GENERAL ANDRANIK OZANIAN'S ACTIVITIES ABROAD (1919-1927)

Avakian K. R. PhD in History

On the occasion of General Andranik's 150th Birthday Anniversary



General Andranik Ozanian (1865-1927)

The brilliant May victories against the Turkish invaders and proclamation of the independent Republic of Armenia (May 28, 1918) suddenly were followed by the Treaty of Batumi (June 4, 1918), one of the terms of which was that General Andranik Ozanian should disband his army and leave the borders of Armenia¹.

Under the created conditions, the Armenian Separate Striking Regiment (organized in March 12, 1917 under the leadership of Andranik) had functioned altogether independently, continuing to assume the defense of the Motherland, particularly, fighting against Turks and Tatars in Nakhijevan, Zangezour and Artsakh, in spite of the fact that the British Command spared no effort to send Andranik away from the Transcaucasus and as well as from Armenia².



General Andranik Ozanian as head of the Armenian Separate Striking Regiment, Zangezour, 1919

¹ As A. Chelepian noted: "The Turks wanted a disarmed Armenia without Andranik…" (Չելեպյան Ա., Զորավար Անդրանիկ և հայ հեղափոխական շարժումը. Կենսագրական ակնարկ, Երևան, 1990, էջ 593).

² Քաջունի Եղ., Հայկական առանձին հարուածող զօրամասը. Ժենէրալ Անդրանիկ, Պոսթոն, 1921, էջ 10։

Finally, under the compulsion of pressing international-political circumstances and internal disagreements,³ Andranik was compelled to resign.⁴ In April 1919, on the eve of Easter, General Andranik arrived, with his regiment, at Edjmiadsin. He disbanded his army, stored the arms and ammunition in the local warehouse, in fact, handing them over to the Catholicos of All Armenians, Gevorg V, informing him about his departure abroad. Andranik handed over also his flag, which had gilded tassels and it had the words "General Andranik's Separate Striking Regiment" written on a red background.



General Andranik Ozanian with his men in Edjmiadsin before leaving Armenia, April 1919

This event took place in the presence of the British Command and the members of the American Near East Relief Committee, a fact, which also testifies to the involvement of the latter in the coercion of the Treaty of Batumi.

Shortly after, the horses of the Andranik's regiment were put to auction in the presence of the special committee of the government of the Republic of Armenia, paying the obtained value to the owners⁵.

Andranik delivered certificates with his signature to the remaining soldiers and set them free, saying: "Now, I am only my own master; you are free; you can behave in whatever way you like; here is Armenia, since the people are Armenians, and the land is ours; you can serve again the Armenian people as you have served thus far." And, in fact, addressing especially the Western Armenians, he continued: "And if you like, you can go abroad." These were in search of their relatives in Constantinople, Cilicia, Europe, the USA, for whom the representative of the British authorities, General Gibbon, had promised to grant passport facilities to the certificates bearing Andranik's signature⁶.

On the following day, Andranik, with his 300 former soldiers and escorted by General Gibbon, departed by train for the port of Batumi. On May 15, 1919, Andranik

³ Ճիզմէճեան Մ. Գ., Պատմութիւն ամերիկահայ քաղաքական կուսակցութեանց (1890–1925), Ֆրէզնօ, 1930, էջ 424։

⁴ Ժամկոչեան Ա., Զօրավար Անդրանիկ կը պատասխանէ իր հակառակորդներուն, Բարիզ, 1945, էջ 95։

⁵ Աւետեան Մ. Տեղակալ, Հայ ազատագրական ազգային յիսնամեայ (1870–1920) յուշամատեան եւ Զօր. Անդրանիկ (Վերլուծական հայեցողութեամբ եւ վաւերական տուեալներով), Փարիզ, 1954, էջ 217, 221։ ⁶ Ibid., էջ 222։

embarked in Batumi and started his emigration. He arrived in Marseille on June 13, and after two days in Paris everywhere being greeted cordially by Armenian refugee countrymen Nevertheless, the General himself was sad; "no glory and no exaltation could console him, since his heart was ablaze for the criminal disappearance of the Armenia population of Turkey and his skull was clouded by the uncertain status of the Armenian Cause," has noted the eyewitness of these above-cited events, Andranik's companion-in-arms, Manouk Avetian⁷.

In Paris, General Andranik met the President of the National Delegation, Poghos Noubar, the writer-publicist Arshak Chobanian, the minister of Foreign Affairs of France, Stephan Pichon, the President Raymond Poincaré, who awarded him the orders of the "Chevalier" and "Officer" and, subsequently, the order of the "Légion d'Honneur" (1920). The General witnessed also in France the Armenian Legion, as a part of the French armed forces⁸.



Even during his emigration. Andranik had not ceased to organize fund-raising actions to the fund of the Armenian needy people and in favor of the Motherland. With a view to organizing fund-raising actions to serve needs of Armenian the Legion, formed in expectation of the liberation of Cilicia, but, basically, also to cover the expenses of the return of refugees to the Motherland,

Certificate of "Légion d'Honneur" for General Andranik Ozanian, 1920

Andranik left for England in June 1919, first to London and then to Manchester, where he had personal friends, and, on July 13, the local Armenian Women's Union made a personal donation of 2,000 British pounds to the General. On this occasion, Andranik declared: "You gave me this sum; it is mine, and I am thankful, but as long as I live, I know that I myself can eat bread in any Armenian house. However, there are thousands, who have no bread and no clothing. I will give this sum to those, who are naked and hungry⁹.

⁷ Մնացականյան Ա. Ն., Հակոբյան Հ. Ղ., Ջորավար Անդրանիկ, հ. Ա, Մոսկվա, 1991, էջ 256, 257։ Աւետեան Մ., օp. cit., էջ 223։

⁸ Մնացականյան Ա. Ն., Հակոբյան Հ. Ղ., օթ. cit., էջ 257։ Չելեպյան Ա., օթ. cit., էջ 572։ Գուտուլեան Գ., Զօր. Անդրանիկ եւ իր կեանքն ու պատերազմները, Պէյրութ, 1929, էջ 37։

⁹ Չելեպյան Ա., օթ. cit., էջ 582–583։ Ճիզմէճեան Մ. Գ., օթ. cit., էջ 419։ Քաջունի Եղ., Անդրանիկի եւ հայկական առանձին հարուածող զօրամասի հետ, Նիւ Ճըրսի, 1976, էջ 193–194։

The General's primary concerns were the Armenian refuges and orphans, who had taken refuge in the Caucasus. According to the definition of an eyewitness: "Wherever he went, he spoke and described the condition of the Armenian People, of the Armenian Fighters, of the Orphans, who had remained in the Motherland and taken refuge in the Caucasus, who were hungry, naked, in great need of assistance; and he appealed, in a loud voice, to the Armenians living abroad, to pay their material duty and to lend a helping hand to the Armenian survivors"¹⁰.

Responding to the General's exhorting appeals, on September 11, 1919, the Armenians in Manchester and London undertook to create a "Clothing Fund to Assist the Armenian Refugees" (Honorary President - General Andranik, Chairman - Tiran Deuvletian, Responsible Secretary - Garnik Fendeklian, Responsible Treasurer - Manouk Gouyoumdjian, Responsible Clerk - the British J. White). The aim was to satisfy the needs of the Armenian refugees and orphans for clothing and other items¹¹. The Armenians in various other countries and cities (India, Singapore, Rangoon, Java, as far as the North and South Americas) have also taken part in the contribution, raising the amount to 60,700 British pounds. The British government, for its part, allocated 51,000 British pounds, so that the total sum of the donations was doubled forming 111,700 British pounds¹².

Shortly after, with a view to assisting with the transportation of the Clothing Fund stock and other works, the municipality of Manchester entrusted its supervision to the President of the Near East Relief Committee, Colonel Haskell, through the good officers of whom the first shipment (250 tons) sailed from Manchester on October 29, 1919, to Batumi and arrived through Georgia in Yerevan, in February 1920¹³.

The dispatched goods were kept at the warehouse of the large Russian barracks in Alexandrapol, under the direct responsibility of Andranik's secretary, Yeghishé Kadjouni¹⁴, who coordinated also the General's affairs in the Caucasus and Armenia, as well as received and distributed the material aid sent for the refugees. According to the testimony of eyewitnesses, the warehouse of the barracks was always full and was always being restocked with new bales, which contained clothings, overalls, military overcoats, trousers, jackets, flannel, white linen, cotton cloth, hosiery, ordinary and antiseptic soaps, leather, wool thread, sewing thread, combs, shoemaker's tools, buttons, handkerchiefs, cloth, medicines, aspirin, insecticides, etc.

¹⁰ Չելեպյան Ա., օp. cit., էջ 582։

¹¹ Ibid., էջ 583։ Քաջունի Եղ., op. cit., 1976, էջ 194։

¹² Թէրզիպաշեան Ա., Անդրանիկ, Բարիզ, 1942, էջ 395։ Աւետեան Մ., օթ. cit., էջ 224։

¹³ Աւետեան Մ., օp. cit., էջ 224։ Չելեպյան Ա., օp. cit., էջ 583։

¹⁴ Yeghishė Kadjouni from Arabkir had studied law at the local American University. In the years of World War I, he had taken the pledge to follow Andranik and, owing his good education, he had become Andranik's first secretary, enjoying his total confidence. Kadjouni was entrusted to conduct the official correspondence, the income and expenditure of the regiment, the accounting, the office of translator of European languages, etc. In 1916, he went to Van and, in the days of the Russian governor Colonel Termen he was a member of the tribunal in Van. In 1918, following the conclusion of the Treaty of Batumi, he became the Treasurer of the Armenian Separate Striking Regiment under the command of General Andranik. In July 1922, he sailed to the USA with Andranik. In the years 1927–1928, he was the Chairman of the Central Board of the New York chapter of the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU). (See: Աιեυπեաù Մ., op. cit., էջ 265–266: Քաջուùի Եղ., op. cit., 1976, էջ 205, 207):

In total, 2,200 bales of goods were dispatched to Armenia. The aid was distributed to the refugees sheltered in the Armenian barracks, to the orphanages, hospitals and other institutions¹⁵.

Unfortunately, as a consequence of Karabekir's invasion into Alexandrapol, following the abandonment of "the door to the Armenian hearths and the key to the Caucasus," the town of Kars, the warehouse of the barracks was greatly pillaged, which was soon averted by the establishment of Soviet power in Armenia¹⁶.

Nevertheless, until the liquidation of the "Clothing Fund to Assist the Armenian Refugees," in 1922, Yegh. Kadjouni continued Andranik's allowance-granting mission, taking it from the Caucasus to Tavriz and distributing the 4,000 British pounds and the clothing to 7,000 "half-naked, hungry and exhausted" refugees¹⁷.

Near the end of 1919, Andranik went from Manchester to London and then, at the beginning of November, to Paris, where, after receiving a warm welcome, he was invited as a representative of the National Delegation to take part, with equal rights, in the Military Mission, composed of the National Delegation and the representatives of the Republic of Armenia leaving for the USA¹⁸ requesting from the official circles of the latter, assistance in the military, ammunition and armaments fields for the defense of the frontiers of the Republic of Armenia¹⁹.

For that purpose two military commissions left for the USA on November 22, 1919, with the participation of General Andranik and General Hakob Bagratouni. Commander Hayk Bonapartian accompanied the first commission, while deputy-commander Mikayel Ter-Poghossian accompanied the second commission²⁰.

The delegation arrived in New York on the French steamship "Savoir" and subsequently won an enthusiastic welcome in those towns of the country, which had Armenian population, "reciprocally inspiring hope and encouragement about the future of Armenia" in the Armenians in America²¹.

The presence of General Andranik imparted a particular weight to the Military Delegation. According to the assessment of the eyewitnesses, "the local homesick Armenians in the USA, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, displayed such an enthusiastic welcome, that the Americans began to ask each other in amazement, who was that guest, who visited their country. And when they knew that that guest was for the Armenians the same as George Washington was for the Americans ... they took him to Philadelphia and made him sit on Washington's historic chair, an exceptional honor, which is reserved in America to those personalities, who have written a page in history"²².

¹⁵ Աւետեան Մ., օр. cit., էջ 225, 266։ Քաջունի Եղ., օр. cit., 1976, էջ 195։

¹⁶ Թէրզիպաշեան Ա., օp. cit., էջ 354։ Աւետեան Մ., օp. cit., էջ 225, 266։

¹⁷ Չելեպյան Ա., օр. cit., էջ 585։ Աւետեան Մ., օр. cit., էջ 195։

¹⁸ Քաջունի Եղ., օр. cit., 1976, էջ 195։

¹⁹ Թէոդիկ, Ամէնուն տարեցոյցը, ԺԶ տարի, Կ. Պօլիս, 1922, էջ 292։

²⁰ Ibid., էջ 291։ Ճիզմէճեան Մ., օр. cit., էջ 416-417։ Չելեպյան Ա., օр. cit., էջ 590։

²¹ Քաջունի Եղ., op. cit., 1976, էջ 195։

²² Թէրզիպաշեան Ա., օp. cit., էջ **397**։



General Andranik Ozanian, Hakob Bagratuni, Hovhannes Kadjaznouni, USA, 1919

On October 9, 1919, a Political Mission, composed of representatives the of the Republic of Armenia, left also for New York with the object of political soliciting and economic assistance from the authorities. The American Political Mission was composed of Hovhannes Kadjaznouni (First Prime Minister), Doctor Garegin Pastermajian (Armen Garo.

member of the Armenian Parliament, representative of the Republic of Armenia in the USA), two Constitutional Democratic Party members, Artashes Enfiajian (former Minister of Finance) and Artem Piralian (agronomist), Professor Abraham Ter-Hakobian (Vice-President of the National Delegation and plenipotentiary representative, attached to the US government), as well as Souren Melikian (Hovh. Kadjaznouni's secretary)²³. The US government organized an appropriate reception to the representatives of the National Delegation of its "small ally," while the Armenians in the USA welcomed everywhere their high-ranking compatriots with enthusiastic demonstrations²⁴.



General Andranik Ozanian and the Republic of Armenia delegation members, USA, 1919

²³ Տօնապետեան Գ., Հ. Յ. Դաշնակցութիւնը Հիւսիսային Ամերիկայի մէջ, Բ հատոր (1910–1923), Պոսթոն, 1995, էջ 490, 492։ Չելեպյան Ա., օթ. cit., էջ 590։ Թէոդիկ, օթ. cit., էջ 291–292։

²⁴ Ճիզմէճեան Մ. Գ., օp. cit., էջ 416-417։

The newspaper "Hairenik" (Motherland) described that historical event as follows: "The [New York] pier was packed with a large crowd of many thousands and hundreds of automobiles and cabs decorated with Armenian flags. The guests landed among rumbling applauses and hails and marched in a huge procession to the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, on the façade of which a large Armenian flag waved. All the Armenian clubs and trading centers were smartly decorated with Armenian flags. The trade on the Fifth Avenue came to a stop for a long time to give way to the Armenian procession. Today is a great day for the Armenian community in New York"²⁵.

General Andranik's wish was that Hakob Bagratouni and Hayk Bonapartian, as two Generals representing the Eastern-Armenian and Western-Armenian parts of the Motherland, would "consultatively and unanimously conduct this most important and vital action and that the two generals would sign under the petition presented to the American government," something which, unfortunately, did not take place, since H. Bagratouni, without the approval of the members of the group, was the first to present alone the petition of the Military Mission to the US Minister of War²⁶.

Shortly after, General Andranik and H. Bonapartian also met the US Minister of War, Newton Baker, in Washington, informing him about Armenia's situation, the military and the servicemen's conditions, about the orphans, widows and the refugees. Nevertheless, they exhorted to set General H. Bagratouni's petition going, which involved a US military assistance to the Republic of Armenia with a view to defending the country against external enemies and to ensuring its security and, in the future, to preparing military specialists as well. The American Minister of War assured the Armenian Generals, saying: "We will do our best for the Armenian nation"²⁷. The Armenian delegates visited also the White House, where they met President Woodrow Wilson's personal secretary Joseph Tumulty, who transmitted them the unhealthy President's concern and compassion concerning the Armenian issue²⁸.

However, Andranik did not pin much hope on these meetings, since he had noticed that, connected especially with the forthcoming presidential elections, the external policy of the country was "a bit very indecisive and uncertain"²⁹.

In the USA, the General's soul was again in the Motherland, "with the Armenian people and particularly with the dispossessed and the destitute people"³⁰, and he never stopped the fund-raising actions directed to the support of his compatriots. In connection with this point, Avertis Terzibashian noted: "The unparalleled enthusiasm manifested by the Armenians in America, which had its origin in their love to the Motherland, linked with the abundance he was enjoying in these days, evoked, once

²⁵ Տօնապետեան Գ., օp. cit., էջ 490, 492։

²⁶ Ճիզմէճեան Մ. Գ., օр. cit., էջ 417, 418։

²⁷ Քաջունի Եղ., op. cit., 1976, էջ 196։ Ճիզմէճեան Մ. Գ., op. cit., էջ 418-419։

²⁸ Չելեպյան Ա., օp. cit., էջ 591։

²⁹ Քաջունի Եղ., օр. cit., 1976, էջ 196։

³⁰ Ibid., էջ 195:

more, in Andranik, the memory of misery of his and his hosts' kinsfolk he had left in Armenia, aroused in him, once again, the feeling of commitment to do something for those dispossessed fellow-countrymen, and he took and directed the initiative to raise a substantial amount of money"³¹.



Poghos Noubar

After completing the Military Mission assigned to him by Poghos Noubar, General Andranik undertook also, in 1920-1921, together with the plenipotentiary representative of the National Delegation of Paris in the USA the Armenian National Union (founder and President Mihran Svazlian) to organize the "Salvation Fund-Raising" to assist the Armenian destitute people and the newly-created Armenian Soviet Republic. The General invited all the Armenian national and political organizations and parties to participate in that all-community fund-raising. Nevertheless, to the deliberation held on December 16, 1919, took part only the administrations of the Armenian Apostolic and

the Evangelical Churches, the central bodies of the Reformed Hnchak and of the Constitutional Democratic Parties, the regional committee of AGBU, while the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnak) and the Social Democrat Hnchak Parties eventually did not participate³².

In the Eastern, Central and Western (California) States of America, the fund-raising mission was coordinated respectively by the following public figures, nominated by the Armenian National Union of America, Karapet Papazian, Vahé Hayk and His Grace Shahé Vardapet Gasparian. This undertaking was the continuation of the contribution of the "Clothing Fund to Assist the Armenian Refugees," conducted by Andranik in the fall of 1919, in England – in Manchester and London³³.

Under the chairmanship of General Andranik, a Central Committee of the "Salvation Fund-Raising" was elected. The

Mihran Svazlian

Central Committee members were: His Grace Shahé Gasparian (Chairman), Patrick Gulbenkian (Vice-Chairman), Yervand Messiayan (Secretary), Maghak Berberian (Vice-Secretary), Mihran Karagyozian (Treasurer), M. Gontazian (Vice-Treasurer), Reverend G. Petrossian (General Secretary). The members of the Committee were: Alexander Gevorgian, Ashot Tireakian, Avetis Selian, Reverend Andranik Petikian, Lemvel Kostikian, Karapet Poushmanian, Hrant Telfeyan, Hakob Derdzakian, Doctor Hovhannes Dsovikian, Reverend H. Tepoyan, V. Tyoulsizian, Tigran Tonjian³⁴.

³¹ Թէրզիպաշեան Ա., օp. cit., էջ **397**։

³² Ճիզմէճեան Մ. Գ., օp. cit., էջ 419, 420։ Թէոդիկ, օp. cit., էջ 292։

³³ Ճիզմէճեան Մ. Գ., օp. cit., էջ 419։

³⁴ Ibid., էջ 421–422։ Թէոդիկ, օр. cit., էջ 292։

With a view to supervising the general accounts, the budget and the transfer of the sums, a Finance Committee was formed (with members H. Telfeyan, A. Tireakian, L. Kostikian), while the propaganda campaign was assigned to the Publicity Committee (with members Doctor Hovhannes Tsovikian, H. Derdzakian, Poghos Norhat)³⁵.

Apropos of the organization of the "Salvation Fund-Raising," General Andranik made an appeal to the Armenians in the USA to make a bounteous contribution in favor of the salvation of the surviving compatriots found in Armenia and in the foreign countries. The appeal text was composed as follows:

"Dear compatriots,

The Armenian community in the USA has often given the proofs of its patriotism and munificence with regards to all kinds of national happenings. I am convinced that, this time again, it will be worthy of its renown and it will display itself, to a supreme degree, its spirit of sacrifice in the present critical moments, by bounteously contributing to the fund-raising program. Consequently, I appeal to all the Armenians in America. In the name of those, who, from the first days of the Armenian liberation struggle till the present day, in particular during the last four years of the war, have fought, arm in hand, for Free Armenia, and many have irrigated its Holy Land with their honorable blood.

In the name of those, who were tortured and martyred on the roads of persecution and deportation, in the places of exile, in prisons and on the gallows. And in the name of those, who still suffer in indescribable and ineffable calamities or are found in the clutches of misery, in the name of the soldiers of future Armenia, our people of mind and economy, the whole genius of our race, our entire hope.

In order that we lend them our rescuing hand, today, at this very hour, since it is already late, and tomorrow, mind you, IT WILL BE VERY LATE.

I appeal to all types of national establishments and organizations, as well as to the Orphan-Supporting and Red Cross and Pan-Civil Unions and Societies and to all classes and all people without exception, that they participate, everyone with his full capacity, in the fund-raising and offer his assistance in order that it be a complete success, being convinced, that the sums raised by the contribution, will be most safely and conscientiously apportioned with a view to alleviating, if only partially, the boundless suffering of the nation.

Compatriots,

If you have the faith in and the desire for the future of the Armenian Nation and for Free Armenia;

If you respect the memory of the Martyrs, who have fallen for the sake of Freedom,

If you do not want to be responsible before your conscience and history,

Give, give generously and do not deprive yourself of the honor to help the last survivors of the Nation, the precious scions of our martyrs. ANDRANIK³⁶.

³⁵ Ճիզմէճեան Մ. Գ., օp. cit., էջ 421–422։

³⁶ Մնացականյան Ա. Ն., Հակոբյան Հ. Ղ., օp. cit., էջ 259–261։

General Andranik and the commander H. Bonapartian moving along the entire width of the USA from the Atlantic to the Pacific appealed, with their inspiring speeches, to the Armenian community to conjointly extend a helping hand, at that critical moment for Armenia, to the native people and to satisfy the various needs of the newly-created state. According to the assessment of a contemporary citizen, the Armenians in the USA, "rich or poor, merchant or artisan, have proudly and enthusiastically welcomed their heroes and have, as a sacred duty, generously contributed to the "Salvation Fund-Raising""³⁷.

Initially, according to an agreement reached in the USA between General Andranik and the representatives of the National Delegation (Prof. A. Ter-Hakobian), the Republic of Armenia (H. Kadjaznouni) and its authorized person in the USA (Doctor G. Pastermajian), it was decided that the result of the "Salvation Fund-Rising" would be apportioned as follows: to allocate 40% of the total sum to the government of the Republic of Armenia for the orphans and the needy people living in Armenia; 30% for the guardianship programs of the National Patriarchate of Constantinople; 20% to the needy people of the Cilicia region; 10% at the disposal of the AGBU functioning in Egypt; as well as a certain sum would be allocated in favor of the needy people in Tavriz and would be at the disposal of His Grace Bishop Nerses Melik-Tangian³⁸.

Due to the efforts of the national hero Andranik by August 1921 more than 532,000 dollars had been collected thanks to the endeavors of the Armenians - the USA citizens and, basically, through the AGBU. This sum was transferred to the following objects: Republic of Armenia - \$175,440; Cilicia - \$109,170; National Patriarchate of Constantinople - \$130,600; AGBU - \$45,000; Armenian-Persian educational objects - \$21,000; National Delegation - \$20,000; Fund-raising expenses - \$21,424; Victory bonds - \$4,109; Cash money - \$5,290³⁹. In fact, and on the whole, the greater part of the sum, collected by the joint efforts of the chapters of the Constitutional-Democratic party and of the Armenian General Benevolent Union would, nevertheless, be allocated to the Republic of Armenia, and, as Av. Terzibashian has assessed, to alleviate "the burden weighing on the shoulders of the government [of the Republic of Armenia - K. A.]"⁴⁰.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation party figures, under the leadership of the first Premier of the Republic of Armenia, Hovhannes Kadjaznouni, present then in the USA, who did not take part in the "Salvation Fund-Raising" organized by the National Delegation, simultaneously organized a fund-raising action in favor of the Army, to which the Armenians in the USA have also unreservedly contributed, collecting, on the whole, more than 561,201 dollars⁴¹.

³⁷ Ճիզմէճեան Մ. Գ., օp. cit., էջ 422։

³⁸ Ibid., էջ 420: Քաջունի Եղ., op. cit., 1976, էջ 196:

³⁹ Մնացականյան Ա. Ն., Հակոբյան Հ. Ղ., օp. cit., էջ 261։ Քաջունի Եղ., օp. cit., 1976, էջ 196։ Ճիզմէճեան

ሆ. Գ., op. cit., էջ 422:

⁴⁰ Թէրզիպաշեան Ա., օp. cit., էջ **397**։

⁴¹ Ճիզմէճեան Մ. Գ., օp. cit., էջ 423։

The effect of the Armenia-supporting activities developed by Andranik, the Armenian National Union of America and the representatives of the Republic of Armenia was so great, that the procession of 600 Armenian servicemen, who had served in the US army in 1920, gathered from the various towns of the country in the capital Washington and, led by the world-famous facio-mandibular plastic surgeon Varazdat Kazanjian, officers of the Armenian origin and accompanied by a brass-band had organized a luxurious military parade. Marching through the main streets of Washington, before the White House, the Department of State, the Congress and the Senate, the participants of the procession handed a memorandum to the higher officials of the country requesting "the recognition of the present Republic of Armenia and Historic Armenia." They were met by the congressman Henry Cabot Lodge, the Secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby, Senator Rogers, who made Armenia-supporting speeches. The result was that after 12 days the USA officially recognized the Republic of Armenia "as a Sister Republic". G. Pastermajian has officially announced about that recognition, becoming the ambassador of the Republic of Armenia in the USA till the autumn of 192042.

In 1920, before leaving the USA for England, Manchester, Andranik expressed his gratitude to the Armenians in the USA, who, in spite of the various obstacles, had made an active and generous contribution to the "Salvation Fund-Raising". He has noted: "I express my deep gratitude to all the members and organizations of the Armenian-American Community, who were so kind to offer their material and moral assistance and cooperation for the success of the "Salvation Fund-Raising" program.

I believe that the orphans and widows are thankful to you, because you were able to dry their tears in some measure, and the Motherland is pleased, that her distant sons are not indifferent to her sorrows and necessities.

Therefore, I leave with a satisfied heart and a clear conscience. Andranik^{**}.

In November 1920, with the purpose of fund-raising, Andranik went also, for two months, to Egypt, first to Alexandria and then to Cairo, receiving the warm welcome of the Armenians in Egypt. In his retinue were the commanders Hayk Bonapartian and Jim Changalian. It was in Alexandria, in the "Hay Akoumb" (Armenian Club) hall, that a reception was organized in a narrow circle (according to the General's request) in the presence of 150 community members. During the reception, the Armenians in Egypt offered the national hero Andranik a sword with a gold- and diamond-decorated scabbard. On this unique creative work of jeweler's art there were engraved the most significant combats led by Andranik.

⁴² Ibid..

⁴³ Պատուոյ Գիրք Փրկութեան Հանգանակութեան Հայոց Ամերիկայի. 1920–1921. Անուանացանկ նուիրատուներու եւ ընդհանուր հաշուետուութիւն, Հրատարակութիւն Փրկութեան Հանգանակութեան կեդրոնական հանգանակիչ յանձնաժողովին, Պօսթըն, 1921, էջ 2։

Subsequently, Andranik left for Port-Saïd and got acquainted with the dwellers of the Armenian tent-camp and the life of the Armenian legionaries⁴⁴.

In the spring of 1921, having as godfather the Founding-President of AGBU and chairman of the National Delegation, Poghos Noubar, Andranik got married to his sister's, Nazeli's friend, Nvard Kyourkchian, originally from Bulgaria and, after a while, on July 5, 1922, left for the USA again⁴⁵.

Even before leaving for the USA, a group of wealthy Greeks, residing in London and Paris, proposed to Andranik to go at the head of a volunteer army to the aid of the Greek soldiers, having trouble in Smyrna (Izmir). However,



somewhat later, in October 1922, when the Greek forces were defeated by the Kemalist Turks, that project was annulled⁴⁶. Andranik was filled with great sorrow, when he learned about the atrocities perpetrated by the Kemalist Turks with regard to the Armenians in Izmir (the Calamity of Smyrna, 1922)⁴⁷.

On July 5, 1922, Andranik sailed with his wife from London on the steamship "Olympic" of the Southampton White Star Society to the USA and arrived in New York on July 12 and stayed at the Saville Hotel. According to the assessment of Yegh. Kadjouni, "the Armenians in America, who loved and respected him, rushed to the hotel



Andranik Ozanian and Nvard Kyourkchian, Paris, 1921

and, in spite of his opposition, many kissed his right hand, which had held a sword for many years in the cause of the defense of the Nation and, why not, for its Freedom"⁴⁸.

Andranik had taken up his residence in California. As the biographers of Andranik have noted: "Both before his marriage and after, Andranik has thought about the atmosphere of the nest he would create; an atmosphere,

which, by its nature and Armenian character, would, more or less, remind him of his Fatherland and would make him forget his nostalgic grief, and, for that reason, he had chosen California"⁴⁹.

⁴⁴ Չելեպյան Ա., օp. cit., էջ 641։ Մնացականյան Ա. Ն., Հակոբյան Հ. Ղ., օp. cit., էջ 257, 258։

⁴⁵ Չելեպյան Ա., օք. cit., էջ 646։ Ղարիբջանյան Գ., Ժողովրդական հերոս Անդրանիկ, Երևան, 1990, էջ 171։

⁴⁶ Քաջունի Եղ., օр. cit., 1976, էջ 200։

⁴⁷ Ղարիբջանյան Գ., օp. cit., էջ 171։

⁴⁸ Չելեպյան Ա., օք. cit., էջ 648։ Քաջունի Եղ., օք. cit., 1976, էջ 200։

⁴⁹ Թէրզիպաշեան Ա., օp. cit., էջ **39**9։

Andranik remained for some time in San Francisco and later, in the beginning of August, at the guesthouse of the hot spring of Chico, north of Sacramento, he then moved to Fresno, where the weather was dry and was propitious for his poor health. In the beginning, he had permission for 6 months to live in the USA, then that term was prolonged for another 6 months, and after the completion of one year his permanent residence in the USA was legalized⁵⁰.

In Fresno, Andranik's residence was committed to the flames several times, destroying documents and valuable objects. Very soon, the munificent Armenians in California donated him a house, on the ground floor of which there was a shop, in order that "the national hero would not have any material concern"⁵¹.

Nevertheless, the General's mind and soul was with his native land and people. Describing the emotional state of the national hero living in a foreign country, Av. Terzibashian noted: "After being exempted from the task of fund-raising, Andranik feels himself doomed to inactivity, to the boredom of loneliness, which is aggravated by nostalgia, producing in him a deep sorrow that, one way or another, he is deprived of the right to enjoy the freedom prevailing in the Fatherland, something which he, as a leader, was more entitled to"⁵².

A. Chelepian described the mental-emotional experiences of General Andranik in the distant USA as follows: "The peaceful and quiet life on the coast of the Pacific Ocean was not a suitable life for the hero; he was not used to an idle and quiet life. California was Andranik's place of exile...

Following the unforgivable political mistakes of the Armenian politicians of Tiflis and the ignominious retreat of Karin (Erzrum), not a quiet corner in the world could bestow peace upon his wounded heart and his perturbed soul... In the peace of the Fresno gardens and orchards he would wail over his shattered dreams in the barbed wires and trenches of the fortress-town. The only consolation, which was left to him was that the last fragment of Mother Armenia would then be able, having entered under the protection of mighty Russia, to maintain its existence and to prosper in peace."⁵³ The General expressed his credo for providing assistance to Soviet Armenia, existing at the expense of the blood of heroes on the 1/13 of the territory of the whole Armenia [the Armenian Highland (Great Armenia and Armenia Minor) and Cilicia]: "We have to support the construction enterprises of Armenia and consolidate them as the basis of our future hopes..."⁵⁴

Hence, being settled in the USA and enjoying the cordial welcome of the community, Andranik has, in every way, continued his Fatherland-devoted mission "to

⁵⁰ Ibid., էջ 404–405։ Քաջունի Եղ., օр. cit., 1976, էջ 200։ Ղարիբջանյան Գ., օр. cit., էջ 171։ Չելեպյան Ա., օր. cit., էջ 648, 654։

⁵¹ Քաջունի Եղ., օp. cit., 1976, էջ 201։

⁵² Թէրզիպաշեան Ա., օр. cit., էջ 397–398։

⁵³ Չելեպյան Ա., օբ. cit., էջ 648։

⁵⁴ Ղարիբջանյան Գ., օp. cit., էջ 167։

contribute to the material and moral development of the Armenian people and to attach the orphan and the wandering Armenian to the Motherland^{*55}.

From 1920 to 1927, Andranik has always welcomed with great ardor on the visit form the Soviet Fatherland of the members of the Committee for the Aid to Armenia (HOK in Arm. $\langle 04 \rangle$), of the Red Cross and of other delegations to the USA,⁵⁶ has collaborated with them and has guided the activities of their foreign chapters.

Inasmuch as the activities of the Central Committee of the "Salvation Fund-Raising" directed by Andranik has coincided, in 1921, with those of HOK created in September of the same year by the decree of the Council of the People's Commissars of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia and directed by his close friend, the famous Armenian writer Hovhannes Toumanian (1869-1923), the General had very soon renamed the bodies of the "Salvation Fund-Raising" he was directing into Committees for Aiding in the Reconstruction of the Fatherland, which were virtually converted into the foreign branches of HOK.



Andranik Ozanian and Hovhannes Toumanian

After the death of Hovh. Toumanian, Andranik continued to cooperate with the leaders of HOK.⁵⁷ Thus, in one of the letters addressed to the leader of HOK, Grigor Vardanian, Andranik wrote: "A committee has been formed in New York with the object of constructing new apartments in Armenia. Hearing about that call, I have great hopes, that the conscious Armenian people living in America will again support the task of reconstructing the Fatherland. This will both satisfy their conscience and encourage you. ANDRANIK"⁵⁸.

In 1926, when the HOK delegates from Armenia, Grigor Vardanian, Karen Mikayelian and doctor Spandar Kamsarakan arrived in the USA to strengthen the ties between the Armenian

community in the USA and Soviet Armenia in favor of the reconstruction of the Motherland, Andranik wrote them a letter of greeting in New York, noting in particular: "I read with pleasure in the newspapers the beautiful and practical call for the reconstruction of Armenia, and that a sub-committee composed of honorable compatriots has been created in New York. The call was addressed to all the Armenians in America in favor of the great task of reconstruction of the Fatherland. I am hopeful that the entire Armenian community in America will consciously support the program by bounteous financial assistance. I heartily wish you a complete success.

⁵⁵ Գուտուլեան Գ., օp. cit., էջ 37։ Աւետեան Մ., օp. cit., էջ 224։

⁵⁶ Ղարիբջանյան Գ., օp. cit., էջ 174։

⁵⁷ Մնացականյան Ա. Ն., Հակոբյան Հ. Ղ., օp. cit., էջ 261։

⁵⁸ Ibid., էջ 262-263:

The Armenian community in Egypt has offered me a sword, in which there is a subtle art. I am happy to have the opportunity to send it with you to Armenia and, according to my wish, to donate it to the Museum of Armenia, for which I shall be deeply grateful. I will send it to you soon to New York.

I want you, please, to convey my affectionate greeting to the creative, diligent and industrious State officials of Armenia, my Armenian people and the Charming flowers of Armenia - the Armenian orphans, all living under the canopy of the venerable Ararat Mountain.

My amiable regards to you all. Respectfully yours, ANDRANIK"⁵⁹.

In 1927, during a meeting held in Los Angeles, the General solemnly handed over to the HOK delegate, G. Vardanian the gold-ornamented sword he had received as a present from the Armenian community in Egypt, in 1919, in order that it would be displayed at the Museum of History of Armenia.⁶⁰

Andranik, who for years on end had seen the condition of the needy orphans and widows, could not live quietly in a prosperous environment. That is why he traveled widely through the Armenian-inhabited towns of the USA and made an appeal to the Armenians in America to lend a helping hand to the compatriots struggling against misery, to the orphans, to the refugees. During these advocatory activities, the health condition of the General deteriorated, and he was obliged to stay at the house of his relatives or close friends, living in the various towns⁶¹.

In the spring of 1927, Andranik had a heart attack in Boston, nevertheless, even then and in the summer, "the theme of his Bostonian heartfelt talks was the yearning for the Motherland, the condition of the Armenian orphans, of the widows of the heroes martyred in the liberation battles, of the soldiers doomed to inattention"⁶².

Three weeks before his death, in the beginning of August 1927, during a dinnerparty organized in his honor in California, Andranik exhorted his compatriots of the Diaspora "to look with favor on the present government of Armenia" and to contribute, in every possible way, to the reconstruction of Armenia⁶³.

The last time in New York, when speaking with close friends about life and death, the valiant General, who was not afraid of death⁶⁴, said: "It is better to die without fear, than to live with fear." Then he continued: "We are all mortal beings... In case of my death, my body belongs to nobody; it belongs to the Armenian people... I do not wish funeral orations to be delivered on my tomb and I want the financial means collected in

⁵⁹ Ibid., էջ 263, 264:

⁶⁰ Չելեպյան Ա., օթ. cit., էջ 642, 643։ Ղարիբջանյան Գ., օթ. cit., էջ 173։ Մնացականյան Ա. Ն., Հակոբյան Հ. Ղ., օթ. cit., էջ 263։ The sword was estimated \$25.000 in the USA (Թէրզիպաշեան Ա., օթ. cit., էջ 411).

⁶¹ Քաջունի Եղ., օp. cit., 1976, էջ 201։

⁶² Թէրզիպաշեան Ա., օp. cit., էջ 401։ Ղարիբջանյան Գ., օp. cit., էջ 175։

⁶³ Ղարիբջանյան Գ., օp. cit., էջ 174։

⁶⁴ According to Hovh. Toumanian's definition, "Andranik was only afraid of being afraid" (Քաջունի Եղ., op. cit., 1976, էջ 201: Թէրզիպաշեան Ա., op. cit., էջ 402).

lieu of flowers to be allocated to my destitute, wounded and weak soldiers and their families" $^{^{65}}$.

The logical desire of General Andranik's meaningful life and activities devoted to the liberation of the Fatherland was to be buried in the native land. Regarding this matter, he said: "I want my remains to rest on the banks of the rivers Arax and Zangu, among my people, for whose freedom I fought"⁶⁶. Consequently, the valorous hero had bequeathed to his wife: "Nvard, if this disease of mine will take me to my grave, do not forget my wish and do not leave my remains in foreign lands; by all means transfer my body to Armenia"⁶⁷.

Returning from a communal trip to Fresno, Andranik tried to restore his health in the hot mineral spring of Chico, however, on August 21, 1927, "the incomparable hero's heart stopped beating; the heart which never knew fear and which had constantly beaten for his people..." The last words of the General were: "Alas, my task remained unfinished..."⁶⁸

On September 7, 1927, General Andranik's funeral service was held in the small Armenian church of Fresno. There were attending more than 10,000 Armenians and foreigners, including the mayor and the governor of Fresno. The last farewell of the General took place with the military honors of Armenian and American officers⁶⁹.

Andranik's remains were temporarily buried at the "Ararat" Armenian cemetery in Fresno and then, with instructions to be transported to Armenia, they were taken to New York, where the civil funeral rites were performed at the Great American Episcopal Church.



However, at the end of January 1928. when transporting the General's remains on a steamship to accompanied Armenia, bv his relatives and companions-in-arms, impeding circumstances, due to political motives, made the journey to the Motherland impossible, and they were conveyed to Paris, where, on January 29, they were reburied at the local cemetery of

General Andranik's funeral at "Ararat" Cemetery, Fresno, 1927

Père-Lachaise, in the presence of 7,000 attendees, officials from the office of the President of France and from the Ministry of Defense⁷⁰.

⁶⁵ Թէրզիպաշեան Ա., օp. cit., էջ 403։ Քաջունի Եղ., օp. cit., 1976, էջ 201։

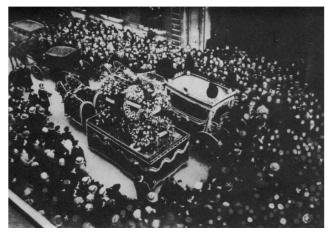
⁶⁶ Ղարիբջանյան Գ., օp. cit., էջ 175։

⁶⁷ Թէրզիպաշեան Ա., օք. cit., էջ 408։

⁶⁸ Քաջունի Եղ., օр. cit., 1976, էջ 202։ Ղարիբջանյան Գ., օр. cit., էջ 175։

⁶⁹ Թէրզիպաշեան Ա., օp. cit., էջ 414–415։ Գուտուլեան Գ., օp. cit., էջ 38։

⁷⁰ Քաջունի Եղ., օթ. cit., 1976, էջ 202։ Ղարիբջանյան Գ., օթ. cit., էջ 179, 180։ Մնացականյան Ա. Ն., Հակոբյան Հ. Ղ., օթ. cit., էջ 285։ Գուտուլեան Գ., օթ. cit., էջ 39։



General Andranik's funeral at Père-Lachaise Cemetery, Paris, 1928

countries fund-raising contributions in favor of his Fatherland and his people, Andranik had also committed to paper and published his testimonies and diaries with a view to presenting to the history and to the impartial judgment of the coming generations his

entire past military activities. The General has published his thoughts in separate books: "Gen. Andranik Speaks" (Paris, 1921), "The Historical Diary of General Andranik's Caucasian Front. 1914-1917. Diary Kept by the General's Bodyguard Soldier" (Boston, 1924), etc.

In the USA, the General has remembered his beloved soldiers with parental affection. Thus, on June 18, 1924, taking the floor in Fresno before the Armenian community, he addressed his historic words of esteem and gratitude "to his soldiers, who stood beside him till the end and built the Armenian's glory" with the hope that "some day, possibly, those sacrifices would be of some use"73

In the written message entitled: "TRIBUTE RESPECT (To My Soldiers)", General OF

AU GENERAL ANTRANI

General Andranik Ozanian's grave at Père-Lachaise Cemetery, Paris

Andranik has, despite the uncontrollable circumstances created in the Motherland, due to unavoidable historical-political factors, greatly appraised the selfless devotion of the Armenian soldiers to their native land and people, whose unparalleled bravery has fascinated and infuriated both the leaders of the Western countries and the military command and even - the enemy. According to the very definition of Andranik, besides the military operations, the Armenian voluntary servicemen had become also the

In November 1945, a monument was erected in Paris on the grave of General Andranik with the funds raised by the Compatriotic Union of the worldscattered citizens of Shapin-Garahissar⁷¹.

It was very hard for the General to reconcile himself with the fact of living in foreign lands, when he had dedicated his entire life to the liberation of his native land and people⁷².

Besides organizing in foreign

⁷¹ Ղարիբջանյան Գ., օp. cit., էջ 202։

⁷² Գուտուլեան Գ., օp. cit., էջ 3, 38։

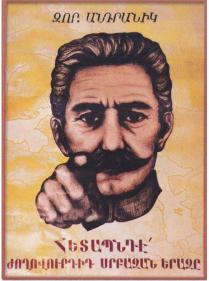
 $^{^{73}}$ Կարինեան Գ., Ազգային հերոս Զօր. Անդրանիկ եւ իր պատերազմները. Զօր. Անդրանիկ Էրզրումի Ճակատին վրալ, Բարիզ, 1953, էջ 190։

protectors and supporters of the orphans and refugees, as well as the vanguard "Torches" of the Russian army, illuminating with their lives the sacred path of the liberation of the native territories⁷⁴.

In this respect, it is characteristic and guiding for all times to mention the following words addressed, in 1918, by General Andranik to his young and adolescent soldiers (among them were 12- to 14-year-old children as well), with which he led them to the fight: "...We are all alone in the world. It is sufficient in that solitude, that we put armor and steel on ourselves. The Russians went; they left our Motherland for us. The Turks threaten us to come and snatch our Motherland out of our hands; let us not allow that the Turks dye their hands with our blood. Let us regenerate our Motherland and become the master of our family,



water, land and stone. Long live our army that is fighting for our freedom; long live our martyrdom! God grant, that we will not be alone in our faith"⁷⁵.



GENERAL ANDARANIK: "STRIVE FOR YOUR PEOPLE'S SACRED DREAM!".

General Andranik Ozanian struggled during his entire life and by all possible means, against the enemies of the nation; he devoted himself to the liberation of the native land and to gain the freedom of his people. Finding himself in foreign countries due to pressing political circumstances, he, nevertheless, did not politicized his relations both with the ARF and with the Soviet authorities in Armenia. On the contrary, when the General's Homeland-preserving struggle was suspended by international forces, and, indeed, his task remained unfinished, nonetheless, finding himself in emigration, he continued, under the new conditions, to contribute to the salvation of the nation's genofund: to favor the repatriation of the deportees and refugees

to the Motherland at his time, as well as in future to the Armenian territories being liberated (as decades later after Andranik's death it has been realized in Artsakh), to make plans for their accommodation in the country. By organizing in foreign countries periodical fund-raising actions and appearing in public with his Armenia-centered speeches and writings, the national hero Andranik continued his Motherland-supporting and All-Armenian nation-devoted mission.

Զօրավար Անդրանիկի Կովկասեան ճակատի պատմական օրագրութիւնը. 1914-1917, Օրագրուած գօրավարին թիկնապահ գինուորէն, Պոսթոն, 1924, էջ 197։

⁷⁵ Ժամկոչեան Ա., օp. cit., էջ 84։



General Andranik Ozanian's memorial in Yerevan

In 2000, the remains of General Andranik, in accordance with his will, were transferred to Armenia and found their final burial place at the Yerablour Pantheon.



Andranik Ozanian's memorial in Yerablour