

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE SURVIVORS IN DAMASCUS AT THE END OF WORLD WAR I

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For Armenian deportees in the Ottoman Empire during World War I, Damascus became both a transition point for further banishment to the south (Jabal Druze, Hauran, Transjordan, Palestine) as well as a final destination.¹ Those who somehow managed to stay in Damascus, the headquarters of Jemal Pasha, commander of the Ottoman IV Army and governor of Greater Syria, led lives that reflected Jemal Pasha's ambiguous role in the Genocide.² On the one hand, many widows were employed in military factories, where in some cases they constituted the only ethnicity.³ As many as 1500 Armenian children and widows manufactured woolen articles, textiles, embroideries, carpets, and rugs in an orphanage established by the government.⁴ Armenian tailors in all ateliers made military uniforms.⁵ On the other hand, about 500 parentless boys living outside the orphanage and apprenticed in military workshops were circumcised and raised as Muslims. In addition, some 200 boys and girls were gathered and dispatched to an orphanage in Aintoura, Lebanon, to undergo a process of forced Turkification.⁶ Other females were sold in Damascene open slave markets. For example, a British agent, on April 15, 1916, witnessed Turkish soldiers "pushing in front of them 300 or 400 naked Armenian girls and women. These were put up for auction and the whole lot disposed of, some for 2, 3 or 4 francs. Only Mohammedans were allowed to buy. The salesmen kept on exclaiming: 'Rejoice, oh ye faithful, in the shame of the Christians'."⁷

Be that as it may, the adult male deportees, when not rounded up and sent to the battlefronts or exiled further, engaged in various businesses, even gaining prominence in some sectors and/or carving out a disproportionate share of the market. In the central souks of Hamidiyé and Marji, Armenians from Gesaria/Kayseri sold sausage and cured meat like *sujuk* and *basterma*, and those from Macedonia produced their particular cheese. Merchants in the Saman Bazar traded wheat and flour wholesale. Shoemakers, employing as many as twenty workers, satisfied most needs of the local population. Antique dealers competed shrewdly in the business and gained the numerical upper hand, for which reasons their sector became known as Bazar al-Arman. Mihran Hadikozian, a photographer from Rodosto/Tekirdagh, Edirne province, took pictures with an aesthetic touch of high ranking Ottoman officers and ordinary folks, thereby becoming the most successful among his peers. Contractor Apkar Balekjian, also from Rodosto, oversaw the

construction of military installations. A native of Adana was in charge of procuring wood for the running of trains. An Armenian ran a pharmacy. Two doctors excelled in their profession.⁸

There were also among the deportees in Damascus clergymen of all ranks and denominations uprooted from various parts of the Ottoman Empire. Catholicos Saghag II Khabayan of Cilicia, who had been banished to Jerusalem in fall 1915, was once again exiled, to Damascus, as the British army advanced in Palestine to capture the Holy City in late 1917. Archbishop Maghakia Ormanian, a former Patriarch of Constantinople (1896-1908), who in 1914 was tasked with effecting changes within the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, was similarly transferred to Damascus.⁹ Here, he continued to pursue his intellectual-scholarly endeavors by writing a book.¹⁰ In the same vein, one of the Apostolic clerics, using the pseudonym of Armyov Bedlevma Fatimi, from 1916-17 published an underground paper titled *Portzank* (misfortune, tribulation). It was characterized as a "Moral, Literary, Scientific, and Satirical Bimonthly Journal." Significantly, nine issues covered the new Regulation imposed by the Ottoman government on the majority Armenian Apostolic community during the Genocide, curtailing by about two-thirds the rights enshrined in the Armenian National Constitution that had governed the community internally since the early 1860s.¹¹

Clandestine political activity also took place. Encouraged by the Arab resistance to Ottoman rule, and supported by Arab notables, some Armenian youths formed a chapter of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF/*Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsutiun*) in Damascus with affiliates in the southern, mainly Druze, territories. The secretive group tried to establish contact with affiliates abroad, but failed. However, it succeeded in setting up an underground communications network as well as smuggling arms into Damascus undetected. Such were matters, when the government on March 1, 1918, began to round up Armenian men.¹² In any case, seven months later the Arab and British armies would occupy Damascus and bring an end to Ottoman rule.

SURVIVORS

The capture of Damascus by Arab and British forces on September 30, 1918, heralded the beginning of a new era of freedom and hope for the Armenian deportees who had survived the Genocide in the general vicinity.¹³ Their exact number is impossible to determine given their ebb and flow in Damascus, dispersion, and captivity among Muslims. A census taken sometime in late 1918 or 1919 revealed 17,775 persons, who hailed from across Ottoman Asia Minor and the European periphery, especially the provinces of Adana and Aleppo (see Table 1). Other estimates provide larger

numbers. For example, according to Lieut. Col. E. St. John Ward, Acting-Commissioner of American Red Cross (ARC) operations in Egypt and Palestine, there were 25,000-plus Armenian refugees living in Damascus at the end of November 1918. Most "have become independent and have settled temporarily in the city." However, "a very large number, estimated at 5,000, are in straightened circumstances. Many of these are widows and orphans; others are those who are unemployed" due to the closure of factories previously run by the Turkish military and the inability of the nascent Arab government to restart industries.¹⁴ Another obstacle to finding jobs was the lack of knowledge of Arabic among most refugees.¹⁵ Therefore, "A little cash to tide them over" could certainly be of help until the arrival of anticipated remittances from relatives in America and elsewhere.¹⁶ But difficulty of communication with kin and friends living abroad caused stoppage of the money flow.¹⁷

Referring to more than 2,000 Armenians who had arrived from Hauran and other outlying districts to the southeast of Damascus, Ward on November 30 intimated the following:

They were well nourished except in cases of those who had suffered from illness, but they are clad in rags, have no homes to which they could go and no funds to secure food. They have been supporting themselves in the Hauran and Jebel Druze by working for factories for the farmers there, but fearing to remain longer and desiring to get back to their homes, they have flocked into Damascus. Many of them regret that they have left their work. Amongst them are many widows and several hundred children. It was a most appealing sight as we saw them huddled together in rough sheds or gathered together in sun, trying to keep warm.¹⁸

Another concern was travel safety. As survivors eager to go to Damascus began to surface in the countryside, Arabs in certain districts mistreated them so they had to run away from one place to another. Winter storms would add to their misery.¹⁹

ARMENIANS INVOLVED IN RELIEF

The daunting task of sheltering, feeding and providing other relief to the Genocide survivors in Damascus fell on the shoulders of several institutions, organizations, and authorities. The Armenians were among the first to get involved in this humanitarian campaign. On October 3, 1918, that is, just three days after the liberation of the Syrian capital, twenty concerned Armenians met to draw up a blueprint for action. By a secret ballot, they elected a nine-member Temporary National Committee, whose immediate goal was to establish contact with Armenians abroad in a bid to seek emergency relief, concurrently helping the poor and the sick and boosting the morale of refugees in general. But the committee from the outset faced three

main difficulties: limited means of communication with the outside world, a weak local economy, and the time-consuming nature of surveying scattered refugees.²⁰ In order to check growing unrest among the latter, on October 20 the committee convened a general assembly in the St. Sarkis Armenian church attended by representatives of some eighty localities in the Ottoman Empire from which they and their constituencies had been deported. Again by a secret ballot, the conclave elected a new nine-member committee, whose tenure, like its predecessor's, was short-lived.²¹ Finally, on the evening of December 1, a special meeting held at the Prelacy in the presence of its Administrative Council, the Youth Association, and the Cilicia Association empowered Rupen Herian, a member of the Egyptian Armenian Delegation to Syria then in town on a fact-finding and relief disbursement mission, to designate a chapter of the Egypt-based Armenian National Union (ANU) for Damascus and environs. Composed of seven members and chaired by Antranig Genjian, this body would henceforth oversee refugee affairs in tandem with other involved agencies.²²

The Egyptian Armenian Delegation to Syria (EADS) was created solely for the purpose of aiding survivors in Syria. It came into existence when the ANU of Egypt decided to delegate its relief work among Armenian remnants in Syria to two charitable associations—the Egyptian Armenian Relief and the United Orphan Care—that functioned under the aegis of the AGBU. On November 15, 1918, a Mixed Council representing the latter three associations formed the EADS composed of three members, namely, Garabed Seferian, Mgrdich Yepremian, and Rupen Herian.²³

Although managing the allocated funds and refugees was left to the EADS's discretion, it had to act according to a fifteen-point guideline. Points 1, 2, and 4 instructed the EADS to visit all those places in Syria where Armenians were to be found, gather dispersed individuals into the larger, preferably coastal cities, and take their census. Points 3 and 7-9 underscored the importance of reclaiming Armenians forcibly Islamized. Armenian children raised in Muslim families and orphanages, in particular, should be given special attention and placed in Armenian orphanages with the assistance of the ARC. Points 5 and 6 asked for the placement of jobless refugees in factories and/or the creation of workshops and other employment opportunities, all along seeking the cooperation and help of the Syrian government. Point 10 recommended the formation of local bodies for the implementation of the EADS's decisions and directives. Point 11 allowed for the three members to travel and work separately if necessary, provided they kept each other posted. Point 15 clarified that no single member could represent any one of the above-mentioned three associations, but that all three members represented those associations equally. Point 12 suggested

that a central city—such as Beirut as the most suitable one—be selected as headquarters, but the delegation was free to choose any site it deemed fit. Point 13 referred to an initial allocation of 5000 Egyptian pounds, with 3000 pounds given as startup money. Point 14 asked the delegation to submit its report to the Mixed Council, whose president, Prelate Torkom Kushakian of Egypt, would call for meetings and direct the relief effort.²⁴

The EADS members embarked on their mission separately, with Herian arriving in Beirut on November 17, 1918, and Yepremian and Seferian following suit on December 10.²⁵ In the interim, on November 26, Boghos Nubar, head of the Armenian National Delegation in Paris since 1912, asked British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour to facilitate the EADS' task through the good offices of the British civilian and military authorities in Egypt and Syria.²⁶ The Armenian team traveled to Damascus on December 17. On the 20th, Herian left for Homs, Hama, and Aleppo together with Lieut. Lord Fielding, a British officer in charge of the Damascus Armenian refugee camp, to organize similar shelters.²⁷ In turn, on January 11, 1919, Seferian went to the Lebanese town of Zahle en route to Homs, Hama, and Aleppo. Yepremian stayed put in Damascus. The EADS wrapped up its mission on March 4. In all, it submitted six reports and a financial statement to the Mixed Council. The second report covered activities in Damascus and surroundings.²⁸

For its part, the AGBU played a major role in conducting refugee affairs in Damascus and elsewhere in the region. An AGBU chapter existed in Damascus before WWI, but it had ceased to function during the deportations.²⁹ As soon as the conflagration ended, the Union's headquarters in Cairo hastened to reconstitute its erstwhile branches, including that of Damascus. Accordingly, former leading members received instructions, dated November 4, 1918, to "immediately" revive the chapter in order for relief sent from Egypt to be dispersed among the refugees by trustworthy hands. The "only and absolute condition" was to treat everyone equitably without discrimination whatsoever against individuals, factions and or denominations.³⁰ Unrelated directly to this order, a group of twenty-one acquaintances from Gesaria/Kayseri, some of whom were former AGBU members, met for some business on December 16, but found the occasion appropriate to also explore the possibility of having an AGBU chapter. This "foundational" gathering, however, did not establish a chapter right away; rather, it decided to recruit prospective adherents from among Damascene Armenians and refugees and only then organize a chapter. In order to advertise their plan, on the following day, November 17, the group posted an invitation in the St. Sarkis courtyard. That day coincided with the arrival of the EADS in Damascus. In the evening, during an assembly called to explain their mission, all three EADS members stated in unison that a new AGBU

chapter in Damascus would cause a rift and huge discord between the ANU and AGBU in Egypt. Besides, repatriation being imminent, a local AGBU chapter would be meaningless. These assertions put a halt to the formation of a chapter, and the announcement posted at the church “disappeared” after a few days.³¹ In response, Cairo singled out Herian to express its frustration against his “empty and unfounded” claims, rescinded its confidence in him, and invalidated his EADS membership.³²

The above setback proved temporary. The AGBU headquarters in Cairo took several measures to accelerate the realization of a chapter. On December 23, 1918, it sent organizational materials (such as seal, letterheads, receipt books) to Damascus for official use;³³ on January 10, 1919, delivered 1000 Egyptian pounds earmarked for miscellaneous refugee needs;³⁴ and by February delegated Hovhannes Terzibashian to coordinate and oversee efforts in consultation with former members.³⁵ At long last, sympathizers on Tuesday, February 11, assembled at the Prelacy for a consultative meeting and elected a ten-member AGBU executive committee, including the Apostolic Bishop Bedros Sarajian and the Catholic Bishop Krikor Bahabanian, who served as honorary co-presidents. Had the Protestant Armenians had a pastor or a prominent member in town, he would definitely have been part of the leadership.³⁶ Although certain members objected to the fact that the committee preceded the chapter itself, Terzibashian found no impropriety in the order under the circumstances. Similarly, a member from the ANU was added to the roster (making it eleven) during a special meeting held on the following day, February 12, for the sake of maintaining harmony among the parties involved.³⁷ Considering the new addition to be a “provocateur,” in a confidential letter to Cairo, Terzibashian asked that this second arrangement be annulled,³⁸ but Cairo declined to reverse the decision of the assemblage.³⁹ In the absence of an actual AGBU chapter during the period under study, the executive committee elected on February 11-12 carried out the humanitarian work entrusted to it. To be sure, a chapter did materialize in Damascus, but two years later, on April 3, 1921.⁴⁰

The AGBU, both in Cairo and in Damascus, wanted to carry out its mission separate from and independent of the ANU. The fact that the same people from the two organizations controlled both the political and humanitarian aspects of refugee life was a source of confusion and consternation among many Armenians.⁴¹ Hence, it would be proper to divide responsibilities between the AGBU and the ANU by focusing on philanthropy and politics, respectively. “Our aim was not to harm the Armenian National Union in any way,” the AGBU headquarters explained, because its “existence today is a national imperative according to an indisputable slogan.”⁴² But, the headquarters continued, people in Damascus no longer trusted the ANU

because it mishandled relief.⁴³ The AGBU accordingly wanted to take charge of the women's rescue shelter and the pharmacy.⁴⁴

The AGBU did not consider the ANU as the only problem; it tried to deal with and even eliminate any other association perceived as competition or an adversary. For instance, when a few individuals, dissatisfied with the way relief and repatriation were handled, allegedly tried to form a parallel AGBU to use the real one as "a tool to topple the ANU," Cairo was warned of their motives,⁴⁵ but no such entity ever materialized anyway. The Damascus AGBU also tried to weaken, if not neutralize, two other organizations. One was the Armenian Women's Red Cross, which the AGBU regarded as a "nominal" women's association and "nothing else," trying "to do something" as far as the clinic and pharmacy were concerned.⁴⁶ But in order to satisfy the ladies' "ambition," the AGBU proposed to designate the two enterprises separately, one as Red Cross Clinic and one as AGBU Pharmacy.⁴⁷ The other group was the Araradian Union. In the eyes of the AGBU, it organized lectures and operated a library that were "sterile and futile" and not useful even one iota. Their only purpose, it was further asserted, was to have a say in the ANU and form a "benevolent union to benefit from its finances."⁴⁸ In fact, they purportedly carried out activity akin to a "political party" under the guise of beneficence, determined to "sidetrack the efforts of the AGBU headquarters" in Egypt with catchwords such as constitution, law, and principle.⁴⁹ The Damascus AGBU "succeeded to almost silence" the Araradian Union.⁵⁰

Whatever the internal rivalries and or conflicts, the AGBU center in Cairo allocated 153,483 Egyptian piasters (1534.83 pounds) for Damascus for the period March 1-August 13, 1919, of which 54,444.50 piasters was still expendable at the closing date. Some 15,225 piasters was spent on sundries and the bulk of 83,813.5 piasters on the following: Women's Shelter, 39,980.75; hospital, 22,980.50; clothing, 12,561; pharmacy, 6072; aid to the needy, 1425; clinic, 794.25.⁵¹ Therefore, the rescue and shelter of captive women received priority, followed by the sick, clothing, and so on. Needless to say, these figures did not reflect earlier remittances.

The Armenian Apostolic Church, in turn, contributed to the welfare of its uprooted flock in various capacities. One such input involved the determination of ethnicity among Ottoman troops retreating through Damascus at the end of the war. During the process of rounding up Turkish soldiers, the Arab government asked the Armenian Prelacy to identify coreligionists to secure their freedom. Accordingly, the Prelacy within a month and a half following the liberation of Damascus issued some 5000 identification papers to such cases, including many Greeks.⁵² Once freed, more than 900 Armenian soldiers enlisted in the French *Légion d'Orient* (later called *Légion Arménienne*). Most left town on October 28 after having

received the blessing of Sahag II in St. Sarkis the previous day amidst throngs of well-wishing refugees.⁵³ Others joined the Arab forces charged with the security of the Bab Sharqi barracks and Damascus in general,⁵⁴ thereby augmenting the number of Armenians wearing Syrian uniform in yet another military unit—Amir Faisal's volunteer army that had occupied the capital.⁵⁵

Assuming a leadership role in conjunction with other organizations and prominent laymen, the Church also got involved in political activity in pursuit of Armenian national aspirations. Sometime in November 1918, on orders from Sahag II, Bishop Sarajian formed and chaired an ad hoc committee consisting of the Apostolic Bishop Khachadurian, the Catholic Bishop Bahabanian, and seven other members, whose sole agenda was to organize a public rally.⁵⁶ The rally would demand from the victorious Allies the realization of an integral Armenia including Cilicia, their immediate occupation by Armenian forces with Allied military backing, and compensation for the deportees.⁵⁷ With permission from the district's Arab governor, and under the watchful eyes of the police and Armenian soldiers in the Arab army deployed to maintain order, the demonstration took place following mass on Sunday, November 24, at a rented public park with the participation of more than 3000 refugees.⁵⁸ Four designated speakers took the podium one after the other, a resolution signed by Sahag II in the name of Armenians in Damascus was read, Armenian children sang patriotic songs intermittently, and Captain Mercier, the French liaison officer, concluded the event with a speech of his own. He subsequently wired the resolution-petition to the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, Prime Minister of Great Britain, David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of France, Georges Clemenceau, and Foreign Minister of Italy, Sidney Sonnino, as well as Boghos Nubar and the ANU in Egypt.⁵⁹

Other Armenians engaged in cultural and educational activities to enlighten the refugees and boost their morale. A certain Youth Association, for example, formed a Miss' Choir and operated a school for boys kept afloat thanks to financial support from the ANU.⁶⁰ Similarly, the Youth Association on Sunday, November 10, 1918, co-organized together with the Armenian Women's Red Cross and an ad hoc AGBU group a commemorative event for the victims of the Genocide in the Damascus cemetery. The "stage of death" (*mahapem*) was decorated with symbolic black boxes, and Armenian and Syrian flags, a wreath, and embroidered articles were placed on a pile of earth akin to a tomb. Present were representatives of the Syrian (Sharifian) government, British and French Armenophiles, and the Greek and Catholic religious leaders. Prelate Yeghishe Chilingirian celebrated mass, Sahag II delivered a speech, and Capt. Mercier read a message. Lieut. Lord Fielding was too consumed with emotion to be able to speak. Mournful Armenian

refugees assembled on the occasion were uplifted and encouraged. Later, in the Armenian Prelacy, a representative of the Greek Patriarch commended the Armenians for having crossed “the sea of blood” without complaint, that is, with dignity.⁶¹

Another voluntary group, the Araradian Union (mentioned above), “awakened the taste of Armenian life” having among its ranks musician brothers surnamed Mesrobian with their band and theatre.⁶² It also organized lectures and picnics, as well as raised 40 Egyptian pounds in support of the famed musicologist Gomidas Vartabed, a deeply traumatized Genocide survivor.⁶³ Last but not least, permission was obtained from the local government to publish an Armenian newspaper, titled *Hay Giank* (Armenian Life), provided it appeared in Armenian accompanied by an exact Arabic rendition, a condition that could not be met because of the double expense that the project would thus incur and because there was not anyone bilingual enough to assume editorship.⁶⁴

NON-ARMENIANS INVOLVED IN RELIEF

Armenian organizations were not the only agencies concerned with the plight of survivors. Amir Faysal, the new ruler of Syria, held the Armenians in high regard and treated them kindly. In fact, as the Arab army marched to capture Damascus, he extended relief, protection, and free train transport to many Armenian survivors heading to the Syrian capital.⁶⁵ During celebratory events marking liberation from Ottoman hegemony, he also invited Christian religious leaders including the Armenians, on other occasions visited the Armenian Prelacy, and hosted Sahag II several times, all the while exchanging pleasantries and underscoring their common fate under the cruel Ottoman yoke.⁶⁶ Amir Faysal also provided space to house refugees and issued orders for the release of Armenian women and children held among Arabs as wartime spoils (see below).

The British, with their military presence in the region, confronted the Armenian refugee issue from day one. The Army Council, it was reported, “consider the General Officers Commanding-in-Chief in Egypt and Mesopotamia can be relied on to do all that is possible from local resources for the relief of Armenians.” Generals Edmund Allenby and William Marshall were accordingly notified “on the subject and that the matter will continue to be borne in mind and receive all possible attention by those most competent to deal with the question on the spot [in Syria, Mesopotamia and Asiatic Turkey].”⁶⁷ In turn, Sir Mark Sykes, Foreign Office expert on the Middle East, offered his “appreciation of [the] Armenian situation seen by commander-in-chief” as follows: first, “to feed and employ Armenians already concentrated”; second, to collect those “who are scattered about the

country," place them in "concentration camps" under a capable organizer and "strict discipline," provide them with employment, and open primary schools; third, "the camp commandant should arrange that all neighboring vagrant or isolated Armenians should be brought into camps."⁶⁸ But a Foreign Office insider thought that these recommendations ought to be handled by the Eastern Committee for being too "far reaching" and involving multiple "issues over which we have no control." Besides, to what extent would the British military authorities support such an enormous undertaking?⁶⁹

Regardless of the prevalent uncertainty, the British representation in Damascus received 500 Egyptian (?) pounds from their headquarters in Jerusalem for refugee needs. When the ARC opened its Damascus office in January 1919, the British transferred 192,500 unexpended pounds from that account to the ARC.⁷⁰ Also by early January 1919, the British government was "grappling with the situation more energetically but they have no special fund reserved for Civilian relief. At present they have secured permission from the War Office to supply rations to the Armenian refugees but this is an extraordinary arrangement and can not be continued indefinitely."⁷¹ By March 1, however, the British had been able to allocate £25,000 per month for the distribution of relief.⁷² Besides the military, Dr. William A. Kennedy, on behalf of the Lord Mayor of London's Armenian Refugee Relief Committee, donated 500 Egyptian pounds earmarked for Armenian women rescued—and still to be rescued—from Muslim homes.⁷³

The United States became involved in mitigating the pain of Armenian survivors in Syria, initially mainly through the ARC, which received urgent calls for help. A certain Armenian surnamed Kashisian, for example, on November 5, 1918, cabled to the ARC the following: "About 25 to 30 thousand armenian [sic] refugees in Damascus including 5 to 7 thousand destitute/very many sick/industrial relief work weaving etc. in which refugees are experts greatly needed/also blankets clothing drugs/Armenian Societies Cairo also informed."⁷⁴ Amir Faysal, himself, in "a long interview" with Ward was "very desirous" that the ARC assist greatly in the relief work.⁷⁵ Ward, for his part, wrote to James Barton on December 4, 1918:

The situation in Palestine, appealing as it is, does not draw upon our compassion as does that of the Syrians in the Beirut and Lebanon regions and the Armenian refugees in Damascus, Hamath, Homs and Aleppo.

... It is going to be difficult to care for them in Damascus this winter unless generous America responds to the appeal....

If they can be tided over this winter I feel confident that many thousands of refugees will be saved and the remnant of the Armenian race will take root again and grow up making a new nation of which they may well be proud.... Lack of assurances from Washington will not allow us to proceed with the work.... Major

[Stephen] Trowbridge is eager to organize and develop the work in Northern Syria and we have another most capable officer in Captain Cleland who is eager for the work in Damascus.⁷⁶

Earlier, Ward had cabled to his headquarters in Washington, D.C., "for \$100,000 at once" to meet the "acute" need for industrial work supplies and orphanage and refugee camp equipment in the Damascus district, "besides meeting the current relief need for the month of December." He also proposed a \$300,000 budget for a six-month period covering January 1-July 1, 1919.⁷⁷ Of this amount, \$120,000 (40 percent) would be allocated for Armenians (\$60,000 for the refugee camp and \$60,000 for widows and orphans), and the balance for the Syrian orphanage, Arab refugees from Medina, the Syrian poor and general relief, the Jewish poor, families of Turkish officers, health facilities, industrial work including factories and road construction, and administrative expenditure.⁷⁸

Despite these manifestations of goodwill and the sense of urgency, the ARC was somewhat hesitant to assume responsibility on such a large scale, although that reluctance proved only temporary. As explained, initially "One serious difficulty about our [ARC] taking up the work in Damascus is the lack of staff. This gave us considerable anxiety for a while but our present staff has responded nobly to the challenge and we are ready to make re-adjustment which will allow two of our best workers to proceed to Damascus to direct this work."⁷⁹ Ward furnished the following additional details:

A committee of Armenians is doing a small work in the Damascus region but the British Authorities here [in Jerusalem] look upon the American Red Cross to bear the chief burden of the relief for civilians. This is largely because we are well equipped and well organized and have experienced and tried workers.

For some weeks past we have been avoiding any increase in our responsibilities. We have put off the importune requests of G.H.Q. to enter the field of Armenian relief

When we received the cable to spend \$500,000 the first two months of the year, it seemed as if we should have to decline the request of the G.H.Q. for this work, but after a great deal of study of our budget, we have felt that we could in a small way begin this work, ... appealing again to the War Council for special appropriation to meet the special needs.

We have accordingly assured the [British] Government that we would send Major Trowbridge and Captain Dodd to Aleppo, giving them \$25,000 for emergency relief there, and asking them not to assume obligations for continued support in any way until Colonel Finley should arrive.

In the same way we have sent Captain Cleland and Captain Clark to Damascus.⁸⁰

After assessing the situation on the spot, Capt. Clark on January 11 furnished the following numbers of Armenians in Damascus city that needed

succor: the two refugee camps, 4900 persons; Armenian committee (i.e. national) orphanage, 176 persons; Armenian government orphanage (run by the British at the time), 320 persons; reclamation of Armenian girls, 1000 persons; Armenian destitute generally, 6000 persons, for a total of 12,396 individuals.⁶¹ It was on such evaluations and budgetary calculations that the ARC launched its large-scale humanitarian campaign among the Armenian survivors.

REFUGEES IN AND OUTSIDE CAMPS

One of the most pressing issues for survivors arriving in Damascus from the surrounding countryside was finding shelter. Many refugees were initially huddled together in St. Sarkis and *vakif* (charitable foundation) buildings belonging to the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem. By mid-November 1918, the inmates were relocated to what was formerly the Ottoman *sevkiyet* (military dispatch) building situated in Kadem on the outskirts of Damascus.⁶² When the EADS visited the new camp for the first time on December 19, its size had more than quadrupled, to 4349, with the following details: Men, 1408 (32.38%); women, 975 (22.42%); boys, 1065 (24.4%); girls, 901 (20.72%). Thus, males preponderated over females by a 57 percent to 43 percent margin (see Table 3). Within less than a month the total number reached 4900,⁶³ and subsequently 5200.⁶⁴

In order to avoid overcrowding and health problems in the Kadem camp, Major Odling, Lieut. Lord Fielding's successor as camp director effective November 20, secured additional and better shelters nearby, thereby establishing a second camp with capacity for up to 950 refugees.⁶⁵ Health concerns were alleviated also, in part due to the provision of nutritious food (see Table 4). However, later on portions were decreased somewhat to increase the amount of bread for adults and to feed other refugees not sheltered in the camps. Food was distributed by *mukhtars* (village/neighborhood headmen). Exceptionally, about 300 elderly inmates and those unable to prepare their own meals received their rations from a common kitchen.⁶⁶

Life in the camp was quite well organized. The staff consisted of a director with two assistants, a doctor, a bookkeeper, three secretaries, a general storekeeper, a bread store keeper, and a chef and his aides. The first director and his assistants, being young and inexperienced, were unable to exert authority over the residents, so Hrant Sulahian, the ANU vice-president, replaced them and introduced new regulations regarding especially health, hygiene, and toilets.⁶⁷ All this contributed to the physical wellbeing of the refugees, who also maintained high moral standards (due to their value

system) and in part due to work, many women being engaged in wool spinning for a wage and some 700 men being promised street repair jobs.⁸⁸

The majority of survivors, however, lived outside the camps. Their ingathering in Damascus from the countryside required time. Even so, the EADS was able to distribute relief to 4935 persons for ten days according to the following tabulation:

Table 2		
<i>Persons</i>	<i>Metelik/Person/Day</i>	<i>Ottoman Piasters/Per Family/Day</i>
1	12	3
2	10	5
3	9	6.75
4	8	8
5	7	8.75
6	6.50	9.75
7	6	10.50 ⁸⁹

In all, 1726 families/4935 persons received 104,253.50 piasters (see Table 2). Some discrimination was observed during disbursement of money, as people not necessarily in dire need, constituting barely 10 percent of the recipients, got more than their fair share while others got less.⁹⁰

ORPHANAGES

Three Armenian orphanages existed in Damascus in the aftermath of World War I. The first was actually established by the government in 1916 and placed under the directorship of Inspector (or Director) of Refugees, Hasan Bey. Towards the end of 1917, and especially during March-June 1918, the 400 waifs were abandoned, as a result of which the majority died and only 60-65 survived.⁹¹ But before the Turkish government closed down the orphanage for good (probably in June 1918), Hasan Bey, described as a compassionate Cherkez, placed the remnants in the care of Bishop Karekin Khachadurian, formerly the prelate of Konia, and at the same time personally donating 500 liras for their upkeep.⁹² Given the emergency situation, Khachadurian solicited an additional fund from the Armenian prelate of Smyrna/Izmir.⁹³ When British and Arab forces occupied Damascus, the surviving inmates constituted the core of what became known as the Armenian National Orphanage, which was supervised by the ANU and administered by Bishop Garabed Mazlemian, formerly the prelate of Bandirma-Balekesir. By December 1918, the number of waifs had increased to 253, but 77 were transferred to another orphanage to ease congestion. The balance of 176 children consisted of 92 boys and 84 girls.⁹⁴

Situated near St. Sarkis church in a crowded sector of Damascus, the orphanage was housed in a small, unsuitable building, which unfortunately

could not be replaced due to the reluctance of landlords to rent out their properties for this purpose. But despite the limited quarters, inadequate equipment, including bedding, and the lack of proper clothing (the orphans were clad in rags and had no underwear), Mazlemian carried out his duties with due diligence. He was initially assisted by an orphan-care custodianship (*vorpakhnam*), but eventually women took charge of cleaning, laundry, and sewing. The actual orphanage staff consisted of twenty-three persons including teachers, cooks, janitors, and suppliers, the volunteers among them receiving free food and lodging. Moreover, a doctor by the name of Vahram Shirinian visited the orphanage periodically to treat the sick on the spot.⁹⁵ Most of the infirm were boys. They suffered from skin diseases such as leprosy, baldness, and scabies, the reason being their previous street life, where they became infected while searching for crumbs, grains, and vegetable remains to survive. Despite all the efforts and money spent, these conditions did not disappear entirely.⁹⁶

A kindergarten with three levels of teaching kept the orphans occupied. A fourth class would be added beginning New Year 1919. Only two textbooks existed in each class, prompting the EADS to request 50-100 from Cairo.⁹⁷ Sure enough, Cairo shipped 200 textbooks for both the orphanage and the boys' elementary school in town, albeit belatedly.⁹⁸

Upon the request of Sahag II, the French agreed to feed the orphanage. "Guardian angels" Capt. Mercier and Capt. Bezany (also mentioned as Pisani in certain sources) provided "heavenly manna" of 150 loaves per day plus 18 Egyptian pounds per week, while the ANU contributed 100-150 Egyptian pounds. Breakfast consisted of fruit and sometimes olives; lunch, according to the season, included seven types of soup primarily made of cereals and legumes; and dinner comprised meat and vegetable stews. The total daily expense for the upkeep of the orphanage amounted to 800 Ottoman piasters, 700 of which was allocated to kitchen needs and the balance to the staff.⁹⁹

Interestingly, on Sunday, December 29, 1918, the EADS became godfathers to twenty-four babies born in the camp, with Bishop Sarajian officiating at the baptisms at St. Sarkis church. Of the twelve boys, three were named Antranig, three Nubar, three Jirayr, and three Zaven. Of the twelve girls, three were named Shaké, three Arshaluys, three Shushan, and three Anahid. Each child received as a gift an outfit, a hat, and money to defray the christening cost, for a total of 1251.5 Egyptian piasters. An additional twenty-five babies awaited their turn, not to mention those yet to be born.¹⁰⁰ But while children in the orphanage were thus taken care of, numerous others dragged out a miserable existence by begging in the streets.¹⁰¹

In October 1918, the British military opened a second orphanage at Mazze, a suburb of Damascus, making it a branch of the Kadem refugee camp. The

number of orphans at the end of 1918 was 290 (176 boys and 114 girls), transferred in large part from the refugee camp, and 77 from the Armenian National Orphanage.¹⁰² The staff consisted of about 20 persons plus 40 servants and 5 cooks. Only four of the servants received pay, the rest free lodging and food.¹⁰³ While the British distributed rations, Armenians took care of clothing. In fact, "nakedness" in both orphanages presented "a most sad and heartrending scene." Although the *Base Française* at Port Said had pledged 26 bales of garments, they had not yet been shipped in late 1918, prompting the EADS to make arrangements to manufacture them locally at very low cost. In addition to 500 pairs of socks that the Women's Auxiliary of the National Armenian Orphanage had already knit, fabrics were purchased to produce 500 uniforms and hats each, and a shoemaker was commissioned to make 500 pairs of sandals with five-month durability warranty. These would make "the best Christmas gift" for the orphans,¹⁰⁴ thereby getting rid of the bags they had been wrapped in and using as night covers at the same time.¹⁰⁵ But clothing the orphans continued to remain a concern. Shipments sent from Cairo to the Armenian National Orphanage were inexplicably held in Beirut for some time.¹⁰⁶ Finally, 8 bales containing 2098 pieces of new garments, 40 bundles of fabric, and 1 bundle of embroidery material (earmarked for the Women's Shelter) reached Damascus in mid-April 1919.¹⁰⁷ The month before, Cairo had sent bedding in the following quantities: 30 beds; 30 bed sheets; 57 pillows; 101 pillow cases; 90 blankets; and 3 "prostela"s.¹⁰⁸

On March 20, 1919, the ARC took charge of the Mazze orphanage and soon thereafter relocated the inmates to a house in the city. The initial expense for the 320 waifs amounted to 6,400 piasters.¹⁰⁹ Superintendent Anna L. Fisher, a native of Santa Barbara, California, ran the orphanage with utmost devotion and impartiality as to the denominational affiliation of the inmates, for which she gained the Armenians' admiration.¹¹⁰ An effective administrator, Fisher, moreover, acquired the title of "devil woman, because she was always appearing when they [the employees] did not expect to see her and would always discover any carelessness or mismanagement on their part. It is not unusual for her to make rounds of the institution at three o'clock in the morning to see if everything is all right." Furthermore, in the medical aspect of her work, Fisher

devised a novel classification of all the orphans in the orphanage according to which any one might tell, at a glance, whether they were sick or well by the color of their clothes. Those dressed in pink or red are affected with some one of the skin diseases, those in light blue with congenital trouble, and those in gray or yellow with systemic. Patients with mumps or measles wear yellow or dark brown. Those under observation are dressed in white. A colored arm band designates the

sub-division of each disease[.] The bedding of each child is marked similarly to his clothes.¹¹¹

Fisher also installed “a system of self-government,” whereby boys acted as a police force to maintain order.¹¹² Thus described an American visitor to the orphanage her conversation with Fisher regarding the police “Chief,” Vartevare Manansian, originally from Adana, on May 2, 1919:

On Vartevare’s breast I saw these letters: C. O. P. Turning to the woman who had charge of the orphanage I said, “Mrs. Fisher, this boy is a cop. He must be a bright and trusty fellow.” The boy could not understand what I had said for he speaks only Armenian and Turkish. She said, “Yes, he is the Chief of the orphanage police and I can trust him at all times. He is very bright and Dr. [James] Barton hopes to interest some one in the boy so that he may secure a college training, for he will do a lot of good in the world, if we can prepare him properly. And we are going to prepare him, if the boys and girls in America will help us.”¹¹³

According to a June 20 report, the ARC selected a number of parentless children from the orphanage to send to Aleppo, and decided to submit the remaining 45 orphans to the AGBU’s care. Their provenance and sex were as follows: from Balekesir, 3 boys; Evereg, 4 boys and 2 girls; Adapazar, 3 boys; Hereg, 1 boy and 2 girls; Gurin, 7 boys and 3 girls; Konia, 1 boy 4 girls; Damascus, 1 boy; Chomakhlu, 7 girls; Bursa, 1 girl; Chorun, 1 girl; Akshehir, 1 boy and 1 girl; Gesaria/Kayseri, 1 girl; Muradchay, 1 boy; Chengiler, 1 girl, for a total of 22 boys and 23 girls. It was anticipated that surviving parents who had offspring at the orphanage would claim them before the group’s dispatch elsewhere.¹¹⁴ In any case, what was left of the ARC orphanage was relocated to Beirut—not Aleppo as initially anticipated—in the first days of July. Fisher herself left Damascus for the United States on the 3rd with plans to return to Cilicia in September to assume new orphanage responsibilities.¹¹⁵ Last but not least, a third orphanage, subsidized in part by the French and managed by the ANU, sheltered some 270 children.¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, additional information is lacking about this institution.

As for the Armenian National Orphanage, it closed down on September 1st, 1919, when the waifs, accompanied by the staff and nurses under the supervision of pharmacist Hmayag Papazian, director Levon Papazian, and AGBU representative-delegate Hmayag Ughurlian, departed Damascus and arrived in Aleppo at 11:00 p.m. the same day. On the following morning, September 2, the caravan resumed its journey to reach Jihan at 5:00 p.m. On September 3, they rode 30 carts to get to Sis. The final destination of Hajin was estimated to take four days of travel. At their departure from Damascus, the group carried along bedding, copperware, and enough food provisions to tide them over for three months in their new habitat.¹¹⁷

HEALTH CARE

In order to treat refugees afflicted with certain maladies, the local Association of Armenian Doctors and Pharmacists and the Armenian Women's Red Cross opened a clinic-pharmacy on the premises of St. Sarkis church on November 16, 1918.¹¹⁸ Five months later, on April 14, 1919, the AGBU opened a hospital in a spacious and airy building close to St. Sarkis, paying 10 Egyptian pounds as rent. The number of beds increased from an initial ten to twenty-five. Dr. Khachig Kapamajian, a prominent surgeon with the given title of *Inspecteur Sanitaire*, and Dr. Karnig Kiurkjian were hired as chief physician and permanent resident, respectively. Three nurses, recruited from the Armenian Women's Shelter, and five other employees including a cook formed the rest of the team. The clinic-pharmacy at St. Sarkis was incorporated into the new hospital with Hmayag Papazian continuing his duties as pharmacist.¹¹⁹ In May Cairo sent 137 medical supplies worth 107 Egyptian pounds.¹²⁰ A daily average of fifty to sixty patients at the hospital and the Armenian Women's Shelter combined received free treatment and medication, while thirty-two underwent surgery. The total number of mostly women patients, including many Arabs, reached 4152 by mid-August 1919. The hospital was transferred along with repatriating refugees to Hajin.¹²¹

Another hospital was inaugurated after December 18, 1918, in a three-story building adjoining Kadem camp. It had eighty beds and an all-Armenian staff of thirty-four, as follows: a resident doctor, a pharmacist with an assistant, 2 female superintendents, 2 secretaries, 1 storekeeper, 2 corporals, 5 nurses, 5 chefs, and 14 various workers. The doctor, the pharmacist and a few others were on payroll; the rest rendered their services as volunteers.¹²² By June 12, this facility with its patients and part of its bedding were incorporated into the AGBU hospital as the refugees on the outskirts at Kadem were relocated to inside the city.¹²³

CAPTIVE WOMEN'S RESCUE AND SHELTER

Armenian women and children held captive, overwhelmingly among Muslims of various backgrounds but also some non-Muslims, constituted a major victim category of the Genocide. As soon as the war ended, their liberation became a matter of urgency for fear of losing them permanently and aimed to regenerate a decimated nation.¹²⁴ Well-placed sources estimated the number of captive women and children in and around Damascus to be 3000. Within a few days in late 1918, more than 40 such cases were retrieved. The women were accommodated temporarily in well-to-do (or respectable) households and the children in the orphanage. The EADS, then in Damascus, asked for and obtained from the Arab government 300 disinfected beds to furnish a planned women's shelter. Another request was

made to have a few policemen accompany fetchers to avoid possible mishaps. To make their case, the EADS informed the Damascus government of Sharif Husain's proclamation to the Aqaba district governor ordering the release of enslaved Armenians found within his jurisdiction. They also endeavored to have the said declaration advertised in the local *Suriyya al-Jadida* (New Syria) newspaper, which promised to oblige barring censorship.¹²⁵

The ANU took the lead in the reclamation campaign, while in January 1919 the Armenian Doctors and Pharmacists Association and the Armenian Women's Red Cross established what became known as the Armenian Women's Shelter (*Hayuhiats Badsbaran*) to house and rehabilitate rescued captives.¹²⁶ After getting heavily involved in reclamation matters, the AGBU, by early March 1919, took control of the Shelter and installed the following officers to run it: the priest Mesrob Keushgerian of Baghche, Cilicia, considered a "serious father for confession" (*khasdovannahayr*) to the "lost and found," which is underlined in the original document, as director; Veronica Papazian, embroidery teacher in the department of lace-making and other needlework; Manuel Bayramian, procurer of essential provisions.¹²⁷

The Damascus AGBU, concerned that the Shelter's proximity to the areas from which the captives were liberated could cause problems, deemed it necessary to keep the rescued in town as briefly as possible and send them to Cilicia or a convent in Lebanon for safety. It is true that the inmates were attached to the Shelter through various programs; nevertheless, "the eyes of many looked outside," perhaps desirous of returning to their wartime lives.¹²⁸ The AGBU headquarters in Cairo, however, disagreed with the idea of quick removal by citing two inconveniences. First, law and order had not yet been fully established in Cilicia, and second, means of livelihood there left much to be desired. It would be prudent, therefore, to keep the inmates at the Shelter under strict supervision but without applying harsh measures, and to rectify their "stained morals." It was incumbent upon people with responsibilities to act more wisely in order to (re)gain "our rights."¹²⁹

While these options were being debated, the Damascus AGBU received a copy of the above-mentioned proclamation that Sharif Husain, King of the Hejaz, had issued to the district governor of Aqaba. This document would be presented to the Damascus governor at a propitious moment asking for his "kind permission and assistance" to liberate and gather Armenians in one spot. But conditions in early March warranted circumspection given a bloody incident that had taken place between *Légion Arménienne* volunteers and North African French soldiers in Iskenderun and, particularly, the February 28 massacre of Armenian refugees in Aleppo by natives in military uniform. The latter were driven by Arab nationalistic and anti-French sentiments and

suspected to have been incited by Turkish Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) agent-provocateurs still active in northern Syria.¹³⁰

The man at the helm of the rescue mission to the southeast of Damascus was Levon Yotneghpayrian, a native of Urfa. He had liberated thousands of Armenian survivors in Transjordan and Hauran and led them to Aqaba and Damascus. Because of this proven record, Bishop Sarajian asked Yotneghpayrian to volunteer for the retrieval of captive Armenians in Hauran and Jabal Druze. He accepted the challenge, chose a team of three companions, namely, Garabed Kavafian, Hovhannes Kavafian, and Yesayi Krshigian, and canvassed the targeted districts. He wrote: "From one village to another, from one home to another, and from one desert to another, we were collecting Armenian orphans [and women] and sending them to the orphanages or refugee shelters in Damascus."¹³¹

In July 1919, the ANU paid Yotneghpayrian and his team 100 Egyptian pounds for their difficult task. At the same time, Amir Faysal and the British authorities lent their support by furnishing strong *vesikas* (letters of confirmation/recommendation).¹³² Thus describes Yotneghpayrian his encounter with the Syrian ruler: "...I went to see Emir Sheriff Faisal this time with Antranig Genjian. We explained our mission to collect Armenian orphans from Arab homes, to prevent their loss as Armenians and to keep their heritage. He agreed with us and gave me a document carrying his order. He also made sure that this was advertised in the Arab newspapers and ordered that everyone must obey."¹³³ This order applied to captives between the ages of three and fifteen,¹³⁴ but others in older age groups were also liberated.

Within a month Yotneghpayrian and company succeeded in recovering thirty orphans. For the second month, the AGBU committee proposed to offer a certain amount per rescued person, rather than a lump sum, in order to accelerate the process and achieve greater results. Yotneghpayrian purportedly asked for 8 British pounds per head, which was deemed too high. The ANU, keepers of the money for this purpose, counter-offered 4 Egyptian pounds, but Yotneghpayrian declined and decided to carry on his mission independently hoping to negotiate for a better deal with the "center," that is, AGBU headquarters in Cairo. The Damascus AGBU committee, however, was dismayed that this "work of dedication" had turned into "material calculation," as "the result began to diminish while the expenses gradually increased." Their concern was based on the fact that, during the first half of August, only five orphans were delivered with three others brought in by someone other than Yotneghpayrian, for a total of eight.¹³⁵

On August 15, three Arabs presented themselves to the Damascus AGBU, expressing readiness to recover Armenians sequestered in Hauran. They carried an introductory card bearing the name of an Arab acquaintance

belonging to a prominent family from Haifa. The AGBU, which did not have any overlapping conflict with Yotneghpayrian's work, would judge their intention based on results and only then provide their names and brief biographies to Cairo. Whether or not this unexpected visit and proposal had anything to do with Amir Faysal's support to the cause, the Damascus AGBU was skeptical that his pronouncements, even person, carried any weight in practical terms. For, Damascene grandees, without exception, owned Armenian females, and formal applications for their release met with difficulty. All they would say was "*inshallah*" (God willing) and "*mashallah*" (God wanting) when approached. The AGBU could not fathom how such expressions alone could save innumerable Armenians. An Armenian girl would not be able to gain her freedom easily; on the contrary, she would insist on her being a Muslim out of fear. Therefore, the whole issue ought to be taken up by the Powers assembled in Paris for the Peace Conference. Otherwise, things would get more complicated with the passage of time given the religious fanaticism with which children oblivious to their true identity were raised and the refusal of women accustomed to life in harems to return to the Armenian fold.¹³⁶

On August 27, the British authorities asked for the list of Armenian females and orphans found among foreigners so they could send two officers to Hauran and Damascus itself to reclaim them. But so long as there was no real government pressure and, at the same time, little willingness on the part of the Muslim populace to release them, success would be very unlikely. Fake papers and witnesses produced by captors were too effective for their human spoils to be identified as non-Muslims. Money spent for the cause would thus be wasted, and anyone involved in rescue operations, whether Arab, British, or Armenian, despite their good intentions, would fail.¹³⁷

Be that as it may, the women in the Shelter brought with them certain problems that required judicious solutions. One complication resulted from children born of Muslim fathers.¹³⁸ A case in point: Srpuhi from Izmit had a baby boy conceived in captivity. A court adjudicated in favor of returning him to his father. Srpuhi's brother and relatives tried to convince her to leave the child behind, because her prewar Armenian husband, who was alive and waiting in their hometown, would not accept the boy as his own. Srpuhi refused to heed the advice given and followed her child. The AGBU had to comply with the court's decision and considered the case closed, hoping that Srpuhi would take the baby to Izmit once he grew a little older.¹³⁹ Another difficulty pertained to wartime Muslim husbands going after their Armenian concubines or wives and reclaiming them at the Shelter. Accordingly, some inmates had to be sent away escorted by close relatives or compatriots.¹⁴⁰

Moral decline among recovered women similarly raised serious concerns and had to be addressed expeditiously. After their three years of unfamiliar and objectified life in captivity, the women's acquired alien customs had to be eliminated. Three methods were utilized to achieve the desired end. First, the inmates had to be kept busy with handiwork to take their minds off their unsavory experiences. Lace-making and embroidery thus became primary occupations. The AGBU headquarters in Cairo provided the raw materials and equipment such as needles, threads, fabric, shuttles, thimbles, and bobbins.¹⁴¹ Second, since most women were illiterate and children had forgotten all things Armenian, education would be the key to change of mindset and rediscovery of original ethnic self. Hence the need for textbooks, paper, and pens.¹⁴² Items sent from Cairo in May included: 2000 letterheads; 300 notebooks; 150 pencils; 100 penholders; 10 boxes of nibs; and 25 blotting papers, valued at 12 Egyptian pounds total.¹⁴³ Third, religious instruction, counseling, and pertinent lectures constituted parts of "moral care."¹⁴⁴ As a result of these interventions, "eye-catching changes" took place,¹⁴⁵ characterized by the transformation of the inmates into "true Armenian women" with "clean morals."¹⁴⁶ In the end, the AGBU expressed satisfaction for having fulfilled "a most noble task."¹⁴⁷

In the same vein, Shelter director Hmayag Ughurlian set his gaze beyond Damascus as the existence of a considerable number of Armenian women in Aleppo brothels pained him. These Genocide victims, he believed, were misguided and deceived. Proper and attractive living conditions ought to be created to lure them back into the Armenian familial fold. Although money spent for the cause might not yield commensurate results, the women could become repentant and even saintly "mothers of Armenia" by heeding "a voice that is dear to their hearts." An Armenian priest could be assigned to visit the various houses, spend countless hours in persuading the ladies, and "pick mothers from thorns."¹⁴⁸ The AGBU in Cairo, although somewhat skeptical about the outcome, considered the issue in a meeting, and instructed its affiliate in Aleppo to make an effort within the "realms of possibility" to liberate such cases from their predicament and return them to Armenian society.¹⁴⁹

In Damascus, the number of Armenians retrieved during the course of one year, from October 1918 to September 1919, remained modest. On March 7, 1919, it was reported that "a month-and-a-half ago," that is, sometime in January, over 100 captives had been liberated and brought to the Shelter. The same report also stated that barely 130 had seen their freedom, and 30 of these were either handed over to their surviving parents or placed in the (national) orphanage based on their young age.¹⁵⁰

A list of the 111 inmates housed in the Shelter on March 20, 1919, furnishes certain details about their backgrounds. In terms of age, 10 (1.8%) were children under twelve, 58 (52%) were teenagers, 41 (37%) were in their twenties, one was 30, and one, considered "an old woman," was 50. The only male was a 5-year-old boy, Vahan, kept together with his two sisters. At the time of their enslavement in 1915 or 1916, they must have been even younger by three to four years, thereby increasing the number of youngsters and teenagers and decreasing the number in their twenties at the time of capture. There were 11 pairs of sisters and two 3-sibling clusters, including that of Vahan (see Table 5).

The 111 inmates hailed from the following Ottoman *vilayets* (provinces): Sepasdia/Sivas including Gurin and Zile (23 persons/20.7%); Garin/Erzurum (13 persons/11.7%); Paghesh/Bitlis (10 persons/9%); Dikranagerd/Diyarbekir including Mardin (2 persons/1.8%); Kharpert/Mamuret ul-Aziz including Akdemir (1 person/0.9%); Bursa including Afyon Karahisar, Bilejik, Izmit, Banderma, and Adapazar (19 persons/15.3%); Angora including Chomakhlu (3 persons/2.7%); Edirne including Rodosto (1 person/0.9%); Gesaria/Kayseri (1 person/0.9%); Adana including Hajin, Mersin, Darson/Tarsus, Ojakli, Sis, and Dört Yol (9 persons/8.1%); Aleppo including Antioch, Kesab, Marash, Aintab, Kilis, and Zeytun (28 persons/25.2%); place of origin not indicated (1 or 0.9%). Therefore, 49 persons or 44% came from the eastern or so-called Armenian provinces of Sepasdia/Sivas, Garin/Erzurum, Paghesh/Bitlis, Kharpert/Mamuret ul-Aziz, and Dikranagerd/Diyarbekir (the sixth province, that of Van, was not mentioned, because most of its Armenian population at the time had fled to Mesopotamia/Iraq via Persia); 20 persons or 18% from the western provinces of Bursa and Edirne; 4 persons or 3.6% from the central provinces of Angora and Gesaria/Kayseri; and 37 persons or 33.3% from the southern provinces of Adana and Aleppo, encompassing Cilicia (see Table 5).

Notes pertaining to the specific situation of each rescued person reveal other details. They were listed as "woman" (married) and "girl" (unmarried). In the case of prewar marriages, the husbands were either drafted into the Ottoman army and lost, killed during the deportation, found in an unspecified volunteer Armenian fighting unit, or separated. Some husbands, fathers or brothers were in America and Russia. Other family members and kin were located in Aleppo, Hama, Port Said, and elsewhere. This fact notwithstanding, most inmates were described as *anok*, meaning lone and having no one to take care of them under the circumstances. A few girls had been forcibly raped; others had borne children in captivity.¹⁵¹

In the third week of June, only 65 inmates resided at the Shelter.¹⁵² By September, a total of 300 souls had been recovered,¹⁵³ estimated to be only

10 percent of the total number held among aliens.¹⁵⁴ This modest result was achieved with high financial cost and the involvement of daring Armenian young men and “vigorous” women,¹⁵⁵ including ARC orphanage director Fisher, who, “through her personal influence and supplications,” played a significant role in this campaign before returning to the United States in early July.¹⁵⁶

Information about the rescue campaign in summer and fall 1919 is scanty. Without indicating a specific time, Yotneghpayrian reported the following: “Because there were protests and disturbances in Damascus, Emir Faisal asked us to stop collecting the orphans for the time being until further notice. Thus we had to stop this noble mission, after collecting so many.”¹⁵⁷ Be that as it may, in a letter dated November 2, 1919, then ANU Chairman Khachadur Krikorian and the new Prelate of Damascus, Rev. Ashod Sarkisian, thanked Yotneghpayrian for his dedicated service but, given his busy schedule in other matters, asked him to hand over Amir Faysal’s letter of recommendation to a certain Artin Khachigian, a native of Adapazar, who would continue the reclamation mission.¹⁵⁸ Information is lacking as to what transpired thereafter.

REPATRIATION

After three years of exile, suffering, and family and community separation/destruction, the survivors in Damascus—indeed in the entire region—yearned to regain their homes as soon as possible.¹⁵⁹ Should the weather allow and the means be available, at least those who hailed from relatively near localities such as Adana, Aintab, Marash, and Kilis could go first. Accordingly, and despite the lack of transportation, very poor families traveled on their own, disregarding road hazards.¹⁶⁰ In late January 1919, permission was granted to fifty-sixty farmers per train to go free of charge to Beirut in order not to miss the cultivation and harvesting seasons in their hometowns. However, braving the cold, snowy weather, the first batches departed on foot in a festive mood after receiving communion at the church.¹⁶¹ Some 350 persons, mostly natives of Dört Yol, were scheduled to depart on February 19.¹⁶² In Beirut, the French rented three buildings to be used as a camp and fed some 900 refugees until travel by boat would be possible.¹⁶³ While the French sponsored the Damascus-Beirut-hometown trip, the British decided to send a number of refugees to their respective destinations via Haifa.¹⁶⁴

Uncertainty and joblessness among the hapless survivors, who roamed the streets surrounding the church and the rations depot awaiting “good news,” pushed the “extremely essential” repatriation agenda further to such an extent that it took precedence over relief work.¹⁶⁵ Despite the urgency, repatriation, which had barely started, came to a halt after the departure of

the February 19 convoy.¹⁶⁶ The AGBU headquarters in Cairo considered repatriation at this stage unwise so long as safety and food at the receiving end were not in place. Reports from Adana, for example, "complain[ed] bitterly against prevalent hardships," asking for political and economic security guarantees before repatriation could resume.¹⁶⁷

After a hiatus of more than a month, the homebound caravans moved on. In late April, about 500 natives of Constantinople and environs went to Beirut on their own, given sea travel was quite active between the Lebanese and Ottoman capitals. The Damascus-Aleppo overland trip, however, was closed.¹⁶⁸ That restriction was removed, effective April 28, as arrangements were made to send 150 refugees via Aleppo each day five days a week, more specifically, on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, and 50 on Wednesdays and Sundays each.¹⁶⁹ Thus, repatriation proceeded on a large scale for a month, but the planning and organization left much to be desired to overcome the prevalent confusion that portended "unfortunate consequences."¹⁷⁰ Meanwhile, the British asked the AGBU headquarters in Cairo whether they could clothe the 5000 Armenian refugees still in Damascus before they were sent off to their places of origin. The AGBU declined because of its obligations to clothe substantial numbers of survivors in Aleppo and Adana regions.¹⁷¹

Repatriation stopped once again, on June 1, when the British also ended food distribution, leaving that task to the AGBU.¹⁷² Stoppage of the movement angered the impatient refugees, leading to physical altercations, which also jeopardized the ANU's travails.¹⁷³ In any case, travel resume on the 23rd with 1400 refugees returning home via Beirut within a week. On July 2, the direction shifted to Hama, where the refugees would be kept for 8-10 days before embarking on the last leg of their journey to Dikranagerd, Urfa, and Mardin.¹⁷⁴ Another batch of 1400 Armenians departed Damascus for Constantinople on July 4. On the 12th, an additional 600 persons moved to Aleppo on their way home.¹⁷⁵ For all practical purposes, this on-again, off-again repatriation movement came to a close on September 1, when the Armenian National Orphanage was relocated to Hajin (see above). In September-October, only 250-300 refugees, native to Gesaria and most of whom wanted to spend the winter in Damascus, remained there.¹⁷⁶

The interlude between the liberation of Damascus on September 30, 1918, and the end of repatriation a year later was a transitional period for Armenian Genocide survivors in Damascus and environs. Myriad problems characterized the times: Food, shelter, health, clothing, orphan care, recovery from bondage, all constituted parts of the mosaic. Repatriation promised to end suffering and bring about a brighter future. All hopes were dashed, however, as the Armenians were obliged to leave their native soil once again

as a result of renewed massacres and expulsions and to settle mostly in Lebanon and Syria, including Damascus.

Table 1: Census of Armenian Refugees in Damascus, Late 1918 or 1919⁷⁷			
<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Persons</i>
Adana	1616	Izmit	99
Adapazar	590	Karaköy	232
Afyon Karahisar	500	Kaghadia	40
Aintab	1475	Karaman	38
Aksaray	52	Kesab	3
Akshehir	480	Keshif	9
Baghche	310	Kharpert	25
Banderma-Balekesir	270	Kilis	664
Bardizag	120	Konia	195
Bilejik	41	Marash	2083
Bor	60	Mardin	98
Burdur	50	Medznor village	79
Bursa	112	Mersin	306
Chalgara	28	Nallu Khan	17
Chengiler	110	Nevshehir	29
Chomakhlu	46	Nigde	150
Dardanelles	74	Ortaköy	15
Derejik	2	Ovajik	22
Dereköy	149	Rodosto	426
Dikranagerd	42	Samson, Marzofan, Chorum	128
Dört Yol	522	Sepasdia	42
Edirne	160	Shabin Karahisar	15
Eregli	120	Sivrihisar-Eskishehir	110
Evereg	312	Sis	602
Eynesh	35	Sölöz	40
Eziné	33	Sparta	60
Findijak	315	Tashkhan	158
Gallipoli	16	Tarsus	203
Garin	126	Tomarza	591
Gesaria	953	Urfa	106
Geyve	75	Yenije	217
Gurin	242	Yerznnga	4
Hajin	665	Yozgat	172
Hijan	15	Zeytun	415
Iskenderun	586		
Total 17,755			

Table 2: Relief Distribution by the ANU on Behalf of the EADS to Armenian Refugees in Damascus and Environs, December 1918⁷⁸

<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Amount (in piasters)</i>
Afyon Karahisar	92	247	6,190.50
Tarsus	30	107	2,160
Marash	171	411	9,364
Bardizag	18	48	1,037.50
Konia-Aksaray	11	35	700.50
Gesaria	53	163	3,062.50
Chengiler-Michakiugh	30	80	1,770
Sparta	20	48	1,067.50
Burdur	11	30	642.50
Artas-Jideda	6	27	500
Bilejik	14	31	717.50
Chanakkale and Gallipoli	30	57	1,390
Sis	35	132	2,515
Banderma-Balekesir	48	128	2,827.50
Aintab	84	237	5,110
Edirne	23	93	1,115
Konia-Eregli	15	64	1,190
Iskenderun-Beylan	46	168	3,275.50
Akshehir	70	180	4,007.50
Sivrihisar-Eskishehir	22	61	1,310
Diyarbakir	10	26	580.50
Rodosto-Malgara	44	144	3,026
Mersin	18	75	1,625
Adana	172	615	12,285
Geyve	21	47	1,105.50
Hajin	35	137	2,295
Izmit	21	70	1,415
Chengiler and Gemleyig	5	16	322.50
Yozgat, Samson, Chorum	28	58	1,350
Bor	8	32	622.50
Madaniye	8	31	597.50
Gurin	44	98	2,312
Nigde	28	84	1,753
Yozgat villages	20	54	1,192.50
Konya	21	70	1,315
Kilis	54	218	4,125
Nalle Khan	4	6	157.50
Bursa and surroundings	64	141	3,262.50
Karaman	5	14	312.50
Dört Yol	28	128	2,281
Adapazar	82	156	3,840

Urfa	40	67	1,657.50
Garin	23	52	1,167.50
Various places	54	106	2,567.50
Catholics	60	143	3,132.50
<i>Total</i>	1726	4935	104,253.50

Table 3: Population of the Armenian National Refugee Camp, December 19, 1918¹⁷⁹

<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>
Aintab	125	101	99	74	399
Dört Yol	84	70	75	65	294
Kilis	107	91	86	81	365
Ehresh	11	9	10	4	34
Dereköy	65	28	34	20	147
Findijak	122	71	70	43	306
Keshif	25	8	13	9	55
Iskenderun	52	56	29	33	170
Tomarza	47	34	27	23	131
Sis	37	34	33	20	124
Marash	106	157	81	114	458
Adana	61	56	29	33	179
Baghche	39	34	24	15	112
Karaköy	111	33	63	59	266
Mekhal	33	13	18	9	73
Adapazar	35	25	17	24	101
Hajin	74	40	55	66	235
Zeytun	60	80	81	18	239
Evereg	23	12	5	31	71
Yenije	66	46	40	75	227
Gurin	11	8	5	10	34
Various places	114	59	81	75	329
<i>Total</i>	1408	1065	975	901	4349

Table 4: Daily Ration of Food Distributed by the British in the Armenian Refugee Camp, December 1918¹⁸⁰

Food (in grams)	Adults	Children 7-10	Children under 7	Weak Persons
Bread	675	337,5	337,5	600
Meat or Fish	140	140	70	60
Lentil	50	50	25	33
Cracked wheat	50	50	38,3	33,3
Vegetables	150	150	-	100
Kitchen fat	30	30	15	15
Onion	15	15	7,5	15
Salt	15	15	7,5	15

Tea	0,7	0,7	0,35	1
Sugar	20	20	27	60
Pepper	1	1	1	1
Milk	-	-	145	350
Corn flour	-	-	2,8	-
Butter	-	-	-	30
Eggs	-	-	-	1
Rice	50	50	-	50

Table 5: Rescued Women and Girls at the Shelter, March 20, 1919^[8]

No	Name	Father	Mother	Surname	Provenance	Age
1	Rosa	Haji Melkon	Khatun	Chaparian	Antioch	16
2	Siranush	Mardiros	Anna	Atoian	Gurin	18
3	Yeghisapet	Isahag	Hripsime	Peltegian	Dört Yol	16
4	Eliza	Toros	Gulenia	Habeshian	Aintab	15
5	Hripsime	Hovsep	Anna	Agheksanian	Gurin	19
6	Rebecca	"	"	"	"	14
7	Yeranuhi	"	"	"	"	12
8	Mariam	Apraham	Horosig	Aghacharian	"	15
9	Hayganush	"	"	"	"	20
10	Gulkhater	Hagop	Hripsime	Boghossian	Sis	14
11	Zabel	"	"	"	"	16
12	Tjkhui	Hovhannes	Yeghisapet	Avakian	Afyon Karahisar	19
13	Yeranuhi	Harutiun	Anna	Baharian	Gurin	20
14	Nuritsa	Sarkis	Mariam	Atoian	"	26
15	Azniv	Vosgan	Harzig	Morekian	Sivas	20
16	Mari	"	"	"	"	18
17	Anna	Mardiros	Elbis	Parlakian	"	22
18	Yeghisapet	Khachadur	Varsemi	Andonian	Banderma	17
19	Hripsime	Garabed	Mariam	Hajian	Afyon Karahisar	22
20	Mari	Hagop	Zerif	Tashjian	Kilis	18
21	Arusiag	"	"	"	"	13
22	Nectar	Garabed	Hripsime	Chakrian	Banderma	23
23	Yester	Harutiun	Khatun	Megheshian?	Kilis	22
24	Vosgi	Sahag?	Vartuhi	Ghazarian	Garin	21
25	Nevrig	Kapriel	Veronig	Papazian	Bursa	19
26	Mariam	Harutiun	Herka	Katmerian	Gurin	17
27	Hnazant	Harutiun	Srpui	Aghazarian	"	20
28	Dikranuhi	"	"	"	"	18
29	Yughaper	Minas	Marta	Shegoian	Garin	27
30	Mari	Nahabed	Lusaper	Aprahamian	Mersin	16
31	Dznunt	Hovhannes	Nuritsa	Chalekian	Bursa	15
32	Azniv	Kevork	Nuritsa	Palanjian	Afyon Karahisar	16
33	Turfanda	Avak	Maritsa	Gedikian	Marash	15

34	Sara	"	"	"	"	10
35	Turfanda	Kasbar	Tamam	Manugian	"	20
36	Mari	Harutiu	Sara	Panosian	"	17
37	Yeghisapet	Hovhannes	Hermion	Varteresian	Garin	21
38	Baidzar	Garabed	Yeghisapet	Shenlikian	Akdemir	22
39	Elmas	Ghugas	Shushan	Papazian	Dikranagerd	24
40	Eliza	Takvor	Takuhi	DerHovsepian?	Banderma	15
41	Elmas	Vartevan	Mariam	Chnnozian	Garin	14
42	Anna	Misak	Hnazant	Kuyumjian	"	15
43	Dikranuhi	Dikran	Gulenser	Geretlian	Gesaria	16
44	Santukhd	Hovhannes	Khatun	Kantsabedian	Marash	25
45	Vahan	"	"	"	"	5
46	Azniv	"	"	"	"	12
47	Verjin	Krikor	Vartuhi	Kasabian	Zeytun	17
48	Nvart	"	"	"	"	15
49	Srpuhi	Boghos	Mannig	Chalmalian	Bursa	17
50	Tereza	"	"	"	"	14
51	Mariam	Hovsep	Annug	Yapujian	Adana	27
52	Turfand	Krikor	Mennush	Khamlkozian?	Marash	17
53	Shehtut?	Sdepan	Shushan	Mazmanian	Sepasdia	26
54	Nver	Khachadur	Yevkine	Bakrjian	Adapazar	30
55	Sona	Bedros	Mariam	Apigian	Dört Yol	15
56	Yeghsa	Bedros	Jesmin	Ajemian	Kilis	28
57	Siranush	Kevork	Nuritsa	Kestekian	Hajin	14
58	Arshagui	Arsen	Yepron	Ayvazian	Darson	16
59	Shnorhig	Isgender	Keghetsig	Baronian	Bursa	18
60	Mariam	Hagop	Hripsime	Bahadrian	Ojakli	25
61	Nushig	Avedis	Mariam	Seferian	Paghesh	20
62	Yaghgül	Khachig	Zmo	Vartanian	"	18
63	Azniv	Avedis	Yeva	Giragosian	"	27
64	Rosa	Bedros	Siranush	Kaymeian	"	25
65	Yeghno	Manug	Chichek	Kozoian	"	24
66	Selvin	Setrag	Lusin	Melkonian	"	23
67	Naymesh	Manug	Zmo	Bedoian	"	28
68	Tanto	Khachadur	Suzan	Mgian	"	28
69	Araxi	Boghos	Zmrukhd	Vertoian	"	15
70	Ngar	Kasbar	Sré	Shahinian	"	50
71	Satenig	Hovhannes	Antaram	Tashjian	Adapazar	25
72	Vosgi	Dikran	Manan	Sinianian	Chomakhlu	16
73	Diruhi	Kevork	Barig	Enterian	Garin	19
74	Lusaper	Garabed	Lusia	Tanielian	Sepasdia	19
75	Zvart	Yeghishe	Azniv	Aznavorian	Garin	19
76	Akabi	Mardiros	Anna	Medzoian	"	19
77	Paris	Avak	Sophia	Ktoian	"	19

78	Nazenik	Sarkis	Menush	Santurian	Marash	21
79	Khatun	Artin	Mariam	Zanebian	"	14
80	Kayané	Kazlob?	Mannig	Abberian	Bilejik	18
81	Navasart	Parsegh	Dznunt	Bchakian	Bursa	14
82	Maritsa	Setrag	Mari	Zhamgochian	Afyon Karahisar	22
83	Hripsime	Harutiun	Annig	Palasian	Marash	14
84	Turfand	Boghos	Altun	Darakjian	"	28
85	Arusiag	Manug	Sima	Boyajian	"	15
86	Gadariné	"	"	"	"	10
87	Breskia?	Boghos	Markarid	Piligian?	Sivaz	17
88	Araxi	"	"	"	"	12
89	Zvart	Antranig	Baidzar	Zakeosian	Adapazar	14
90	Mari	Yakub	Seydi	Bilo	Mardin	20
91	Siruhi	Hovhannes	Huspeg?	Jivelegian	Banderna	15
92	Tamez	Nazar	Mariam	Kanlejian	Marash	12
93	Siranush	Serop	Aghavni	Khankian	Sepasdia	16
94	Gulenia	Hovhannes	Mariam	Shimenian	Kesab	20
95	Vartanush	Mardiros	Mariam	Beghdeian	Garin	17
96	Annitsa	Sarkis	Polor	Eynkezikian?	Chomakhlu	24
97	Gulenia	Hovsep	Rahel	Arnavutian	Kesab	17
98	Vartanush	Vartevan	Mariam	Kesenian?	Gurin	18
99	Ardemis	Arutig	Tshkhuhi	Arabian	Garin	27
100	Filor	Donagan	Nargis	Gulenian	"	20
101	Yeghsapet	Bagdasar	Mariam	Aderian	Marash	15
102	Marta	Manug	Khantut	D.Aprahamian	Gurin	22
103	Santukhd	"	"	"	"	17
104	Barnsge	Hagop	Isguhi	Brunian	Rodosto	18
105	Mari	Mgrditch	Gurji	Tanielian	Marash	23
106	Hranush	"	Mari	"	"	5
107	Turfand	Tavit	Gulkhatun	Haytaian	N/A	20
108	Satenig	Hagop	Shoghagat	Chaghlaian	Garin	10
109	Victor	Hovnan	Verkin	Vosganian	Izmit	20
110	Anna	Rapael	Aghoni	Malkhasian	Chomakhlu	9
111	Nazeli	Kapriel	Maritsa	Kurkjian	Zile	11

ENDNOTES

¹ Ara Sarafian, comp. and intro., *United States Official Records on the Armenian Genocide 1915-1917*, Princeton and London, Gomidas Institute, 2004, pp. 202, 207, 295-99, 308, 311, 314-15, 381-84, 442, 489, 497, 617; Hilmar Kaiser, "The Armenian Deportees in Hauran and Karak Districts during the Armenian Genocide," in Antranik Dakessian, ed., *Armenians of Jordan: Proceedings of the Conference (22-24 May 2016)*, Beirut, Haigazian University Press, 2019, pp. 45-47, 50-51, 59, 77.

- ² For Jemal Pasha's ambiguous role, see Ümit Kurt, "A Rescuer, an Enigma and a Génocidaire," in Hans-Lukas Kieser, Margaret Lavinia Anderson, Seyhan Bayraktar, and Thomas Schmutz (eds.), *The End of the Ottomans: The Genocide of 1915 and the Politics of Turkish Nationalism*, London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi, Sydney, I.B. Tauris, 2019, pp. 221-45; [Sarkis] Sagherian, *Gisatarian Hushamodian (1895-1945). Ughavorutiun me Arkeosen Davros* (A Half-Century Memorial Book [1895-1945]: An Itinerary from Argaeus to the Taurus), Paris, Imprimerie Artistique, 1948, p. 122.
- ³ Manase Sevagian, "Tamasgos yev Hayere Kaghakin Angumen Arach. Khaghagh Shrchane Tamasgosi Hayerun" (Damascus and the Armenians before the city's fall: The peaceful period of Damascus Armenians), *Arev* (Sun) (Alexandria, Egypt), November 8, 1918; Kaiser, "The Armenian Deportees," p. 56.
- ⁴ Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) Archives, Cairo, Egypt, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931* (Damascus 1910-1931), Hmayag Ughurlian and Yeghia S. Behesnlian to AGBU Chairman in Cairo, November 13, 1918; Yeghishe Chilingirian, *Ngarakrutiunk Yerusaghemi-Halebi-Tamasgosi Kaghtaganagan yev Vanagan Zanazan Tibats yev Antskeru 1914-1918* (Descriptions of the Miscellaneous Refugee and Monastic Events and Happenings 1914-1918), Alexandria, Egypt, A. Sdepanian Printing, 1922, p. 30; Sevagian, "Tamasgos yev Hayere," *Arev*, November 8, 1918.
- ⁵ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Ughurlian and Behesnlian to AGBU Chairman in Cairo, November 13, 1918; "Tamasgosi yev Shrchagayki Hayots Gatsutiune" (The situation of Armenians in Damascus and environs), *Arev*, November 29, 1918.
- ⁶ *Arev*, November 8, 1918. For the Aintura orphanage, see Karnig Panian, *Goodbye, Antoura: A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide*, Simon Beugekian, trans., (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015); Hilmar Kaiser, "The Armenians in Lebanon during the Armenian Genocide," in Aida Boudjikianian, ed., *Armenians of Lebanon: From Past Princesses and Refugees to Present-Day Community*, Beirut, Lebanon, and Belmont, MA, Haigazian University/Armenian Heritage Press of NAASR, 2009, pp. 45-54.
- ⁷ Arthur Beylerian, comp. and ed., *Les Grandes Puissances, l'Empire Ottoman et les Arméniens dans les Archives Françaises (1914-1918)*, preface by Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1983, pp. 205-06.
- ⁸ *Arev*, November 8, 1918.
- ⁹ For the transfer of Armenian and other clergymen from Jerusalem to Damascus and their life in exile there, see Chilingirian, pp. 39-44; Sagherian, pp. 95-105.
- ¹⁰ See Archbishop Maghakia Ormanian, *Khohk yev Khosk ir Gianki Verchin Shrchanin Mech* (Thoughts and Words in the Last Period of His Life), Jerusalem, St. James Press, 1929; Sagherian, pp. 99-100.
- ¹¹ Vahram L. Shemmassian, "The Press of Armenian Genocide Survivors in Syria (1916-1919)," *Haigazian Armenological Review*, 2004:24, pp. 211-33.
- ¹² Kaiser, "The Armenian Deportees," pp. 80, 101; Sagherian, pp. 130-31.
- ¹³ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Vahan Malezian and M. Antranigian to Khachadur Krikorian, Sarkis G. Harents, and Kevork Krikorian, November 4, 1918.

- ¹⁴ United States National Archives (USNA), RG 200, Carton 914, File *Finance and Accounts*, John Ward to Henry P. Davison, November 30, 1918.
- ¹⁵ *Husaper* (Hope Bearer) (Cairo), November 26, 1918. See also AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Ughurlian and Behesnilian to AGBU Chairman in Cairo, November 13, 1918.
- ¹⁶ USNA, Records of the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (now in College Park, MD), Record Group (RG) 200, Records of the American Red Cross, Carton 914, File 967.08, *Commission to Palestine: Reports, Statistics, Surveys 1918-1919*, Report on conditions in Damascus with a view to relief from the A.R.C. (Investigations of Capt. Waggett, Lt. Fielding, both of the B.E.F., and Allan Hunter, during the last week of October), November 1918. As a rule, those remittances and gifts, which came from the United States, France, and Egypt, were sent to Damascus via Cairo (AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Malezian and Antranigian to Khachadur Krikorian, February 26, 1919).
- ¹⁷ *Husaper*, November 26, 1918.
- ¹⁸ USNA, RG 200, Carton 914, File *Finance and Accounts*, Ward to Davison, November 30, 1918, November 27, 1918. See also American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) Archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, ABC: 16.5, vol. 6, John Ward to James Barton, December 4, 1918.
- ¹⁹ USNA, RG 200, Carton 914, File 967.08, *Commission to Palestine*, Ward to Davison, December 31, 1918.
- ²⁰ A[ntranig] N. Genjian, "Hayere Tamasgosi mech (Azadakrumen Arach yev [Verch])" (The Armenians in Damascus [before and after liberation]), *Yeridasart Hayasdan* (Young Armenia) (Providence, RI), November 19, 1919. The committee members were: Antranig Genjian, Chairman; Dr. L. Kiurkjian, Secretary; Sarkis Sagharian, Treasurer; Kevork Mosdichian; Onnig Papazian; Yeghia Behesnilian; Hmayag Ughurlian; Bishop Garabed Mazlemian; Bishop Karekin Khachadurian, advisors.
- ²¹ Ibid. The committee members were: Antranig Genjian; Sarkis Sagharian; Hrant Sulahian, Yeghia Behesnilian; Hmayag Ughurlian; Mihran Dadigosian; Garabed Babigian; Bishop Garabed Mazlemian; Bishop Karekin Khachadurian. Their specific functions were not mentioned.
- ²² Armenian Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia (ACGHC) Archives, Antelias, Lebanon, File 3/2, *Tamasgos* (Damascus), Bishop Bedros Sarajian to Catholicos Sahag II Khabayan, November 18/December 1, 1918. Besides Genjian, the other members of the Damascus ANU were Hrant Sulahian, Hmayag Ughurlian, Sarkis Sagharian, Khachadur Krikorian, Isgender Keoroghluian, and Mihratd Boyajian. The number/title of this file may have changed as a result of the reorganization/reclassification of the ACGHC archives in the recent past.
- ²³ Egyptian Armenian Relief Committee (EARC), *Deghegadvutian yev Hashvedvutian Siurio Yekibdahay Badviragutian* (Report and Account of the Egyptian Armenian Delegation to Syria), Alexandria, Egypt, A. Kasbarian Press, 1919, p. 5. The EADS formation date can be gleaned from page 113.
- ²⁴ Ibid., pp. 6-8.

- ²⁵ Ibid., p. 9. See also AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Malezian and Antranigian to Hmayag Ughurlian, December 3, 1918.
- ²⁶ Great Britain, Public Record Office, Kew, United Kingdom, Foreign Office (FO) Archives, 371/3405, 196969/55708/44, Boghos Nubar to Arthur James Balfour, November 26, 1918.
- ²⁷ ACGHC, File 3/2, *Tamasgos*, Sarajian to Sahag II, December 7/20, 1918; EARC, *Deghegadvutiun yev Hashvedvutiun*, pp. 23-24, 45.
- ²⁸ EARC, *Deghegadvutiun yev Hashvedvutiun*, pp. 21-47.
- ²⁹ The AGBU chapter of Damascus was established on March 1/14, 1913, by the efforts of Rev. Yeremia Liforian. A general meeting, held on March 17/30 at the Prelacy under the presidency of Rev. Arisdages Khachadurian and in the presence of 22 members, elected a 5-member executive committee (AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Record of the AGBU Formation, March 20, 1913; Rev. Yeremia Liforian and Rupen Baghdasarian to AGBU Central Committee in Cairo, March 26, 1913; Rev. Liforian to AGBU Central Committee in Cairo, March 26, 1913; Membership Roster of Damascus AGBU Chapter, March 1/14, 1913).
- ³⁰ Ibid., Malezian and Antranigian to Kh. Krikorian, S. Harents, and K. Krikorian, November 4, 1918.
- ³¹ Ibid., Ughurlian to AGBU Chair in Cairo, January 22, 1919. See also idem, Herents and Kh. Krikorian to AGBU Central Council, January 18, 1919.
- ³² Ibid., Cairo AGBU to Bishop Sarajian, January 10, 1919.
- ³³ Ibid., Malezian to Kh. Krikorian, Harents, and K. Krikorian, December 23, 1918.
- ³⁴ Ibid., Antranigian and Malezian to Bishop Sarajian, telegram no. 11093 to Bishop Sarajian, January 10, 1919; Antranigian and Malezian telegram no. 11133 to Ughurlian and Sagherian, January 10, 1919; Ughurlian to AGBU Chair in Cairo, January 22, 1919.
- ³⁵ Ibid., AGBU Cairo (no signature) to Khachadur Krikorian, March 6, 1919.
- ³⁶ Ibid., Bishop Bedros Sarajian, Bishop Bahabianian, Sulahian, and Ughurlian to AGBU Chair in Cairo, February 18, 1919; Hovhannes Terzibashian to Malezian, February 15, 1919. The other members were: Khachadur Krikorian, 1st Chair; Hrants Sulahian, 2nd Chair; Hmayag Ughurlian, 1st Secretary; Mihran Boyajian, 2nd Secretary; Antranig Genjian; Isgender Keoroghlian; Sarkis Harents; and Hovhannes Krikorian, Advisors.
- ³⁷ Ibid., Sarajian, Bahabianian, Sulahian, and Ughurlian to AGBU Chair in Cairo, February 18, 1919.
- ³⁸ Ibid., Terzibashian to Malezian, February 24, 1919 (received).
- ³⁹ Ibid., Cairo AGBU (no signature) to Terzibashian, February 28, 1919.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., Vosgan Zorayan and Garabed Papazian to AGBU Central Council in Cairo, April 7, 1921.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., Founder and 1st Treasurer of Gesaria AGBU chapter (signature illegible) to Malezian, February 24, 1919.
- ⁴² Ibid., AGBU Cairo (no signature) to Kh. Krikorian, March 6, 1919.
- ⁴³ Ibid., Dr. Vahram Shirinian to AGBU Chair in Cairo, March 18, 1919.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., AGBU Cairo (signature illegible) to Sagherian, March 26, 1919.

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- ⁴⁵ Ibid., Terzibashian to Malezian, February 15, 1919.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., Sulahian and Ughurlian to Malezian, April 5, 1919.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid., Ughurlian to Malezian, March 29, 1919.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid., Sulahian and Ughurlian to Malezian, April 5, 1919.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., Ughurlian to Malezian, March 29, 1919.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., Sulahian and Ughurlian to Malezian, April 5, 1919.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., Treasurer Ughurlian and President Bishop Sarajian, Damascus AGBU Committee Balance Sheet for four and a half months [must be five and a half months] (1919 March 1-13 August 1919), August 13, 1919.
- ⁵² Chilingirian, p. 48; Genjian, "Hayere Tamasgosi Mech," November 22, 1919.
- ⁵³ Genjian, "Hayere Tamasgosi Mech," November 22, 1919.
- ⁵⁴ Chilingirian, p. 48.
- ⁵⁵ Genjian, "Hayere Tamasgosi Mech," November 22, 1919.
- ⁵⁶ ACGHC, File 3/2, *Tamasgos*, Sarajian to Sahag II, November 18/December 1, 1918. The other members of the ad hoc committee were Antranig Genjian, Hrant Sulahian, Hmayag Ughurlian, Yeghia Behesnilian, Mihrdad Boyajian, Arshag Zakarian, and Khachadur Krikorian.
- ⁵⁷ "Azadakrvadz Hayeru Voroshume" (The Decision of Emancipated Armenians), *Hairenik* (Fatherland) (Boston), January 22, 1919. This article was reprinted from *Husaper* (date not mentioned), which, in turn, had obtained its information from *Journal du Caire*.
- ⁵⁸ ACGHC, File 3/2, *Tamasgos*, Sarajian to Sahag II, November 18/December 1, 1918. The park was rented for ¾ mejidiye. The number of participants is mentioned in *Hairenik*, January 22, 1919.
- ⁵⁹ ACGHC, File 3/2, *Tamasgos*, Sarajian to Sahag II, November 18/December 1, 1918.
- ⁶⁰ "Tamasgian Hay Giank" (Damascene Armenian life), *Hay Tzayn* (Armenian Voice) (Aleppo), January 31, 1919; Genjian, "Hayere Tamasgosi Mech," *Yeridasart Hayasdan*, November 26, 1919.
- ⁶¹ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Ughurlian and Behesnilian to the AGBU Chair in Cairo, November 13, 1918.
- ⁶² "Tamasgian Hay Giank," *Hay Tzayn*, January 31, 1919.
- ⁶³ "Hayutiune Tamasgosi Mech" (The Armenians in Damascus), *Giligia* (Cilicia) (Adana), July 24, 1919.
- ⁶⁴ Genjian, "Hayere Tamasgosi Mech," *Yeridasart Hayasdan*, November 19, 1919.
- ⁶⁵ Libarid Arshagian, *Anabadi Hushakir* (Levon Yotneghpayriani Gianke yev Kordzuneutiune) [Desert Memoir (The Life and Activity of Levon Yotneghpayrian)], Los Angeles, Parian Photographic Design, 2003, pp. 125-28; Levon Parian and Ishkhan Jinbashian (eds.), *Crows of the Desert: Memoirs of Levon Yotnakhparian*, translated from the Armenian by Victoria Parian, Tujunga, CA, Parian Photographic Design, 2012, pp. 39-98; AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Levon Yotneghpayrian to Malezian, October 24, 1918.
- ⁶⁶ Chilingirian, pp. 48-51.
- ⁶⁷ Great Britain, India Office Archives, London, File L/P & S/11/140, P 4580/1918, doc. 5157, B.B. Cubitt to Under Secretary of State, Foreign Affairs, November 7, 1918.

- ⁶⁸ Ibid., FO 471/3405, 206135/55708/44, Mark Sykes to FO, December 13, 1918.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., minutes of a FO insider, December 17, 1918.
- ⁷⁰ Hoover Institute Archives (HIA), Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA, American National Red Cross Records (ANRCR), Reel 159, Box 114, File 20, p. 547, Receipts/Expenditures, June, 1919, Damascus.
- ⁷¹ USNA, RG 200, Carton 914, File 967.08, *Commission to Palestine*, Ward to Davison, January 4, 1919.
- ⁷² Ibid., Report on Relief Needs for Damascus & O.E.T.A. East, March 1, 1919.
- ⁷³ EARC, *Deghegadvutun yev Hashvedvutun*, p. 46; AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Terzibashian to Malezian, February 15, 1919.
- ⁷⁴ HIA, ANRCR, Reel 159, Box 114, File 11, p. 109, Kashishian cable from Damascus to American Red [Cross], stamp marked November 5, 1918.
- ⁷⁵ USNA, RG 200, Carton 914, File *Finance and Accounts*, Ward to Davison, November 30, 1918.
- ⁷⁶ ABCFM, ABC: 16.5, vol. 6, Ward to Barton, December 4, 1918.
- ⁷⁷ USNA, RG 200, Carton 914, File *Finance and Accounts*, Ward to Davison, November 30, 1918.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid., Ward to Secretary of State in Washington D.C., for Davison, November 27, 1918.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid., Ward to Davison, November 30, 1918.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid., File 967.08, *Commission to Palestine*, Ward to Davison, January 4, 1919.
- ⁸¹ Ibid., Capt. Clark, A.R.C. Report, Damascus City, January 11, 1919.
- ⁸² Archbishop Yeghishe Chilingirian, "Tamasgosi Hayere" (The Armenians of Damascus), *Arev*, November 6, 1918.
- ⁸³ USNA, RG 200, Carton 914, File 967.08, *Commission to Palestine*, Capt. Clark, A.R.C. Report—Damascus City, January 11, 1919.
- ⁸⁴ Genjian, "Hayere Tamasgosi Mech," November 26, 1919.
- ⁸⁵ EARC, *Deghegadvutun yev Hashvedvutun*, pp. 23-25.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 26-27.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 27-28; Genjian, "Hayere Tamasgosi Mech," November 26, 1919.
- ⁸⁸ EARC, *Deghegadvutun yev Hashvedvutun*, p. 27.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 30. Families with more than seven members received 6 metelik per person. A metelik is a small coin.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 32.
- ⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 29-32. See also ACGHC, File 3/2, *Tamasgos*, Sarajian to Sahag II, July 24, 1918.
- ⁹² Genjian, "Hayere Tamasgosi Mech," November 22, 1919. For Hasan Bey's kind treatment of Armenian deportees in Damascus, see Kaiser, "The Armenian Deportees," pp. 74-75.
- ⁹³ ACGHC, File 3/2, *Tamasgos*, Sarajian to Sahag II, July 24, 1918, July 31, 1918.
- ⁹⁴ EARC, *Deghegadvutun yev Hashvedvutun*, p. 33.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 33-36.
- ⁹⁶ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Ughurlian to Malezian, June 12, 1919.
- ⁹⁷ EARC, *Deghegadvutun yev Hashvedvutun*, pp. 35.

- ⁹⁸ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Krikorian and Ughurlian to Honorable Sirs of AGBU in Cairo, March 17, 1919.
- ⁹⁹ Ibid., Sulahian and Ughurlian to Cairo AGBU Chair, November 13, 1918; EARC, *Deghegadvutun yev Hashvedvutun*, pp. 34-35; *Arev*, November 29, 1918.
- ¹⁰⁰ EARC, *Deghegadvutun yev Hashvedvutun*, pp. 43-44.
- ¹⁰¹ Chilingirian, "Tamasgosi Hayere," *Arev*, November 6, 1918; *Husaper*, November 26, 1918.
- ¹⁰² EARC, *Deghegadvutun yev Hashvedvutun*, p. 36.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 36-37.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 37-38.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Husaper*, February 27, 1919.
- ¹⁰⁶ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Kh. Krikorian and Ughurlian to Honorable Sirs of AGBU in Cairo, March 17, 1919.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid., Sulahian and Ughurlian to Malezian, April 15, 1919.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid., Kh. Krikorian and Ughurlian to Honorable Sirs in Cairo, March 17, 1919.
- ¹⁰⁹ USNA, RG 200, Carton 914, File 967.08, *Commission to Palestine*, Capt. Clark, A.R.C. Report—Damascus City, January 11, 1919.
- ¹¹⁰ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Ughurlian to Malezian, June 12, 1919. Fisher was assisted by Mademoiselle Joannette, a French woman.
- ¹¹¹ Church of the Brethren Library and Archives, Elgin, IL, "Observations: Notes Taken While on A Trip to the Near East by A Group of Sunday School Folks under the Direction and Support of Cleveland A. Dodge Who Was Deeply Interested in Armenian Relief. Seventeen Denominations Were Represented. Time March to July, 1919. Notes by J.E. Miller Who Represented the Church of the Brethren," Reports of the Syrian Group.
- ¹¹² Ibid.
- ¹¹³ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁴ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Sulahian and Ughurlian to Honorable Sirs of AGBU in Cairo, June 20, 1919.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibid., Ughurlian to Honorable Sirs of AGBU in Cairo, July 5, 1919.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid., Terzibashian to Malezian, February 15, 1919; Raymond H. Kévorkian and Vahé Tachjian, eds., *The Armenian General Benevolent Union: One Hundred Years of History*, vol. 1, 1906-1940, Cairo, Paris, New York, AGBU Central Board of Directors, 2006, p. 74. The weekly expenses of the orphanage were 25 Egyptian pounds.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid., Sarajian to Malezian, September 11, 1919.
- ¹¹⁸ *Miutun*, no. 73 (January-February, 1919): 9.
- ¹¹⁹ AGBU, *Hashvegshir yev Deghegakir 11rt, 12rt, 13rt yev 14rt Shrchanneru 1916-1919* (Account and Report of the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th Periods 1916-1919), Cairo, AGBU Printing, 1920, p. 120; Kévorkian and Tachjian, p. 75 (here the number of beds is mentioned to be 35); *Miutun*, no. 68 (March-April, 1919): 20; idem, no. 69 (May-June, 1919): 37. For Dr. Kapamajian's title, see AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Sulahian and Ughurlian to Malezian, April 5, 1919.

- ¹²⁰ Ibid., Liste de Médicaments et Autres Produits Pharmaceutiques Envoyés par l'Union Generale Arménienne de Bienfaisance au Conseil Local de Damas (à Mr. H. Oughourlian), pour le Dispensaire de la Société au Profit des Déportées et Réfugiés Arméniens, May 24, 1919.
- ¹²¹ AGBU, *Hashvegshir yev Deghegagir*, p. 120; *Miutun*, no. 68 (March-April, 1919): 20; idem, no. 69 (May-June, 1919): 37.
- ¹²² EARC, *Deghegadvutun yev Hashvedvutun*, pp. 27-29.
- ¹²³ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Ughurlian to Malezian, June 12, 1919.
- ¹²⁴ For the recovery of enslaved Armenians in Syria, see Vahram L. Shemmassian, "The Reclamation of Captive Armenian Genocide Survivors in Syria and Lebanon at the End of World War I," *Journal of the Society of Armenian Studies* 2006:15, pp. 113-40; Vahram L. Shemmassian, "The League of Nations and the Reclamation of Armenian Genocide Survivors," in Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *Looking Backward, Moving Forward: Confronting the Armenian Genocide*, New Brunswick, USA, and London, UK, Transaction Publishers, 2003, pp. 94-106; Harut Sassounian, "An Incredible Armenian Who Retrieved Armenian Orphans from the Syrian Desert," *The California Courier* (May 28, 2020), p. 4.
- ¹²⁵ EARC, *Deghegadvutun yev Hashvedvutun*, pp. 38-39.
- ¹²⁶ Kévorkian and Tachjian, p. 75. According to *Miutun*, no. 73 (January-February, 1919), p. 9, the "shelter-home" was established on November 16, 1918. This date does not seem plausible, because the EADS arrived a month later, when a shelter did not yet exist but efforts were being made in that regard.
- ¹²⁷ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Kh. Krikorian and Ughurlian to AGBU Honorable Sirs in Cairo, March 7, 1919; *Miutun*, no. 68 (March-April, 1919), p. 20.
- ¹²⁸ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Kh. Krikorian and Ughurlian to AGBU Honorable Sirs in Cairo, March 7, 1919.
- ¹²⁹ Ibid., Antranigian to Khachadurian, March 20, 1919
- ¹³⁰ Ibid., Kh. Krikorian and Ughurlian to Honorable Sirs of AGBU in Cairo, March 7, 1919. For rescue efforts in Transjordan, consult Vahram L. Shemmassian, "Armenian Genocide Survivors in Palestine and Transjordan at the End of World War I," *Armenians of Jordan*, pp. 123-26. For the February 28, 1919, massacre of Armenian refugees in Aleppo, see Vincent Mistrh, "Un Incident à Alep Contre les Arméniens (Février 1919)," *Studia Orientalia Christiana – Collectanea* 1999:32, pp. 277-348; James L. Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties: Nationalism and Mass Politics in Syria at the Close of Empire*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 1998, pp. 45, 82, 183.
- ¹³¹ Parian and Jinbashian, p. 97.
- ¹³² AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Ughurlian to AGBU Honorable Sirs in Cairo, July 5, 1919.
- ¹³³ Parian and Jinbashian, p. 97.
- ¹³⁴ Arshagian, p. 131.
- ¹³⁵ Ibid., Sarajian and Ughurlian to Malezian, August 15, 1919. The rescued persons, all females, were: Takuhi Kasbar, 8 years of age, from Chomaklu; Hnazant Hovhannes, 10, from Gurin; Anush, 8; Koharig, 8; Flor Artin Boyajian, 7, from

Gurin; Lusin Hovhannes Kalayjian, 15, from Eybez; Lusin's mother Tamam Avedis Kalayjian, 35, from Eybez; Araxi Murad. From these givens we learn that the children's average age was 8.6, one's age was not mentioned, one was a teenager, and one was an adult mother. Three of the children knew their father's name but not their family name, two did not remember their father's name nor family name, and three did not know their place of birth.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid., Ughurlian to Malezian, August 29, 1919. For instances of legal wrangling and hardships, consult Arshagian, pp. 139-52.

¹³⁸ *Miutian*, no. 69 (May-June, 1919), p. 37.

¹³⁹ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Sulahian and Ughurlian to Honorable Sirs of AGBU in Cairo, June 20, 1910.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., Sulahian and Ughurlian to Malezian, April 15, 1919; Ughurlian to Honorable Sirs of AGBU in Cairo, July 5, 1919.

¹⁴¹ For example, one shipment contained the following items: 6 boxes of thread for lace; 20 packets of thread; 9 boxes of "Ireland" thread; 20 needles for crochet; 5 boxes of "Mercer" thread for crochet; 5 shuttles; 24 sewing dice or thimbles; 7 boxes of pearl cotton; 5 meters of lightweight cotton or worsted fabric; 20 meters of sheer fabric; and 12 dozen bobbins (AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Liste des Objets a Expediter a Titre de Secours pour l'ouvroire de l'Asile des Veuves Arméniennes par l'Union Générale Arménienne de Bienfaisance au Conseil Local de Damas (à MM. Kh. Krikorian et H. Oughourlian), April 2, 1919. See also List of Embroidery, Thread, and Fabric sent by the AGBU Cairo to the Damascus Chapter [for the Armenian Women's Shelter Workshop], March 29, 1919).

¹⁴² Ibid., Sulahian and Ughurlian to Malezian, April 15, 1919; Ughurlian to Honorable Sirs of AGBU in Cairo, July 5, 1919; Arshagian, p. 133.

¹⁴³ Ibid., List of Miscellaneous Paper [writing] Items Sent by the AGBU to the Damascus Local Committee [for the Armenian Women's Shelter], May 20, 1919. See also the list in French, dated May 15, 1919.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., Kh. Krikorian and Ughurlian to AGBU Honorable Sirs in Cairo, March 7, 1919; *Miutian*, no. 68 (March-April, 1919), p. 20.

¹⁴⁵ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Sulahian and Ughurlian to Malezian, April 15, 1919.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., Ughurlian to Honorable Sirs of AGBU in Cairo, July 5, 1919.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., Ughurlian to Malezian, June 13, 1919. For the situation of Armenian prostitutes in Aleppo at the end of World War I, see Shemmassian, "The Reclamation of Captive Armenian Genocide Survivors," pp. 132-35.

¹⁴⁹ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Antranigian to Ughurlian, June 20, 1919.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., Kh. Krikorian and Ughurlian to AGBU Honorable Sirs in Cairo, March 7, 1919.

¹⁵¹ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, List of Names of the Women and Misses in the Armenian Shelter of Damascus, March 20, 1919.

¹⁵² Ibid., Ughurlian and Sulahian to Honorable Sirs of AGBU in Cairo, June 20, 1919.

- ¹⁵³ Genjian, "Hayere Tamasgosi mech," *Yeridasart Hayasdan*, November 29, 1919.
- ¹⁵⁴ Kévorkian and Tachjian, p. 77.
- ¹⁵⁵ Genjian, "Hayere Tamasgosi Mech," November 29, 1919.
- ¹⁵⁶ "Hayutiune Tamasgosi Mech," *Giligia*, July 24, 1919.
- ¹⁵⁷ Parian and Jinbashian, p. 113.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 99.
- ¹⁵⁹ See Vahram L. Shemmassian, "The Repatriation of Armenian Refugees from the Arab Middle East, 1918-1920," in Richard G. Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian, eds., *Armenian Cilicia*, Costa Mesa, CA, Mazda Publishers, Inc., 2008, pp. 419-56.
- ¹⁶⁰ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Behesnlian and Ughurlian to Cairo AGBU Chair, November 13, 1918.
- ¹⁶¹ *Husaper*, February 15, 1919, February 27, 1919; *Yeridasart Hayasdan*, February 15, 1919. For the fear of losing the cultivation and harvesting seasons, consult AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Kh. Krikorian and Ughurlian to Honorable Sirs of AGBU in Cairo, March 7, 1919.
- ¹⁶² ACGHC, File 3/2, *Tamasgos*, Sarajian to Sahag II, February 18, 1919.
- ¹⁶³ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Sulahian and Krikorian to Malezian, April 5, 1919. For the situation of Armenian refugees in and repatriation from Beirut, consult Antranik Daskessian, "Yergu Pasdatught Lipananahay Gianken. A.-Ech me Beirut 1918-20 Haygagan Badmutian. B.- Lipananahayutiune 1930 Agannneru Esgizpin" (Two Documents on Lebanese Armenian life: A. A page on Armenian history in Beirut 1918-20; B. The Lebanese Armenians at the beginning of the 1930s), *Haigazian Armenological Review* 2018:38, pp. 705-25.
- ¹⁶⁴ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Terzibashian to Malezian, February 15, 1919.
- ¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Kh. Krikorian and Ughurlian to Honorable Sirs of AGBU in Cairo, March 7, 1919.
- ¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; *idem.*, Ughurlian to Malezian, March 29, 1919; Sulahian and Ughurlian to Malezian, April 5, 1919.
- ¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Antranigian to Kh. Krikorian, March 20, 1919.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Sulahian and Ughurlian to Malezian, April 5, 1919.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Sarajian and Ughurlian to Honorable Sirs of AGBU in Cairo, May 3, 1919; *idem.*, Ughurlian to Malezian, May 15, 1919; *Husaper*, May 31, 1919, June 3, 1919, July 1, 1919.
- ¹⁷⁰ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Antranigian to Kh. Krikorian, May 27, 1919.
- ¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷² *Ibid.*, Ughurlian to Malezian, June 12, 1919. See also ACGHC, File 3/2, *Tamasgos*, Sarajian to Sahag II, June 27, 1919.
- ¹⁷³ Genjian, "Hayere Tamasgosi Mech," November 29, 1919.
- ¹⁷⁴ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, Ughurlian to Honorable Sirs of AGBU in Cairo, July 5, 1919.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, [sender unknown, page missing] to Honorable AGBU members in Cairo, July 12, 1919. For other details regarding the schedule of departures from June 23-July 10, see ACGHC, File 3/2, *Tamasgos*, Sarajian to Sahag II, June 27, 1919.

¹⁷⁶ Armenian Prelacy of Aleppo Archives, Aleppo, Syria, Section Z, File 3, *Hay Azkayin Khorhurt. Estdatsvadz Namagner 1919* (Armenian National Council: Incoming Correspondence 1919), Antranig Genjian to Armenian National Union of Aleppo, October 19, 1919; Genjian, “Hayere Tamasgosi Mech,” November 29, 1919. The file section/number/name may have changed in a recent reorganization of the archives.

¹⁷⁷ Genjian, “Hayere Tamasgosi Mech,” November 22, 1919. The report is dated September 23. The census was taken by ANU Chairman Antranig N. Genjian, with no specific date mentioned.

¹⁷⁸ EARC, *Deghegadvtiun yev Hashvedvtiun*, pp. 30-31.

¹⁷⁹ EARC, *Deghegadvtiun yev Hashvedvtiun*, p. 24.

¹⁸⁰ EARC, *Deghegadvtiun yev Hashvedvtiun*, p. 26.

¹⁸¹ AGBU, File 123, *Tamasgos 1910-1931*, List of Names of the Women and Misses in the Armenian Shelter of Damascus, March 20, 1919. Names with a question mark are not clearly legible.

ՀԱՅՈՑ ՅԵՐԱՍՊԱՆՈՒԹԵՆԷՆ ՎԵՐԱԴՐՈՂՆԵՐ ԴԱՄԱՍԿՈՍԻ ՄԷՋ
ՀԱՄԱԵԽԱՐՀԱՅԻՆ Ա. ՊԱՏԵՐԱԶՄԻ ԱՄԱՐՏԻՆ
(Ամփոփում)

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Յեղասպանության ընթացքին Դամասկոս հանդիսացաւ հայ տարագիրներու կեցութեան եւ կամ դէպի անլի հարաւ տարանցումի վայր մը: Ներկայ ուսումնասիրութիւնը, առանելաբար հիմնուելով հայ եւ օտար արխիւներու եւ այլ սկզբնաղբիրներու վրայ, առաջին անգամ կ'արծարծէ Սուրիոյ մայրաքաղաքին մէջ գտնուող վերաբրոյններու իրավիճակը Համաշխարհային Ա. Պատերազմի աւարտին:

Մանրամասնօրէն կը ներկայացուին հայ եւ ոչ-հայ հաստատութեանց, կազմակերպութեանց եւ կառավարութեանց մարդասիրական միջամտութեանց տեսակն ու տարողութիւնը, զաղթակայաններ թէ այլոյր ծուարած խլեակներու կացութիւնը, որբանոցներու ծնողազուրկ մանուկներու հոգատարութիւնը, առողջապահական հարցերը, գերեվարուած կիներու եւ անչափահասներու ազատագրման եւ վերահայացման բարդ խնդիրները եւ վերջապէս, հայրենադարձութեան անկանոն ընթացքը:

Արաբական եւ Բրիտանական բանակներու կողմէ 30 Սեպտեմբեր 1918ին Դամասկոսի գրաւումէն մինչեւ զաղթականներու տունդարձի աւարտը՝ Սեպտեմբեր 1919, երկարող ժամանակահատուածը եղաւ դժուարին սակայն յուսատու՝ փայլուն ապագայի մը հեռանկարով:

Այսօժանդերձ, յատկապէ՛ս Կիլիկիոյ արիւնալի իրադարձութեանց եւ պարպումին պատճառով, վերաբրոյնները անգամ մը եւս տեղահանուելով (կրկնաքտրուելով) հաստատուեցան Սուրիա եւ Լիբանան: Եկտորներէն ոմանք վերջնականապէս կայք հաստատեցին Դամասկոս: