they gradually achieved improved economic status through better jobs and through their own little business establishments, many more of their members went into advanced study and professional work.

The process is being repeated even now in the case of immigrants who find it necessary to leave the Middle East and Eastern Europe. Many of them are fleeing from political persecution or from extremely backward economic conditions to enter the United States and Canada.

Immigrants in South America likewise have been successful. In Buenos Aires alone there are about 40,000 Armenians. Most of them have achieved comfortable economic status or better. The community as a whole is highly respected for its major contributions to the industrial development of Argentina. They are engaged in very many industrial and commercial enterprises, and at the present time are leaning heavily in the direction of higher education and the professions. They provide leaders in education, in the arts and sciences, and in jurisprudence. The story is repeated on smaller scale in other cities of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Venezuela and Chile.

The most remarkable growth has been experienced in the United States. The early push for education, and then higher education, has continued without letup. Unfortunately there are not available useful statistics on the present status of Armenians in the Western Hemisphere. It seems that the people have been too busy doing things to give particular attention to statistics or survey studies.

One gains the impression that the ratio of young people of Armenian background who are enrolled in college level study is rather high, perhaps the highest of any ethnic group, in the United States*. It is

*This high ratio seems to hold also in the case of Armenians in the Soviet Union.

not surprising, therefore, that there is a good representation of old and young Armenians in the company of professional groups of all kinds. This is easily confirmed by such simple checks as are provided by the listings of physicians, dentists and lawyers in the large cities. Armenians number a little over one of every one thousand of the population of the United States. Some years ago a cursory check of the listings in American Men of Science identified over one hundred fifty Armenian names, not including names that had been changed from the Armenian forms. The rolls of professional societies show similar high representation.

A great many Armenians have entered the teaching profession, at all levels. Nearly every university of any size or importance in American education has at least one Armenian on its faculty. Many are engaged in government service, usually in the scientific or technological branches. The national technological projects engage substantial numbers of them, in the nuclear, space, and defense related industries and agencies.

They are represented as owners and managers of large engineering-construction firms. There are a number who own and operate engineering and other industrial firms of intermediate size (each employing hundreds of people), and larger numbers who own and operate smaller firms. These include printing and photo-engraving establishments, manufacture of machine tools, and commercial houses.

Armenians are well represented among musicians, composers, and singers in leading opera houses, instrument ensembles and symphony orchestras. Painters and sculptors are frequent among gallery exhibitors. There are some playwrights, actors and directors of theatre and cinema.

From abundant representation in the legal profession many have begun to move into municipal and state government functions and into the judiciary, and, we may add, at least one choice football coaching position.

We hope that some group will undertake a careful survey of the activities and status of Armenians in the United States.

Forty Years of Progress in Armenia
Territory and Population

We turn now to Armenia, to see what has been her experience over these forty years in Armenia, in the largest concentration of

Armenians. It has not been a comfortable forty years under the political and economic restraints that have characterized the Soviet Union. There have been periods of violent internal political purges, and a second World War which made very heavy demands on the Armenians for men and industrial products. Despite these, the development of ethnic cultures and skills has been given opportunity, making the country one of the most interesting and progressive corners of the Union.

Fortunately there have been several studies of developments in Armenia, available for use in this book.

The territory of the present Armenian SSR covers 29.8 thousand square kilometers, or 11,500 square miles. It is divided into 33 administrative regions. It is bounded by Georgia to the north, Azerbaijan to the southwest, Iran to the south, and Turkey to the west. A mountainous country, 90% of the land is 3000 feet or more above sea level. The highest landmark is the Arakadz Mountain with an altitude of 14,000 feet, while the lowest altitude is 1100 feet above sea level. Only 47.9% of the land is suitable for agriculture, 11.7% is covered by forests and brush, 5.2% is under water, and about 33.2% of the land is barren mountains, rocks, and stony, salty areas unsuitable for farming. The land is rich in minerals—copper, molybdenum, gold, numerous metals, iron, and other minerals. Indeed, almost every element of the periodic table is found in the soil of Armenia. Non-metallic elements include kitchen salt, tuffa stone of various hues, bemza, limestone, basalt, marble, heat-resistant clays for industrial uses, and raw materials which are sources for cyanides and for the aluminum industry. There are about 400 mineral springs, of which several have medicinal value.

Of all the republics of the Soviet Union, the population of Armenia is the most homogeneous, and historians tell us that at no other time in history has the land been so densely peopled by the Armenians. The population comprises 88% Armenians, 6.1% Azerbaijanis, 3.2% Russians, and a small number of Greeks, Kurds, and Assyrians. The total number of Armenians in the Soviet Union, according to the 1959 census was 2,787,000, of which 87.14% lived in the Caucasus—1,552,000 in Armenia, 443,000 in Georgia, 442,000 in Azerbaijan, 350,000 in Northern Caucasus, Russian and Ukrainian republics.

In 1959, the population density of Armenia was 153.6 persons per square mile (59.3/sq. km.), compared with 24.3 persons per

square mile (9.4/sq. km.) for the Soviet Union. The densest population is on the plains of Ararat which are heavily industrialized as well as intensively cultivated for farming. Here 42% of the population is concentrated; in this zone, the population density is 360 persons per square kilometer or 932.4 persons per square mile.

TABLE II
COMPARATIVE BIRTH, DEATH AND GROWTH RATES

Ratio	Yerevan Province 1884-1914		In 1959					
	Range	Average	Armenia	U.S.A.	France	Italy	Japan	England
Birth/1000	32.9-36.7	35.2	41.0	24.1	18.4	18.4	17.5	16.9
Death/1000	18.6-34.8	23.2	7.9	9.4	11.3	9.3	7.4	11.7
Growth/1000	12.0-16.2	12.0	33.1	14.7	7.1	9.7	10.1	5.2

TABLE III
ARMENIA: POPULATION DENSITY/SQ. KILOMETER

Year	Population x 1000	Persons/sq. Km.
1913	1,000	33.6
1920	798	26.8
1964	2,070	69.5
1981 (estimated)	3,150	105.7

Cultural Developments

Libraries, Clubs and Cultural Houses

The educational and cultural gains of the people of Armenia have been truly phenomenal over these forty years. Tables IV, V and VI give the statistics on education and literary changes and comparisons. In 1913, there were 13 libraries with 120,000 books. In 1960 there were 2801 libraries, containing 16.5 million books of all types. There is not a single community in all of Armenia which does not have one or more libraries. The Alexander Miasnikian library, founded in 1921, contains 4.5 million volumes. The library of the State University, and the municipal libraries of Yerevan and Leninakan are noteworthy.

Clubs and cultural houses are a new phenomenon in Armenia. As of 1960, there were 1043 clubs and 59 cultural houses distributed in cities, towns, and villages. Linked with these centers, there were 2800

societies and 50 cultural study centers (People's universities) and schools for the education of the average citizen. Table VII gives some additional statistics on social aspects.

Theater:

Great strides have been taken in the field of drama since 1920. There are peoples' theaters and travelling theatrical groups. An Opera House for opera and ballet was built in 1932 to accommodate the growing interests of the masses. The performances in the Opera House include, in addition to foreign vintage, a number of Armenian operas including "Almast," "Anoush", "David Beg", "Arshak II", "Lousapatzin" (At Daybreak), "Ardzvaberd," and the ballets "Gayane" and "Khantout", and others.

Cinema:

There are 538 cinema houses and theaters, of which eighty are in cities and 458 in the villages. From 1924 to 1960, Armenia's cinematographers made 225 films and 900 cine-journals.

Press:

The printing of books in Armenia began in 1512, very early in the history of printing. In 1913 there were printed 55 titles, totalling 80,000 volumes. During 1959, there were published 1168 books, totalling more than seven million volumes. There are now published and circulated 87 newspapers (total circulation 356,000), 63 monthlies and magazines (total circulation 1,904,000). It is remarkable that, among the fifteen Soviet republics, Armenia which is third from the lowest in terms of population occupies the fourth highest place with respect to the number of book titles and eighth highest place with respect to the total numbers of books published.

Before 1920, there were four printing presses with a capacity of five million printed pages per year. There are today fifty-five printing presses with a printing capacity of 200 million pages. Books published in Armenia are being sold in fifty different foreign countries, including China, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, the United Arab Republic, France, Iran, England, Japan, Austria, Finland, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Arabic countries, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, and others.

Music:

The centuries-old music of the Armenian people took new life and direction. For many years old songs inspired creative musicians, such

as D. Chouhajian, Gara-Murza, Ekmalian, Komitas, Khachadourian, Tigranian, Spendarian, Milikian, and others. Revival of musical activities necessitated the creation of new cultural centers, such as the State

TABLE IV
EDUCATIONAL CENSUS OF ARMENIA
(Number of Pupils in Public Schools)

Year	Grades 1-4	Grades 5-10	Higher Education	Total No. of Pupils	Population
1914/15	32,400	2,400	100	34,900	1,000,100 (1913)
1927/28	72,800	15,300	1,600	89,600	881,300 (1926)
1961/62	198,700	188,000	22,100	408,800	1,957,800
1964	—	—	—	461,800	2,100,000

Conservatory of Music, the State Theater of Opera and Ballet, and the State Philharmonia. There are today thirty-seven schools of music where students receive basic training. The works of these young musicians have extended beyond Armenia to capture the enthusiasm of non-Armenian public as well. In this respect, the *Gomidas String Quartet*, the state quartet of the entire Soviet Union, organized in 1925 in Armenia, has won world-wide acclaim. The *Armenian Song and Dance Ensemble* enjoys popularity in all the republics of the Soviet Union, the United Arab Republic, Lebanon, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, etc. The symphonic orchestra has performed in several European countries. More than twenty of the artists engaged in these activities have won international prizes. In 1960, the membership in the Society of Armenian Composers numbered seventy.

TABLE V
LITERACY OF THE PEOPLE
(From 1 to 49 years of age)

Year	% Literacy	% Literacy Men	% Literacy Women
1897	9.2	14.5	2.9
1926	38.7	53.7	22.7
1959	98.4	99.2	97.6

Sculpture, Painting and Museums: Armenia has been singled out as the museum of historical monuments in the entire Soviet Union. Twenty museums have been founded, exhibiting objects of historical, archaeological, literary, or artistic interest. The art of painting, exemplified by richly illuminated manuscripts, and the art of sculpture,

TABLE VI

A Comparative Estimate* of the Number of Schools, Pupils, etc. of Various Countries

Countries	% Illiteracy	Schools No. of	Colleges and Universities	Total No. of Students x 1000	Population x million	Population	Students Explanation
Armenia**	1.6	1,260	11	46.18(8)	2,1 (8)	4.5	(1)—1953 (2)—1950
Belgium	3.1	17,306	19	1,860.00(4)	9,2 (5)	5.0	(3)—1957 (4)—1959
Bulgaria	24.2(1)	12,697	32	1,672.00(3)	7,98(6)	4.9	(5)—1962 (6)—1961
Canada	negligible	28,620	120	4,316 (4)	18,2 (6)	4.2	(7)—1960 (8)—1964
France	3.3	94,787	151	9,516 (4)	46,3	4.8	
Greece	23.5(2)	11,684(3)	8	1,244 (3)	8,38(6)	6.7	
Iran	high	10,319(4)	1	1,614 (4)	21,3 (5)	13.2	
Turkey	65.4	22,784(4)	13	3,030 (4)	27,8 (7)	9.8	
U.S.A.	negligible	124,685	681	46,259	185,8	4.2	

*The data for all countries, except for Armenia, are taken from the *1964 Information Please Almanac, Atlas and Year Book*, 33 East 48th St., New York City, N. Y.

**In 1964, there were 1260 public schools with 461,000 pupils and 26,000 teachers. In 1958-1959, there were 37 High Schools for specialization with 14,000 students (289 students/1000) and 11 Institutions (6 of higher learning) with 19,600 students (28 students/1000). There were 76 scientific research institutes with 4084 research workers, of whom 158 had Doctor's degree and 1431 were candidates for Doctor's degree. Yerevan, the capital, with over 650,000 population (1964), has 58 research institutes, 10 institutions for higher learning, 18 high schools for specialized studies and 129 public schools. There are over 6000 students in the State University. The Polytechnic School has graduated 7000 specialized engineers from the thirty different branches of the school.

architecture, and building exemplified by churches, remains of fortresses and palaces represent a rich artistic tradition in Armenia. The School of Art was founded in 1925, and the Institute of Art and Theater following World War II. Subsequently, a museum of art came into being which gained fame as one of the important galleries of the Soviet Union. The nucleus of the organization of artistic activities took form during the period of 1921-1928 through the efforts of veteran and pioneer painters including M. Saryan, S. Agachanian,

P. Terlemezian, K. Kurkjian, V. Kayfejian, V. Akhikian, S. Aroudjian, and sculptors Ara Sarkissian, S. Stepanian, Ourardu, and others. The Society of Arts, organized in 1932, had in 1960 a membership of 270. Young artists usually complete their training in the higher institutions of Leningrad and Moscow, and enter their works in the exhibitions of Moscow, London, Belgium, Paris and New York. The Society of Architects numbered 150 members in 1960.

Science in Armenia

Despite invasions, domination by foreign powers, and destructive wars, the Armenian people have given to the world scholars, scientists and investigators from very early years. *The History of Armenia* stands as a monumental work of the fifth-century historian Movses Khoronatzi. The ruins of the architectural monuments give evidence of the depth of the knowledge of the Armenian builders in the fields of mechanics and geometry. The mathematical sciences reached their zenith in the seventh century in the person of Anania Shirakatsi and other mathematicians.

TABLE VII
Growth of Medical Care in Armenia (1913-1958)*

Medical Fields	1913	1940	1958	Comment
Hospitals	6	96	268	
Hospital beds	212	4092	11,590	19,140 in 1965
Hospital beds/10,000 persons	2.1(1)	30.1	65.7	
Medical examination centers (women and children)	0	51	146	
Mental hygiene stations	4	13	43	
Physicians	57	929	3876(2)	
Dentists	16	91	291	
Dispensary	—	61	108	190 in 1965
Sanatorium (for children)				3,820 beds
Malarial cases/10,000 persons	—	427	0.05	only 10 cases in
Medical research institutes	none		8	1958

*Reference—*Hygiene in Armenia*. By S. Nanasian, R. Parsutian, and A. Krikorian, pp. 101, 1961, Yerevan, Armenia, State press.

(1) In 1892, one in every 2607 sick persons could be given a hospital bed.

(2) In 1892, there was one physician for every 42,000 persons; 4 in 1965; physicians 4,000; health officials 10,000.

Loss of statehood, domination by ruthless invaders, brought sharp decline in the scientific growth of Armenia.

During the 18th and 19th centuries there developed an intellectual and cultural renaissance in Venice and Vienna through the Armenian Mekhitarists, and through the work of students who were trained and educated in German and Russian universities. Among these were the minerologist Andreas Ardzrouni, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences whose name is perpetuated by the mineral Ardzrounide; Stepan Nazarian, Professor at the University of Kazan; historian N. A. Adonts; physiologist L. A. Orbelli; physician and professor M. I. Astvadsatourian; A. S. Kechikian of international fame and others.

The State University came into being after 1920. By 1930, new institutions of higher learning and research were founded. Distinguished Armenian scientists and scholars came from foreign lands to organize the study of the arts, sciences, and technology. Among others, the leadership was taken over by H. Ajarian, Stepan Malkasian, M. Abeghian, Hagop Manandian, in Armenological studies. In this period also the School of Chemistry came into being through the efforts of Prof. Stepan B. Ghambarian, who was trained in Germany and, as a pioneer, laid the foundation for the huge synthetic rubber industry in Armenia. The engineer H. A. Astvadsatourian, founded the School of Hydroengineering. In the absence of coal and gas in Armenia, water became the principal source of energy. Therefore, skill in hydroelectric engineering had to be achieved to develop the hydro-engineering system of the Sevan Lake Cascade.

During the first two decades, many young scientists travelled to the Universities of Leningrad and Moscow for training and perfecting their skills before undertaking responsibilities in Armenia. But as it became clear that the needs of Armenia could not be met by this circuitous route, there was established in Armenia a branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The Armenian Academy of Sciences was founded in November 1943.

The Armenian Academy of Sciences

The founding of the Academy of Sciences must be looked upon as an event of epochal significance for Armenia. It became a center for the cultural renaissance and expression of the creative forces of the people. At the beginning a few Russian scientists came to direct the activities of the young scientists. But soon, their places were taken over

by such men as A. I. Alichanian brothers, the well-known authorities on nuclear physics and cosmic rays, Victor Ambartsounian, the world-renowned astrophysicist, Hrachia Ajarian, the polyglot philologist of European fame; Manouk Abeghian, Armenologist, Hacob Manandian, the critical historian; L. A. Orbelli, the physiologist of the Pavlov Institute; Kh. S. Koshtojants, the comparative physiologist of Moscow University; Hovsep A. Orbelli, the historian and archeologist and first president of the Academy; Hrachia Buniatian, biochemist, toxicologist, and brain specialist; L. H. Hovhanessian, physician and medical historian; Armenag Munjoian, organic chemist, and others. These men guided the activities of the Academy and supervised the training of a whole generation of young scientists. The Academy now occupies a respected place among the academies of the world. In 1963, the membership consisted of 39 academicians and 32 corresponding members, and 3100 scientists working on various problems. Of these, 518 have doctor's degrees or are Candidates.¹ The Academy now publishes monthly proceedings for each of the following branches of science: physics and mathematics, biology, chemistry, geology, technology, social sciences, experimental medicine, historiography, and reports of the Academy. The Academy of Sciences has 23 branch libraries which exchange publications with 46 countries and 727 scientific institutions and individual scientists throughout the world.

Historical and linguistic research constituted a main interest of the Academy during its early years. Today the Academy comprises an integrated system of 28 institutes which are engaged in theoretical and applied aspects of the physical, biological and social sciences. Among other things, the largest magnetic mass-spectroscope in the Soviet Union was created in Armenia for the study of cosmic rays. A radio-interference telescope, the largest in the Soviet Union, was likewise constructed in Armenia and is used for the observation of the weak and discrete sources of radio waves. For astronomical observations, a powerful, wide-angle optical telescope was built. Electronic computers are built and used for the solution of mathematical problems, theoretical cybernetics, mathematical philology and mechanical translations. The construction of a cyclotron (electron accelerator) has recently been completed for the purpose of generating particles with an energy of six billion electron-volts. Complex problems of the physical and

¹It should be noted that the doctoral degree in the Soviet Union represents a higher degree of effort, and of years, than is the case of the doctoral degree in the United State. The Candidate may remain in that status for many years.

mathematical sciences are studied in the Institute of Mathematics and Mechanics. There have been important contributions to the theory of functions and approximations in regard to functional equations and functional analysis, the concepts and techniques of cybernetics have been applied to the investigation of problems of energetics and electrophysics and for the technological advancement of the public economy.

The successful preparation of scientific personnel to staff the research centers represent a very great achievement. As a result, the above-mentioned radio-interference telescope was wholly constructed through the joint efforts and skills of the mechanical laboratory of the Academy of Sciences and the Radio-Astronomy division of the Bura-kan Astronomical Observatory. The electro-technologists have built a large mechanical mathematical analogue computer which enables them to investigate complex electro-energetic systems such as the combined energy system of the Northern Caucasus. Building of their own experimental centers, construction of precision machinery, and expansion of the machine tool industry, enjoy priority in their planning for the future.

The machine tool industry manufactures generators, transformers, mobile electric stations, transformer sub-stations, electric cables, lamps, automation systems, electrical precision equipment, microammeters, high-tension current indicators, current monitors, automatic regulators for thermal energy processes, metal cutters and pressers, quarry stone machinery, etc. The center for the industrial production of electronic computers was completed in 1962. Computers made in Armenia have been awarded gold medals in comparative contests with machines of other origins.

Geological Research. Because the economy of Armenia requires exploitation of natural resources, the Academy places special emphasis on geological surveying and on research for such exploitation. As a result of geological research of recent years, it has become evident that, despite its small size, Armenia has some of the richest mineral deposits of the Soviet Union. The natural resources include molybdenum and rhenium mines, large amounts of copper deposits, gold, unlimited sources for the manufacture of cyanamides, aluminum, and chemicals from the extensive deposits of rock salt, marble, tuffa of many colors, pemza, etc. The copper and molybdenum combine in the newly founded city of Kacharan at an altitude of 6000 feet, the copper and molybdenum combine of Dastakerd, the mines of Akarak, and the copper mines of Allaverdi are being operated with the latest type

of mining machinery and are experiencing unusual growth. Within the Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Geophysics and Seismology is engaged in the study of the lower depth of the earth for their relevance to anti-seismic construction problems in the Leninakan region, and for the synthesis of useful products from natural gases.

Chemical Industry. There are four large research institutes of chemistry, and chemical laboratories directly associated with industrial manufacturing establishments. These institutes are engaged in studies involving inorganic chemistry (particularly the chemistry of silicates), organic synthesis, polymer chemistry, synthesis of biologically active substances, and the chemistry of rare elements. The chemical industry is engaged in the production of synthetic rubber, auto tires, ammonia, caustic soda, calcium carbide, nitrogenous and phosphate fertilizers, copper sulphate, oil paints, enamels, poluvinyl acetate, polymers, articles for rubber technology, mineral textiles, optical lenses, synthetic precious stones, glass, artificial silk, rayon, pharmaceuticals, building materials, and items necessary for the food industry.

Burakan Observatory. The concepts advanced by the Burakan astronomers about the evolution and dynamics of cosmic bodies, especially relating to galaxies, have created world-wide interest and recognition. Evidence of this interest is shown by the fact that more than 100 foreign scholars have come to Armenia to receive special training during the last three years. Prof. Victor Ambartsoumian, the President of the Academy and the Director of the Burakan Observatory, is the President of the International Society of Astronomers and an honorary member of thirteen academies of foreign countries. The Congress of Astronomers met in Burakan in 1962.

Institute of Fine Organic Chemistry. The determination of the selective effects of synthetic compounds has achieved noteworthy successes, producing several pharmacologically useful compounds which are applied medically throughout the Soviet Union and elsewhere. The director of the Institute, Prof. A. L. Munjoian has authored a series of volumes on the synthesis of heterocyclic compounds, which have been translated into English and published in England and the United States.

Institute of Biochemistry. Hormonal substances which expand the heart vessels have been isolated. There have been extensive studies on the permeability of the brain barrier and on the functional role of the components of the brain structure. Prof. H. Ch. Buniatian, Director of the Institute and also Vice-President of the Academy, is a member

of the Committee on Brain Physiology of the United Nations UNESCO organization.

Institute of Plant Kingdom. The flora of Armenia will be analyzed in a twelve-volume publication, of which four volumes have already been published. Plant research has yielded important findings in relation to the mechanism of physiological processes underlying ontogenetic and phylogenetic propagations.

The Institute of Animal Kingdom has made important contributions to the study of animal life of Armenia. There is interest in eradicating harmful animals, and in the propagation of useful animal species. Noteworthy advances have been made in the field of acclimatization and hybridization.

The Institution of Physiology is engaged in research on the sympathetic nervous system and brain functions, and on physiological processes of fertility that have bearing on the productivity of chickens and on the fat content of milk. The Institute has been expanded by the addition of laboratories of biophysics and life-sciences.

The Institute of Microbiology has determined biological characteristics of the soils of Armenia for the purpose of cultivating agricultural bacterial populations in different soils as a means of fertilization. They have discovered micro-organisms which, by their metabolic products, contribute to crop increase and produce other valuable products such as antibiotics.

The Agricultural Chemical Laboratory has conducted basic research for the chemical fertilization of hitherto desolate regions. An agro-chemical atlas is being prepared to guide the proper utilization of fertilizers. Soilless agricultural projects for the growth of vegetable under artificial nutritional conditions offer new prospects to agriculture.

Biological and Medical:

Since 1963, Institutes of Röentgenology and Oncology, Institutes of Heart Sciences and Heart Surgery and the section of radiobiology have achieved successes in the training of young scientists and in the acquisition of new equipment.

Institute of History, Language, Literature, Archaeology, and Ethnography.

Until 1920, Armenological studies were carried on in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Venice, Moscow and elsewhere, by Armenians and non-Armenians who by chance were attracted to the subject. Within

Armenia, a new Armenology took root after 1920. An Institute of Philology was founded in 1935, and during the last thirty years, this Institute has become the authoritative center for Armenological studies. It comprises some 36 divisions. About 185 trained scholars with doctoral degrees and Candidates are engaged in research under the leadership of veteran scholars. The subjects under study include the collection of Armenian dialects and the establishment of their characteristics, the structure of grammar, its history, problems of lexicography, history of Armenian literature, archeology, ethnography, philosophy, etc. In the Institutes and the Departments of Oriental Studies and Philosophy, there are 36 centers with 420 scholars and technical scientists. Of these, 185 have Doctor's degrees or are Candidates.

Armenologists of Armenia have published monographs on various epochs of the history of the Armenian people, relating to socio-economic advances, class struggle, the development of the national liberation movement, and historical problems. The study and publication of documentary archives, memoirs, and chronological writings on the Russo-Armenian relations have produced an enormous volume of material on the ancient, medieval and modern history of Armenia. Monographs on the serf system in Armenia, the trades and arts of cities during the Medieval Ages, social movements and sociological thought of the Armenian people, etc., have been published.

Archeological excavations in Armenia have created wide interest both within and outside the Soviet Union. There have been findings pertaining to the culture of the Paleolithic and Neolithic eras, the pre-Bronze Age, and to the socio-economic position and growth of the Urartu Kingdom (based on the rich findings uncovered during the excavations of Karmir-Bloor and Arim fortress). Archeological findings at the Garni fortress and pagan temple have brought out rich information pertaining to the Helleno-Armenian cultural relationships.

Excavations of Tuwin, the capital city of Armenia during the Middle Ages, have yielded an enormous number of articles of special significance concerning the economy, life, trades, arts and culture of a large city of that period and its commercial and cultural relation with neighboring countries. Of importance are the collection and publications of inscriptions carved on burial stones, church walls, and monuments supplementing the illuminated manuscripts as historical information. The ethnographers of the Academy are engaged in the prepa-

ration of an ethnographic atlas of the Armenian people. Special studies are in progress for the collection of stories, sayings and proverbs for systematic study and publication.

The *Department of Oriental Studies* is engaged in the study of the history, literature, and economic problems of the Near and the Middle East, and questions pertaining to Kurdology. Numerous volumes on these subjects have already been published. The history of the problems of the socialistic political economy and the development of Armenian thought are other subjects for study.

Library of Illuminated Manuscripts

Among the monuments and historical treasures of Armenia, the Library of Illuminated Manuscripts is the proudest possession. Founded in 1959, the Library soon became the center for research into the historical past of the nation and the treasury of cultural, economic, political, religious, philosophical, and scientific thoughts and achievements of centuries. The older centers for scholarship—Haghbad, Sanahin, Glatzor, Tatev, Etchmiadzin, Aghtamar, Moush, Erzinga, and Cilicia—where most of the manuscripts were written, are now either silenced or inactive. The light they offered in the past is now concentrated in this Library, which like a mirror, reflects the totality of the mind and soul of the classical scholars of Armenia.

Following the liberation of Armenia from Persian rule by Russia (in 1828), as of 1837 there were in various collections illuminated manuscripts.

By 1863, Etchmiadzin had gathered 2340 manuscripts from other areas, and increased this to 4660 manuscripts by 1914. To save them from destruction by the invading Turkish army during World War I, the manuscripts were taken to Moscow. In 1922, the manuscripts were brought back from Moscow and nationalized. Up to this period, 1730 manuscripts had been salvaged from Turkish destruction and brought to Armenia by the Armenians fleeing from Lim, Gdantz, Aghtamar, Varak, Van, and Moush. 2000 additional manuscripts were brought to Armenia from Nor-Nakhitchevan, the Lazarian Institute of Moscow, the Ethnographical Society's Library of Tiflis, The Sanasarian College, and other centers. In 1955, 55 manuscripts were sent as a gift by the Armenian colony in Rumania. Thus, by 1959, there were 13,000 manuscripts and 1838 numbered fragments. The Library houses

the archives of the Catholicate of Etchmiadzin with 36,761 titles, 33,342 documentary personal archives, and 8702 Lazarian documents. It also houses a rich collection of books in European, Russian, and Armenian languages. Directives are prepared for the study of manuscripts covering the subjects of historiography, philosophy, grammar, geography, cosmography, medicine, alchemy, arts, literature, science, and documentary material. Up to 1959, 600 studies had been made on these subjects. By the application of scientific methods, more than 150 manuscripts recovered from a cave in a petrified state were restored to a usable condition.

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The Present and the Future

VI

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

The Purposes of This Volume



The events described in this volume have not been pleasant to recite or to recall. They open wounds afresh in the hearts of the many Armenians who shared those horrors and who must live with memories that dull very slowly. They recall the days of horror when as young children they watched helplessly as fathers breathed their last and mothers were violated. They recall the agonies that drove mothers to hurl their own infants and themselves to drown in swollen rivers before the enemy. To chronicle these events is not easy.

What, then, are the objectives of this particular volume?

Perhaps we should state first what *are not* the objectives. It is not a call for vengeance on the Turkish people. Courses of action based on vengeance have proved meaningless and futile in the history of society. Vengeance serves only to perpetuate unceasing violence. It is meaningless because it neither restores loved ones nor erases horrors from memory. It is meaningless because its execution would nullify the heroism and sacrifice of a people on whom the sword fell because they loved freedom and the doctrines of Christ. It is meaningless because it detracts from a realistic preparation for a happier future. Vengeance is best left to the Lord.

But the elimination of vengeance does not nullify a need to document these events, events which pass all too quickly from the memory of most nations. Nor does absence of a spirit of vengeance eliminate the requirement that the Turkish people admit to their acts and designs in the Great Crime. Until this day both the government and people of Turkey have arrogantly pursued a policy of denial of the facts of the

massacres, and have relied on the gullibility of the rest of the world, in order to make it easier to propagate the Great Lie on the situation in the Middle East. The world, even the nations which saved tens of thousands of Armenian and Greek refugees from certain death, have appeared susceptible to this deceptive propaganda posture.

There is great need for the facts to be known within Turkey, so that the new generation of Turks may adopt a more humane attitude toward minorities in their realm and toward the small nations that are their neighbors. There is need for the facts to be remembered again by the world at large so that the festering problems of the Middle East can be studied afresh by the United Nations. These problems will surely worsen, and wrong will continue to beget wrong, unless good and enduring solutions are achieved through honest study and peaceful negotiation.

This volume thus serves first to review an aspect of human history which has been badly neglected by historians. It is hoped that this modest effort will revive the interest of humanitarians and of statesmen in the unhappy events of that period, and find a parallel response in the conscience of governments on whose judgment and convenience hangs the peace of the world.

In the absence of adequate attention to the events of that period, the sacrifices of the men, women and children who perished have not been given due recognition. More than that, such absence tends to perpetuate callous indifference to the horrors which man can work on man even in our own day of world wide communication. It is both incredible and frightening that the penalty of death for Christian or for any other worship can be imposed on large numbers of people in this age while the world stands by. It is even more distressing when the international competitive policies of Christian nations make such violence more likely.

There is therefore a responsibility to be shouldered by the Armenians, and indeed by the whole world, to look squarely at these events. It is altogether fitting that churches take note of the sacrifice of these most recent of martyrs, for truly did they prefer freedom and Christian worship to life itself. It is fitting that people of other faiths pay tribute to these people, for truly their example is an inspiration to all men who would curb terror, violence, and intolerance toward freedom of worship and of life.

But memorial observances alone cannot suffice. Sacrifices of such magnitude have meaning if the lessons derived from them result also

in values for the future which are commensurate with the heavy cost. The policy of the past century has been to sacrifice the interests of conquered people of the Middle East to the commercial and political interests of the Western powers. That policy has proved to be too bankrupt, for too many generations to warrant continuation. Therefore, along with review there is needed a thorough analysis of the political factors that brought about, or contributed to, these events. The present volume cannot attempt this important task. It is a task that historians and specialists in international relations, and especially the United Nations, must undertake. Meanwhile there will be especial need to watch the results of the present exposure of facts, and of the observances of the 50th anniversary of the massacres, lest these bring heavy reprisal on the Armenians and Greeks who still remain in territories that are controlled by Turkey.

In addition to reviewing the period of these massacres, this volume describes the experiences and progress of the Armenians who survived. Those who remained in the Middle East managed to find refuge in friendly Arab lands. Those who found refuge in the part of Armenia which is within the Soviet Union became subject to the vicissitudes of the Stalin regime. Others found haven in Europe and in the Western Hemisphere, the largest group reaching the United States.

Wherever they lived, the remnants showed amazing vitality, adaptability and progress. The martyrdom of the 1915 period was followed by a "resurrection." Their present extensive participation in advanced educational, scientific, industrial, technological and cultural activities around the world contrasts sharply with the continuing backwardness and menace of the Turkey which sought to destroy them.

The 50th anniversary therefore brings, along with sad memories, a sense of thanksgiving and of fresh dedication to the service of mankind.

The Struggle to Exist and to Worship

Relatively few nations and ethnic groups, whose roots reach into the dim past, have survived the ravages of time and of history. It has been said that the continued existence of the Armenian people to this day is something of a miracle. Instead of disappearing or barely surviving the repeated attempts at their annihilation by powerful enemies, the people of this nation continue to demonstrate remarkable vigor and a lively response to the excitement of this century.

What perpetuates life in these people against all the forces of hell? The answer may lie in a combination of geographic and temperamental factors, along with certain events of modern history in which they have been privileged to share. As mentioned earlier, geography placed them at the crossroads of conquerors who brought new cultures along with terror and destruction. They learned to live with mighty neighbors and conquerors and to adapt to each new wave that engulfed them. In the process they achieved a strong national consciousness and character that stood apart from neighboring nations.

With the beginnings of Christianity so near to their precious Mount Ararat, there emerged a wellspring that eventually nourished the Western civilization. It was within these waters that the Armenian people chose baptism of faith, a faith that brought over sixteen centuries of spiritual strength. Formal adoption of the Christian Faith at the turn of the 4th century forever allied Armenia with the ideals and thinking of the West, and correspondingly sharpened the differences with her neighbors. It encouraged a stronger sense of national purpose and character, and a golden age of scholarship and new literature. The language and literature of the Christian nation, her art, her church, gave single-minded expression to the new faith. Her artisans drew from the skills of the whole world to give birth to a new church architecture that was uniquely Armenian. The Church stood jealous guard over her autocephalous character, and in an area where violence and self-interest were the accepted way of life, she inspired her members with the moderation of the Golden Rule. In a region that assigned little value to human life there came new awareness of the worth of the individual. In a period when nations counted only military victory or shameful defeat, the martyrdom of Vardan and of his comrades in arms at Avarair in 451 A.D., in defense of freedom of worship stood as an eternal memorial and tacit assent to the superior merits of spiritual triumph.

Avarair was neither the beginning nor the end. The fires of Mazdaism gave way to the scimitar of Islam, whose sword spread death and destruction to much of Europe and Africa.

The Political Thorns

While the Turkish authorities were directly responsible for these horrors, their truculence would have been less destructive if the fierce economic and political competition among Christian powers had not been a factor in neutralizing every effort to do justice to an oppressed

people. The terror would have been greatly curtailed had not the powers of Western Europe supported a criminal state against one another. The reasons for the decision to resort to genocide had their roots in the history and lack of success of Turkish conquests. The Turks originated in Asia, and overran the Middle East, northern Africa, and much of Europe. They were forced to withdraw from the latter areas, but succeeded in retaining a foothold in the Middle East where they are to this day. But the Ottoman Empire was always more successful in military invasion than in establishing a successful government in the lands it conquered. Even within the reduced areas of the Middle East the Ottoman Empire found its position to be shaky, full of corruption and incompetence. The Armenians constituted the most enterprising element of the population, and might have succeeded in building up the country despite their status as second class subjects. The Turkish rulers could have gained a great deal had they given a greater degree of freedom to the Armenians. Instead, the tottering Empire saw a menace in the racial and religious differences of the Armenians. Their racial, temperamental and religious background, and their long tradition as invaders and conquerors, could not brook peaceful coexistence with a more settled people. They therefore felt compelled to resort to persecution of a scapegoat to draw attention away from their own failures and weaknesses. The attitude of the government toward other subject minorities was nearly as unfortunate.

The Christian nations of Europe were not unaware of the weakness and anachronism of the Ottoman Empire and of its cruelty to the minority groups. Such intervention as was attempted on behalf of the Armenians served only to focus the wrath of the government on them, more strongly than ever. The more the Armenians were oppressed, the more the Europeans used the situation "to look into the matter" and interfere with Turkish policy, the more sternly did the government act against the Armenians. The Turks knew only too well that while the European powers had no love for the Turkish government, none of them would permit another power to rule the Dardanelles. Therefore European interest was assessed to be more in the nature of irritating interference than as intervention with positive intent.

During World War I President Wilson pressed the concept of self determination for minorities. Simultaneously an independent Republic of Armenia was established to permit Armenia, Turkey and others in that area to live side by side. But, as noted earlier, the neighboring countries attacked and took away choice land. The choice regions of

the Mountains of Ararat fell before the Turkish attack. Finally, the Soviet Union absorbed the remainder.

The coming of Communism brought confusion on both local and international scale. To the role of Western Europe in support of Turkey there was added United States support for the purpose of containing Communism. The action seemed unavoidable over the first four decades of Communism, despite sharp conflict with every ideal which characterized the people and policies of the United States. Billions of dollars of U. S. tax money have been poured into Turkey to bolster her economy and industrialization, though the situation in that country seems to remain essentially unchanged. The continuation of such a policy beclouds the fact that certain areas are today within Turkish frontiers as a result of the attack on Armenia in 1920. That captive land, which includes Mount Ararat and valleys which are fertile but are now largely desolate, very much needs the skill and enterprise of the very people whom the Turks destroyed or drove out. In fact the total Turkish economy even now suffers because of the most unwise policy of genocide of the Armenians.

Across the borders of this undeveloped area lies Soviet Armenia, where hard work and native ability and persistence have worked wonders despite the political restraints. Science, industry, education, agriculture have prospered against severe obstacles. As part of the Soviet Union, Armenia has had opportunity to build and grow, despite the Stalin purges and World War II. Seldom during her long history has Armenia been free of armed attack from unfriendly neighbors for so many years. As a Soviet Republic she enjoys neither independent government nor independent ties with the outside world. But political independence and freedom are privileges that she has not enjoyed for six centuries. Her peace and welfare seem to be almost inseparably tied with the destiny of the Russian people, whose continued progress is itself in the balance and depends on the future political direction of Communist leadership. The problems created by the Turkish atrocities remain unsolved elsewhere. Political pressures and nationalism have made life very difficult for the Armenians in Eastern Europe and in various sections of the Middle East. Many continue either in fear of persecution or are caught in environments that do not offer opportunities for basic education or industrial progress.

The Role of the Church

The Church continues to play an important role in the life of the Armenian people. This role has changed from that of earlier centuries

when the Church was father and mother to the people and protector from physical oppression as well as spiritual dangers. She no longer has to act in matters pertaining to secular authority either in Armenia or in the Diaspora. The Church exists and grows solely for spiritual purposes. Though there are Evangelical, Protestant, as well as Roman Catholic Armenians, the predominant majority of Armenians belong to the Armenian Apostolic (Orthodox) Church, which has its seat at Etchmiadzin near Yerevan, the capital of Soviet Armenia. A foreign visitor to Yerevan is likely to be taken first to Etchmiadzin, which has been holy city to Armenians since the beginning of the fourth century. The present Catholicos, Vasken I, a former Rumanian subject, was elected in 1955 by the church and lay representatives who had convened in Etchmiadzin from all parts of the world for that purpose. From the office of Vasken I flow blessings and spiritual guidance to Armenians everywhere.

The Mother Cathedral at Etchmiadzin, built over a pagan altar which was excavated only recently, has imposing architecture which is characteristically Armenian. On an ordinary day a visitor may attend a baptism inside the Cathedral or rest in its pleasant gardens. Each Sunday this ancient edifice witnesses the presence of many peasants, city dwellers, and tourists who gather to worship. Each Sunday the ancient stones re-echo, as they have done for so many centuries, the beautiful, melodic liturgy. This liturgy, warm and uniquely the cry and worship of a responsive people, is usually sung by music students from Yerevan who give voice as if for the whole people.

And so Etchmiadzin stands today as it has since the turn of the fourth century, a strong witness to Christian faith. It is not easy to avoid Christianity in a land where history, architecture, scholarship, music and ethics are inseparable from ancient places of worship which bear perpetual, if sometimes silent, witness to the faith and struggles of the past. The Church of Saint Hripsimeh, erected in 618 A.D., stands firm with clean and sturdy lines. Its dome is the traditional cone formed of triangular planes meeting at their vertex. There remain only stones and delicate adornments in the ruins of Zvartnotz Cathedral, dating from the 7th century. The Church of Oshakan, which holds the tomb of St. Mesrop, inventor of the Armenian alphabet, was restored for worship in 1962. During that year the 1600th anniversary of the birth of St. Mesrop was celebrated throughout the Soviet Union, in ecclesiastical and civil ceremonies. The Church of Geghard, intricately decorated and built into a craggy hillside with rooms hewn out of solid

rock, dates from the 13th century. Services are now held in a restored part of Geghard.

In contrast, it is quiet and barren in the ruins of ancient Ani, the once proud city of "one thousand and one" churches. Ani lies just over the present Turkish border. The city was destroyed by the Seljuk Turks under Alpaslan in 1065. It was rebuilt and destroyed again. Its ruins nevertheless continue to have great architectural and archaeological interest. Unfortunately they are not open to interested archaeologists or architects. It is equally quiet and deserted in the ancient city of Van near the beautiful Lake Van, and in many other cities from which the Armenians fled in 1915 to escape the sword. Towering over all the undeveloped territories are the snowy peaks of Mount Ararat, itself almost a religious symbol of Armenia, yet now a part of Turkey as a result of her attack of 1920 on the Armenia whose cause President Wilson had vainly championed.

The Mother Church flourishes also in the Diaspora. Church buildings have risen in many cities, each new structure a reminder of the ancient architectural traditions. The worship of song continues to be as deeply stirring in the west as in the east, in the north as in the south. The blood of martyrs, the cry of anguish of a people for whom freedom is more precious than life itself, have given this Church a significance that transcends time and space and environment.

Scholarship and the Arts

Archaeological research has unearthed the rich details of the Urartu and earlier cultures of Armenian history, especially of the period to 800 BC. The golden age of scholarship and of architecture came during the Christian period, with especial surge of activity during the 5th century. The centuries that followed witnessed the production of many books, translations, whole libraries. But the fruits of scholarship suffered as much from tyranny as did the people themselves. Nevertheless, despite centuries of persecution, fire and deportation, there remain today rich collections of ancient illuminated manuscripts, complete or fragmented, some of them a thousand years old. In Yerevan the government has built a magnificent museum—the *Matenadaran* ("Library") to house a rich collection of over 10,000 ancient Armenian manuscripts. The Armenian Monastery in Old Jerusalem houses another treasure of about 6,000 books and manuscripts

of equal value. The Armenian Catholic Monastery in Venice, Italy, houses about three thousand. There are smaller collections in Vienna, in Lebanon and elsewhere.

It is remarkable that despite sword and flame and perpetual war which reduced their numbers to a little less than four million, the Armenians still possess treasured manuscripts which compare favorably with the best of corresponding collections of all other ethnic groups and nations. Some of the faithful translations into the Armenian constitute the only access to certain Greek writings, themselves now lost. Combined with the important role which geography gave to Armenians in the Middle East, it becomes necessary to take account of the influences of Armenian history, archaeology, architecture, philology, theology, and literature, in most studies of Eastern Europe and especially of the Middle East.

It has not been easy to utilize these historical sources. The massacres and deportations of the 1915 period reduced the people to bare survival. Recent decades have seen a great uprising of scholarly interest in Armenia, and throughout the world. The ratio of Armenians who seek college study and professional careers is probably the highest of any national or ethnic group. Even this surge of scholarship has not yet satisfied the need for Armenologists to reveal the history and culture of these ancient regions. Universities of Europe and of the United States have been concerned over this lack, and some have sought to establish endowed chairs in Armenian Studies. Harvard University and Oxford now have such chairs, and efforts are being made to establish similar Chairs at other universities.

While the economic, educational, scientific, and sociological contributions of Armenians around the world have been considerable, there is reason to expect that there is innate capacity to enhance these contributions both with respect to numbers of people and in excellence. It appears timely to encourage and support programs that may lead to a renaissance of Armenian arts and architecture, letters, history, philology, and theology, to meet the needs of Armenians and of non-Armenian specialists in these fields. A substantial fraction of the scholars engaged in Armenological studies in the Diaspora are non-Armenians.

A Mission for Armenians

The human sacrifices of 1915, like those of Avarair in 451 AD and of many other periods, represented victories of faith over enemies

who demanded giving up of that faith. It was not easy to think of them in those terms at the time, for there is little awareness of spiritual gain in the midst of mass murder. Even now, as we look back fifty years from a more fortunate position, it is difficult to boast of victory. The events are still too darkly clouded. clouded because the Turkish threat had, and still has, the support of Western powers. Clouded because the beloved Mount Ararat even today stands captive within Turkish frontiers. And finally, they are clouded because the world faces new uncertainties, new political divisions, new restraints, new anti-religious forces.

But however terrible the sufferings of the people, their sense of values is not lost. The few Armenians who still exist in the interior of Turkey live uneasily still faithful to the cross.

The once impoverished little Armenia, across the Turkish border, now flourishes with new science and industry. Small and large communities are springing up. Agriculture is slowly making headway on rocky hills. In contrast, fertile valleys that are still under Turkish rule lie wasted.

Meanwhile those who were dispersed to the four corners of the world have achieved middle class economic status or better, and have gained honorable citizenship in their new homes wherever possible. As in Armenia, they have pursued higher education in the arts, science, industry and commerce, and have been a force for progress and stability within every nation that has given them home and opportunity to prove themselves.

People who suffer deportation and dispersal lose some of the provincialism which is normally acquired in one's native land. Loyalty to some new country that offers citizenship, safety and opportunity becomes very important. The problems of international stability and peace take on new significance. So it is with the Armenian. He has been described as hard working, friendly, warm, with a touch of poetic philosophy in his attitude toward life. Simultaneously he is often also analytical, critical, individualistic, and as likely as not to take a point of view which is opposed to the general attitude. He uses his skills generously and regards his fellows and the world at large with sharp humor. Idealism often wrestles in him with the realities of political conflict. His love for personal freedom has had to learn to compromise with the yoke of domination, from time immemorial. The con-

flicts that surround him, the confusion on how to accept or resist his lot, invite dissension that often divides him from his brother, even as it now divides some Armenian communities.

Nevertheless, as is characteristic of a dispersed people, he has an awareness of the world which strongly contrasts with the provincialism of those who have been more fortunate. He is personally aware that the world is indeed shrunken in size, that nations are dependent on each other. He knows the difficulty of bridging the gaps and of communicating confidence and understanding from one environment to another, from one civilization to another, from one political philosophy to another.

He now may speak the English language, or Spanish, French, or any one of a hundred tongues. He often finds it difficult to speak the language of another person of Armenian stock whose education has its roots in another land. Yet when the two meet it is more than likely that there will be a warm feeling of kinship between them as well as mutual respect. This kinship has a way also of encompassing their new homes, their new loyalties, their new awareness.

This last suggests a significant role for Armenians around the world. At a period of history when better understanding among peoples is the most important need facing organizations such as the United Nations, and each nation, every help toward promoting understanding becomes useful. At the moment the international problem which is most pressing for resolution is that affecting the relationship of the Soviet block with the outside world. Responsible observers of the world scene have no doubt that there must be peaceful coexistence among all the groups and nations of the world, since it is unthinkable that any large group can be eliminated without destroying civilization. It is a matter of general agreement that the desire for international peace on the part of the people of the Soviet Union is no less sincere than in others.

Perhaps the Armenian people, who have achieved an important status within the Soviet Union, in the Middle East, in Europe and throughout the western, northern and southern hemispheres, can make some contribution in this connection. They have proved themselves capable of building industry and commerce, of producing scientists and technologists as well as artists of international fame. They have contributed to the stability of governments. Theirs has also been the less obvious role of encouraging international communication and understanding through their own forced and normal travels. We believe

this role will be of special value toward improving understanding between the East and the West, and toward strengthening the economy and progress of the Middle East. For while the Armenian is by temperament and energy more a part of the West than of the present Middle East, he has had to learn to communicate and to cooperate effectively with his neighbors in that region.

The Year 1965 in History

In summary, this book aims to bring into focus several thoughts for the year 1965 which have significance not only for those who share the Armenian heritage, but for all Christendom, for humanity, and for the United Nations as well. The year revives poignant and personal memories to those who lost father, mother, loved ones during those horrible days. Armenians everywhere will hold special memorial services as they have held memorial services since the martyrdom of 451 A.D. at Avarair. The Cross has been an ever present experience to this land and its people who have been subject to oppression of every description. But as the 50th anniversary of the most destructive chapter of their history, 1965 becomes a year of *reverent remembrance*.

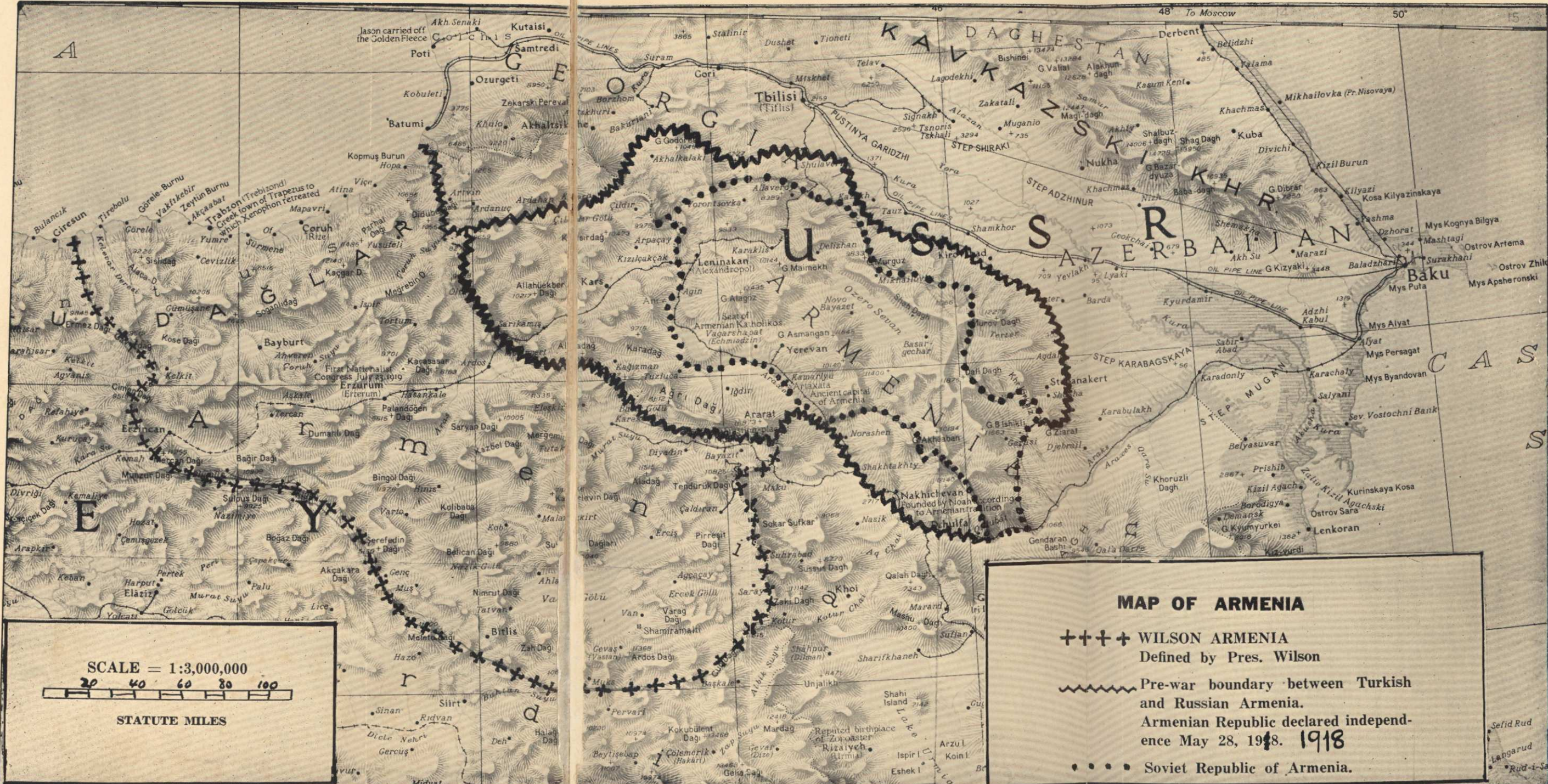
Death and devastation gave way to new life. As Easter Sunday follows Good Friday, we turn quickly to the rebirth and growth of the remnants who have become a force for good and for progress in the world. The year 1965 is therefore also a *year of thanksgiving for this rebirth*.

But our feelings of thanksgiving are clouded by the continuing realization that the land of Armenia is still divided, and that the lands around the Mountains of Ararat are not open to Armenians or to Christian worship. It is therefore also a *year of apprehension*, of *questioning* and of *wistful hope* to very many Armenians to whom that land means life itself. The hope is that the nations of the world will at least be interested in finding a more equitable, just, and lasting solution to the territorial problems of Armenia.

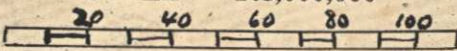
Christian martyrdom and rebirth are meaningful only in the framework of an even higher *purpose*. It seems unreasonable that the long travail of the Armenian people should have been in vain. There will have been purpose in their martyrdom if that terrible experience somehow helps to prevent a repetition of savagery. It was tragic that it did not become sufficiently impressed on the conscience of the world in time to prevent Hitler's genocide of the Jews.

The year 1965 is therefore also *a year of dedication to the purposes and service of humanity*, for Armenians everywhere. There must continue to be major contributions to the economy, industry, science, education, the arts and culture of every land that has become home to them. This contribution will be of a quality that reflects their long history and travail. And this participating in the life of the world must make maximum contribution to harmonizing international interests and understanding.

This people, whom destiny has scattered to the four corners of the globe, has much to bring from its own travail and sacrifices to strengthen the foundations of peace and human progress throughout the world.



SCALE = 1:3,000,000



STATUTE MILES

MAP OF ARMENIA

++++ WILSON ARMENIA
Defined by Pres. Wilson

~~~~~ Pre-war boundary between Turkish and Russian Armenia.

Armenian Republic declared independence May 28, 1918. 1918

..... Soviet Republic of Armenia.

