

ԵՐԻՏԱՍԱՐԴԱՅ ՔՐԻՍՏՈՆԵԱԿԱՆ ԸՆԿԵՐԱԿՑՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԱՇԽԱՏԱԿԻՑ Ս.
Ֆ. Հ. ՔՐԱԹԵՐՆԻ ՀԱՇՎԵՏՎՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ՄԱՐԱՇԻ ՊԱՇԱՐՄԱՆ ՄԱՍԻՆ
(20.I – 11.II.1920)

1918 թ. հոկտեմբերի 30-ին կնքված Մուղրոսի զինադադարը և Առաջին համաշխարհային պատերազմի ավարտը խաղաղություն չբերեցին Օսմանյան կայսրության քրիստոնյա ժողովուրդներին, հատկապես հայերին: Հաղթանակած Անտանտի տերությունները՝ Բրիտանիան ու Ֆրանսիան, խորամանկորեն օգտագործելով կայսրության ժողովուրդների ազգային-ազատագրական ձգտումներն ու պայքարը, իրականում լուծում էին իրենց գաղութային կայսրությունները ընդարձակելու խնդիրը: Մինչ եվրոպական մայրաքաղաքներում դիվանագետները վիճարկում էին Օսմանյան կայսրության մասնատման՝ 1916 թ. Սայքս-Պիկոյի ծրագրի՝ մանրամասները, թուրք ազգայնամոլները, Մուստաֆա Բեմալի առաջնորդությամբ, մեկ այլ ծրագիր են առաջադրում, որի իրագործմամբ հայությունը կրկին հայրենագրվում, իսկ հնարավորության դեպքում ամբողջությամբ ոչնչացվում էր: Պատահական չէ, որ քեմալականների առաջին հարվածներն ուղղվեցին Կիլիկիայի դեմ: Ցեղասպանությունից մազապուրծ արևմտահայության բեկորները, ազգային փրկության հույսով, հենց Կիլիկիայում էին ստվարանում: Հարձակման առաջին թիրախը Մարաշն էր, որտեղ տեղակայված ֆրանսիական կայազորի կազմում էր Հայկական լեգեոնը (շուրջ 500 հոգի)¹: 1920 թ. հունվարի 20-ին սկսվեց քաղաքի պաշարումը թուրք հրո-սակների կողմից: 1920 թ. փետրվարի 7-ին, երբ տեղ հասան ֆրանսիական լրացուցիչ ուժերը, թուրքերը պատրաստ էին ընդունել իրենց պարտությունը: Սակայն տեղի ունեցավ անսպասելին. համաձայն Մուստաֆա Բեմալի և Ժորժ Պիկոյի նախնական դավադիր պայմանավորվածության², ֆրանսիական հրամանատարությունը լքեց քաղաքը՝ հայերին թողնելով թուրք ցեղասպանների ճիրաններում: Դրա հետևանքով Մարաշում ու շրջակա գյուղերում բնակություն հաստատած հայերից սրի քաշվեցին 13.600-ը, 8 հազարն արտաքսվեցին քեմալական իշխանությունների կողմից³:

Ստորև ներկայացնում ենք ամերիկյան ԵՔԸ (Երիտասարդաց քրիստոնե-

¹ Գասպարյան Ռ., Հոդվածների և հրապարակումների ժողովածու, Ե., 2013, էջ 141:

² Նույն տեղում, էջ 140:

³ Հայոց պատմություն, հ. IV, գիրք առաջին, Ե., 2010, էջ 226:

ական ընկերակցություն)⁴ աշխատակից Ս. Ֆ. Հ. Քրաթերնի⁴ վկայությունը Մարաշի կռիվների մասին: 1920 թ. հունվարի 20-ից մինչև փետրվարի 11-ը նա գտնվել է քեմալական զորքերի կողմից պաշարված Մարաշում և ականատես եղել թուրքերի հերթական ջարդարարությանը:

Փաստաթուղթը շարադրված է որպես օրագիր ու հատուկ պատրաստվել է Կ. Պոլսում Անտանտի տերությունների ներկայացուցիչներին ներկայացնելու համար: Ս. Քրաթերնի այս օրագրի լրագրողական, համառոտագրված տարբերակը հրապարակվել է ամերիկյան «Նյու Յորք Թայմզ» պարբերականի 1920 թ. մարտի 6-ի համարում⁵: Փաստաթղթի ամբողջական բնօրինակը պահվում է ԱՄՆ-ի Մինեսոտայի համալսարանի Է. Անդերսոնի անվան գրադարանի Քաուլթս ընտանիքի ԵԲԸ արխիվներում⁶: Այն ամբողջությամբ տպագրվում է առաջինանգամ: Կատարվել են մասնակի ուղղագրական և կետադրական շտկումներ: Մեր միջամտությունները արված են ուղղագիծ փակագծերով, իսկ մեկնաբանությունները՝ տողատակում:

ՀԱՄԲԱՐՁՈՒՄՅԱՆ Վ. Վ.

⁴ Ս. Ֆ. Հ. Քրաթերնը եղել է Բոսթոնի ԵԲԸ աշխատակից, 1920 թ. գործուղվել է Մարաշ՝ տեղական ԵԲԸ աշխատանքները վերսկսելու նպատակով (տե՛ս **Stanley Elfinstone Kerr**. *The Lions of Marash: Personal Experiences with American Near East Relief, 1919–1922*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1973, p. 74).

⁵ *The New York Times*, March 6, 1920, *Eyewitness Tells how Armenians were Massacred*.

⁶ Kautz Family YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota Libraries, Minneapolis (MN), USA: International Division: Box - Turkey 1884 – 1929.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF YMCA SECRETARY CRATHERN CONCERNING THE SIEGE AND WAR IN MARASH

JANUARY 20 TO FEBRUARY 11 [1920]

[Secretary] Crathern had been in Marash for the purpose of organising a YMCA⁷. On [January] 20 he attempted to return to Aintab in an ACRNE⁸ auto with Paul Suyder as chauffeur and Miss Schultz⁹ and Lient-Coonery of the French army and three Armenians as passengers. On reaching the hill leading the summit of the mountain we run into a pitched battle between the Algerian Cavalry¹⁰ and Turkish bandits. We deemed it advisable to turn back and on doing so a hundred or more shots were fired at us by bandits on the mountain. Several bullets penetrated the car and one hit and splintered the cross section of the steering wheel, fragments of which flew into the faces of the chauffeur and Sec. Crathern. Mr. Crathern waved an American flag from the car hoping that the fire would cease but it had no effect on the Turks. By a miracle the car escaped being negotiated down the hill at forty miles and hour which was the only thing that saved the party. We returned to Marash without further incident and reported the matter to the General Staff.

[January 21st]

On [January] 21st [Secretary] Crathern sent the following telegram to Council [Jackson]ⁱⁱⁱ at Aleppo, Admiral Bristol^{iv} of Constantinople: "American flag fired on repeatedly and the lives of American citizens threatened and imperilled in Marash and Aintab. Inform Major Arnold¹¹ of the Relief Commission^v and YMCA [headquarters]. C. F. Crathern, [Secretary]"

⁷ *Young Men's Christian Association – Երիտասարդաց Քրիստոնեական Ընկերակցություն (ԵՔԸ):*

⁸ *American Committee for Relief in the Near East – Մերձավոր Արևելքում ամերիկյան օգնության կոմիտե՝ Ամերկոմ:*

⁹ Մարաշի կռիվների ժամանակ պաշարման մեջ էին հայտնվել 17 ամերիկացիներ (տե՛ս *The New York Times*, March 6, 1920, *Eyewitness Tells how Armenians were Massacred*): Դրանց թվում էին փաստաթղթում հիշատակվող Սայդերը, վարապատվելի Լիմանը, բժիշկներ Քերրը, Ուիլսոնը՝ իր կնոջ հետ, զթության քույրեր Շուլցը, Բարքլին, Էլիոթը, Փոլերզը, Դեհերթին:

¹⁰ Ալժիրյան հեծելազորը և Հայկական լեգեոնը Մարաշում տեղակայված ֆրանսիական կայազորի հիմնական զորամիավորումներն էին:

¹¹ Մայոր Դեյվիս Գ. Առնոլդ՝ ԱՄՆ-ի բանակի սպա, որը 1919 թ. հունիսին նշանակվեց Օսմանյան կայսրությունում Ամերկոմի գործերի կառավարիչ:

These telegrams were [okayed] by [General] Querette¹² of the French staff and I was assured by Turkish and French officials at the telegraph office that the telegram would be sent without fail within half an hour. After sending this telegram I walked thru the city with Mr. Kerr^{vi} and an interpreter. The bazaars and the shops were all closed and the Turks were getting together in little groups all over the city, only a few Armenians were to be seen in the thoroughfares. About one o'clock, while the dinner tables, we heard the crack of guns and knew that the conflict that had been threatening so long had now broken out. Before the first shot was fired I found on reaching the missionary compound a company of Turkish officials, including the mutassarif¹³, a Turkish hodja, and other notables. These I understood from Dr. Lyman had come to interview me for a purpose which I did not learn. As I found later that they had been detained by the French officials and placed under arrest. This I presume was the cause of the first shot being fired by the Turks. The French Commandant had informed us earlier in the day that they had determined to strike and to strike hard.

After the first shot was fired we ran to the front balcony, where we had a commanding view of the whole city. There was quite a long cannonading and many of the houses of the city were turned into small forts from which the sound of shooting would issue every few minutes answered by the machine guns of the French. The Armenians are very much alarmed and are in fear of their lives. Hundreds of the poor have been caught in one of our compounds where they came to receive old clothes and will have to stay all night as it will be unsafe for them to go home. The fighting and firing have been going on all the afternoon and now it is nearly midnight and there is no respite. A French sentry guarding the entrance of the American Hospital has been shot dead and another wounded.

Bullets also passed through two of the nurses' rooms and wounded an Armenian girl. What the morning will bring forth we do not know. I fear that the worst is not over.

[January 22nd]

We were awakened this morning by the boom of guns and saw quite early the flash of exploding shells. The Turks are firing from a number of houses and as they are using smokeless powder it is impossible to see where the bullets come from. The French soldiers have suffered seriously and many of them we hear are now lying dead and wounded in the streets, and their companions are unable to render them any assistance until night because of the danger arising from the sharpshooters. The American hospital has again been attacked and doctors and nurses have had very narrow escape. The mission buildings have as yet es-

¹² Գեներալ Կրետ (Քերեթ)՝ Մարաշի ֆրանսիական կայազորի հրամանատար:

¹³ Գալատապետ:

caped damage and we do not anticipate any assault as the Turks are not prepared for aggressive warfare. The French General with his Staff officers was on our balcony this afternoon to sight approaching Turks who were coming over the mountains on their way to the city. The General gave orders for a gun to be fired with 65 shells which soon scattered them in all directions.

[January 23rd]

The battle is still on but there is no way of getting news into or out of the city. Everything is at a standstill. Today we have been watching the bombarding of the city by the French. In some sections it is very severe and created great consternation. It gave great opportunity for looting and pillage and I fear massacre. Through our glasses we could see Armenians escaping from their homes and fleeing before the Turks who were shooting them down like jack-rabbits. Other Turks were hiding in the fields behind rocks, trees and manure heaps and shooting at those who had escaped the Turks in the city. It was pitiful to see them throw up their hands and scream while attempting to escape. We watched them fleeing over the hills until they reached our compound, some dropping wounded by the way, and others struggling into the mission grounds with wild eyes and purple faces telling of an awful massacre just beginning.

[January 24th]

This is the forth day of the battle of Marash and every day becomes more pathetic and tragic as time wears on. This morning we held a consultation and decided to interview the French general to learn the plan of campaign and to lay before him some facts that had come to our knowledge regarding the massacre of the Armenians in the Cuimed quarter of Marash. This was the region from which we had seen the Armenians running for their lives across the fields. In order to be fortified with the actual facts as coming from the mouths of eye-witnesses we interviewed the people who had escaped the massacre. They told most harrowing stories. One woman saw seven killed before her eyes. Mother had children taken out of their arms and ripped up with knives. One man said two hundred perished in one street. The shrieks of the tortured we could hear a mile across the ravine which they had to cross to reach our compound. Others gave similar accounts of awful experience. We laid these facts before the General and his Staff who listened very respectfully and said the situation was very grave and that they would take strenuous efforts to cope with it. Wounded solders are being brought to our hospital and several operations have been performed. Yesterday the mutessarif was released from French custody for the purpose of interviewing the leaders and bringing about a cessation of hostilities. He went back to the Government building under the protection of white flag with an ultimatum from the General that if the Turks did not

surrender in 24 hours he would bombard the city. Today the mutassarif telephoned the Headquarters that it was impossible for him to prevail with leaders to cease operations, as he had no control over them, and was even in danger of his own life. At three o'clock when the time of the ultimatum had expired we heard the booms of guns and knew that the bombardment of the city had commenced. The guns were kept busy for two hours. At five o'clock the colonel came to the house and said they had decided to burn certain sections of the city from which the Turks were sniping Armenians and solders whenever they appeared. At night the city is in total darkness. Whenever we go from one compound to another we have to creep under the walls in order to escape shot and shell. There is the most intense excitement every minute of the day and every compound is thronged with frightened refugees who have escaped during the night and are alarmed lost their people whom they have left behind, should become the victims of massacre, or fire, or starvation. Women are giving premature birth to children and women are going crazy with fear. The ACRNE are feeding nearly 200 orphans and refugees and with only a few days supply of bread the problem is a grave one. Today we raised the American flag but no sooner had we raise it to the mast than the fire of a dozen cannons scampering to cover. I had just time to my wrist-watch 33 shots in one minute. Two machine guns are picking away like so many giant woodpeckers and the sharp crack of the rifle is continuous. Last night few Armenian solders¹⁴ were sent out by the French disguised as Turkish gendarmes to reach the nearest telegraph station at Islahieh¹⁵ seventy-five miles away. Each was the bearer of a long telegram in cipher from the General asking that supplies and reinforcements be sent immediately. Whether they will reach their destination or not we do not know. It is risky business as the whole country is in a flame of revolt. How soon the issue will be decided it is hard to determine. The capture of the last two caravans of munitions and food stuffs by bandits between Marash and Aintab make that of escape or relief impossible. But while the days are exciting the nights are increasingly so. For a while the great guns are booming, solders are creeping stealthily forth with benzine torches and hand grenades to set fire to different parts of the city. It is sometimes like Dante's Inferno. I have had to move my bed back into a safer quarter of the room, as a bullet came through the window into the hallway and nearly passed through the door.

[January 25th]

The situation here is serious. We are besieged by an invisible army. There are few enemy solders in sight and these are seen only through the glasses, running for cover, or hurrying out of their trenches or stealing over the mountains in little groups to reach the city. We

¹⁴ Հայկական լեգեոնականներ:

¹⁵ Իսլահիե՝ քաղաք Ադանայի վիլայեթում, Ադանայից 176 կմ արևելք, Մարաշից 72 կմ հարավ, Այնթապից 90 կմ արևմուտք:

have not been out of our compounds for seven days and even behind our own walks we are not safe against attack. The French have no wireless, no aeroplanes, no telegraph, no armoured cars, and to make the situation worse neither food nor ammunition for an extended siege. They have to conserve their supplies, not knowing how long the siege may last or whether the rest of Turkey is in the same state of war or not. They are doing all they can under the circumstances with the small force of troops under their command they cannot make an attack on the city with the certainty of making it surrender. Hundreds of Armenians are trying to reach our compounds from many parts of the city but are falling in the attempt and the light of the fires that the Turks are making in Armenian quarters render escape impossible, and those who flee from smoke and flame fall victims to the sword or the axe. News came today that scores of women and children huddled in one house were butchered with knives and hatchets after the men had been taken out and shot. They surrendered on the promise of protection but were cruelly betrayed. Today in one of our orphanages a woman was killed while standing in the doorway and others were shot and wounded in the College compound.

[January 26th]

We are still in the throes of a most terrible war that involves not only the armed forces of the opposing armies but also unfortunate Armenians who are the victims of the most hellish cruelty imaginable. The crescent moon, the cold-blooded symbol of Muslim fanaticism is raising tonight on a city in whose streets today have been enacted tragedies that ought to stagger humanity and send a shudder of protest to the Throne of God. I have read much and heard more of the atrocities the Armenians have suffered in the past, but I have never expected to witness first-hand the barbarities that are a disgrace to civilisation and a stain on the escutcheons of the Great Powers that can permit such a Government to exist. And yet what I have seen and heard during the last two days is but a small part of the horrors that are registered forever upon the brains of those who have escaped bleeding and wounded, to tell their tale upon the operation tables in the hospital, or to babble in the incoherent way from their sickbeds of the Inferno from which they have escaped. Some of the most revolting stories ever heard have been told us today by those who have come limping into our compounds from different parts of the city. Little girls 8 and 10 years old and wrinkled women of 70 years were agonising with pain from dum-dum¹⁶ bullet wounds which tore great pieces of flesh from arms and legs while soldiers have had to have limbs amputated or to pay the supreme sacrifices. Children have been brought to the hospital with their brains oozing from jagged hole in the head, and elderly people while sitting in their own homes have received shots which have scattered both mind and body.

¹⁶ Դուլ-դուլ՝ 1899 թ. Հասպայի համաձայնագրով արգելված գնդակներ:

[January 27th]

This morning one of the native helpers of the ACRNE came to tell us of his escape. He had been waiting for several days for a favourable opportunity to flee. It came about 3 o'clock this morning. He tells us that the Turks are killing hundreds of people in the city and that they are content with using such weapons as shot and shell but resort to the brutal use of the axe and knife. At this very moment there is in our own house a young woman who tells us that with a hundred other persons in a cellar she prayed for five days and nights for help but no help came. Then the Turks asked them to surrender promising them to give them protection if they would. Being in despair they threw themselves on the mercy of the enemy. The men were told to come out of the house and her own husband was the first to leave. He was shot immediately in the doorway by one of their Turkish neighbours whom she knew and who was a gendarme in the service of the Government. After the men had been taken out there was a scene of indescribable horror, as the Turks came in with axes and knives and began their murderous work. In the general moles she with one of her children escaped. The child was killed. Two young women teachers from the Collage were killed in this way. Another escaped and stood in water for eight hours hoping to elude the Turks, but in fatal moment she ran for her life and was killed by a bullet. The Turks have sent an ultimatum to the French demanding their surrender, or they will attack them tomorrow morning at four o'clock. The French hope they will.

[January 28th]

Rumours are flying wild and fast. This morning the startling news was spread abroad that [Captain] Fontaine and 700 men coming to the relief of Marash had been killed and only one man escaped. We learn this evening that he is still fighting his way to the city, and that supply train of wagons was captured in the morning and many of the convoy killed. We had a pitiful case this morning in the hospital. It was the [Reverend] Solakian's wife, pastor of the third church. When she reached the hospital she was suffering and bleeding from dagger or knife wounds, while a child of eighteen months had been taken from her breast and slain with a knife and an older girl killed with an axe. To add to the sorrow of it, the mother was pregnant and had a miscarriage as soon as she reached the hospital. The poor woman is lying in a precarious condition and she will not recover. Several new cases came in today and we are troubled to find room for them. The crowded compounds are also a grave problem. In one of them we have over a thousand refugees and we can give them but one meal a day as the food supply is nearly exhausted. Many are poorly clad and many are weak.

Several solders are going out tonight to try to take into one of compounds a thousand Armenians who are finding refuge in a church and fear that the Turks will set fire to it.

[January 29th]

It is nearly midnight and I have just come in from a service of sorrow. The pastor's wife of whom I wrote you yesterday died today and was laid to rest in the Seminary Compound. This afternoon we had a conference of all American workers to decide what to do in case of emergency. We shall all gather in the Collage compound and await the final issue. What that will be we do not know. Graves are multiplying in our midst and tales of horror come to us nightly from those who escape from house or cellar. The solder who went last night to rescue a thousands Armenians were not able to pass the Turkish trenches. Another orphanage was attacked but the assault was not successful. Several solders came down from the mountains today with frozen hands and feet some of which must be amputated.

[January 30th]

As yet no news of relief from French authorities. Yesterday was rather quiet from the military point of view. There was only little cannonading and only a few solders killed and wounded. The uncertainty of the situation is a great stain on the nerves of the ladies of our party but they are brave and cheerful and busy all day ministering to the needs of the unfortunate. Dr. and Mrs. Wilson have moved over to the Collage compound to live as they think it a little safer there in case of attack. They invited me to go with them but I feel there is no immediate danger and prefer to wait a few days to watch developments. We have all decided to hang together than take our chances on hanging separately.

[January 31st]

War still holds on and no relief in sight. Men, women, and children, about nine of them, where shot in the Collage grounds today and some of them quite seriously wounded. Fortunately we have plenty of wheat now and by keeping the women graining from sunrise to sunset we can feed the people for quite a while. We are obliged to keep the people under cover as walking, in the open is to dangerous and our hospitals are already full.

[February 1st]

The weather has been very cold and we have had several cases of severe frost-bite among the solders. More children have been shot in the orphanages. The refugees are much alarmed

at the success of the Turks. Several houses have been burn in the city. The hospital still continues to be attached.

[February 2nd]

The war is coming a little closer for today a shell fell on the hospital roof and burst into attic just above the floor where we had great many patients. The rifle shots have also been a little more personal as one plugged into a wall a few feet ahead of me and the second hit a tree as I was creeping along under a wall to my room. The Turks tried to set the Bertell orphanage on fire today and the French retaliated by burning would-be incendiaries houses. There was considerable bombarding today but not many wounded. There is no news of reinforcement as we fear that other cities and towns may be besieged as we are and help may not reach us for some time. Last night we sent a message to the ACRNE and to have it telegraphed to Adana and Constantinople. It will probably be seven days before it can reach its destination.

[February 3rd]

I suppose no one in the outside world realises the seriousness of our situation or surely an aeroplane from Beirut would drop us a message of cheer. This is the telegram that we sent to Consul Jackson to Adana and Constantinople: SITUATION IN MARASH EXTREMELY DESPERATE REIGN OF TERROR IN CITY SINCE [JANUARY] 21. HUNDREDS OF MEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN MASSACRED DAILY NO POWER TO STOP IT AS FRENCH ARE ON THE DEFENSIVE FORCES AMMUNITION AND FOOD INSUFFICIENT. AMERICANS HAVE LITTLE HOPE IN CASE FRENCH ARE OVERPOWERED NO ASSURANCE OF HELP AND LARGE FORCES OF BANDITS BAR ALL ROADS. LEAVE NOTING UNDONETO RELIEVE SITUATION AS LIVES OF ALL CHRISTIANS ARE SERIOUSLY THREATENED OUR AUTO AND FLAG FIRED UPON REPEATEDLY JAN 20 OUR INSTITUTIONS UNDER FIRE AND MANY ORPHANS AND REFUGEES WOUNDED ON AMERICAN PROPERTY. Bullets still continue to enter American buildings. We have all had very narrow escape. The French horses and mules slowly starving and they will have to kill then and feed them to the hungry multitudes. The French are living in hope that help will soon come.

[February 4th]

This has been a tragic day. New stories of fresh massacres reached us this morning. In one case already 200 surrendered to the Turks under promise of protection, but nearly all of them were butchered. The man who escaped by stabbing a Turk told this gruesome story.

Deep pits were dug and men tied in bunches of three and led to the edge of it and then shot and dumped into it dead or alive. One young girl if 19 was shot in the abdomen while out getting a bit of wood. No news yet of help but we shall not give up. We are resolved to stay here at all hazards. God help the Armenians if the Americans leave them and God help us all if the French leave.

[February 5th]

This morning Dr. Wilson and Rev. Lyman and I interviewed the French General and his staff. Word reached us that Turks were encroaching on Armenian homes and might soon attack the hospital. While we were on our way to headquarters, the Turkish officials who were prisoners in the buildings asked to see us. They pleaded with us as Americans to persuade the French officers to stop the war. They promised that if they were released that they would do all they could to bring the Turks to terms. The General would not release them. I proposed that they should write a letter to mutessarif and ask him to persuade to request a conference. This evening the letter from the Turks came and will be sent as soon as possible to Turkish government. The French today have decided to kill the horses and mules as there is no food for them. We had a mule roast today and we like it fine. We like it better than horse meat. A fierce bombardment took place this evening. A perfect hail storm of bullets rained through our compound. A young woman in the basement of the house was mortally wounded. This has brought the war to our very doors.

[February 6th]

This is the 8th day of the siege of Marash and this morning we had a joyful surprise. An aeroplane flew over the city and dropped several messages. Unfortunately the wind was very high and carried the message into the Turkish part of the city, but we know now that help is near and that we are not forgotten. More victims for the operating table and more graves in the cemetery. This afternoon we had another glimpse of an aeroplane and the French headquarters sent us signals so that they might know where to land if they wished. Everybody is elated to think that communication with today from mutessarif in reply to our letter which accompanied the communication sent by the Turkish officials. He regretted that he could do nothing without consulting the commander of the forces but appreciated our interest and thanked us for our kind offer of mediation. I hope help will come before all the Armenians have to pay the awful price of this needless war.

[February 7th]

At last reinforcements are in sight and are already fighting their way in the city. The guns in the plain are shelling the hills over which the scouts expect to reach the barracks. We heard today that all the girls in the rescue home have been killed. There were about 80 of them. To add to the horror of the crime the Turks this afternoon set fire the building and we had the gruesome necessity to witness the scene without being able to lift a hand to save them. The first church is also on fire.

[February 8th]

The French troops are in the valley and their guns are shelling the hills but it might be some days before they can encircle the city and close in on the enemy. The wounded continue to come and new deaths take place daily. This afternoon we spent with the French General and his Staff in the upper story of the collage building watching the battle in the plain and the attempt of the French relieving troops to make connection with the soldiers in the barracks. This they did later in the day. In the evening we had a thanksgiving service in the Collage.

[February 9th]

[General] Querette informed us today that he has received orders to evacuate the city at midnight on the 9th. This news has caused well alarm all through the compounds. Everybody is terrible excited. Women and children are crazed with fear. We have urged him to delay their departure as the Turks are on the point of surrender. He said his orders were imperative but he would try to secure a delay of 24 hours. If they evacuate the city we are not sure what treatment we will receive at the hand of the Turks. We shall remain, however at our posts of duty, to do what we can to shield the Armenians and protect American interests. We hope for the best but many fear the worst. Our hope is in God. We trust Him where we cannot trace him and we believe that in some divine way our lives will be spared., but if not God be with you all until we meet again. I thank my God upon every remembrance of you.

[February 10th]

The French General in response to our earnest entreaties has granted a delay of 24 hours before leaving the city. We are hoping to bring about an understanding with the Turks that will prevent further massacres. The French took most of their wounded out of the city last night but left 20 in the emergency hospital. The Armenians in the compounds are frantic and desperate. They are determined to live the city with the French as they fear massacres if they remain. The scenes are indescribably pathetic and tragic. Our greatest concern for Miss

Burkeley in Bathshalom Orphanage. I have not heard from her during the siege. We trust she is safe. We fear the Armenians in other compounds have not been notified of the French withdrawal. We have been fitting out the refugees for the journey, giving them food and clothes to the extend of our supplies. Many of the older orphan boys and girls will leave with the exiles. Dr. and Mrs. Wilson will remain and all the missionaries. Dr. Elliott, Miss Schults, Miss Porers, and Miss Doherty will leave with the troops. I had decided to stay but as two or three are going as sheep without a shepherd Dr. Wilson thinks I had better go to take charge of them and find for them food and shelter at their destination. It is a long hard trek of nearly 75 miles through mountain and plain and I fear many of them will not be equal to it. It is winter and God help them if the weather should be severe. We are trying to arrange terms of peace and if the French forces would remain only a few more days in the city I believe the Turks would lick their hands in object surrender. We have just interview with Dr. Mustapha the leader of the Turkish forces, and he has agreed to call the notables of the city together tomorrow for the purpose of considering terms of surrender. But the fact is he is he is unaware of the positive withdrawal of the French troops tonight. The troops and refugees left the city between the hours of six and nine. The French General and his staff left about 10.30. I accompanied them. It was a bitterly cold night. The city was in flames. Guns were bombing from the hills covering our retreat. After three or four hours we arrived at the camp on the plain and at two o'clock on Wednesday morning the long column moved out of Marash on the three days journey to Islahieh.

[February 11th]

As the column moved away from the city it was a blaze of splendour. The great barracks just evacuated by the French was on the fire silhouetted against the sky. Through the long moonlight night the column marched until noon. When it reached the village of LULOGLOU and rested for the remainder of the day.

[February 12th]

At six o'clock a.m. the column started on its long march to Bell Pounar. The weather was severely cold and many of the weak ones dropped by the wayside to freeze or to starve. At noon the column rested for two hours and reached Bell Pounar about p.m. Turkish villages were burnt by the soldiers after the column had passed through. There were very meagre accommodations in the village and multitudes were encamped in the open to suffer seriously from hunger and exposure.

[February 13th] – Friday

During the night a snowstorm raged and at six o'clock the column prepared to move forward while it was yet dark. The snow storm increased during the early morning hours to a blizzard and continued all through the long dreary march. From 12 to 18 hours the soldiers and civilians plodded their way through the snow and snow drifts. All along the line the weak and inform dropped from sheer exhaustion. It is estimated that before the column reached Islahieh more than a thousand of the refugees had perished in the snow besides many of the soldiers. It was tragic ending of a tragic exodus.

[February 14th]

We did our best to care for the poor refugees at Islahieh. Many died after reaching their destination. No accommodation was available in the village and very little food. I interviewed the Turkish governor and the French Commandant and secured their cooperation in doing something for the refugees. A bakery was secured to furnish bread and a mill to grind flour. I ft with the French wounded on the evening train to Adana to confer with Dr. Dodd of ACRNE and Dr. Chambers of the American Mission^{vii} to see what could be done to help these unfortunate in their distress. Milk and blankets were despatched immediately and further supplies prepared to meet the urgent necessity of the situation. All the American forces in the city have put themselves at the service of these standard Armenians. It is hoped that eventually they will be brought to Adana where the pastors of the city are preparing to receive them and house them in their churches and other institutions in the city. I am now trying to return to my station at Aintab by way of Beirut and Aleppo. Dr. Chambers who is on his way to Constantinople to plead the cause of the Armenians before the representatives of the Entente powers this message with him as a record of the events that transpired in Marash during those crucial days.

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ⁱ Մայքս-Պիկոյի՝ Օսմանյան կայսրության ասիական տիրույթները բաժանելու վերաբերյալ գաղտնի համաձայնագիրը կնքվել է 1916 թ. մայիսի 16-ին Լոնդոնում, Բրիտանիայի և Ֆրանսիայի միջև: Նախագծի հեղինակներն էին բրիտանացի Մարկ Մայքսը և ֆրանսիացի Ժորժ Պիկոն. այստեղից էլ՝ անվանումը: Համաձայնեցվել է Ռուսաստանի հետ:

ⁱⁱ ԵԲԸ-ն հիմնադրվել է 1844 թ. հունիսի 6-ին Լոնդոնում: Արդեն 1855 թ., դարձել է համաշխարհային շարժում (տե՛ս Shedd, Clarence Prouty and others: 'History of the World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations', London, 1955): Լինելով քրիստոնեական արժեքներն ընդունող կազմակերպություն և ստեղծվելով Բրիտանական կայսրությունում՝ ԵԲԸ-ն ի սկզբանե ունեցել է բողոքական հենք: Սակայն ժամանակի ընթացքում տարածվելով աշխարհով մեկ՝ դարձել է համաեկեղեցական շարժում: Այսօր գործում է աշխարհի 119 երկրներում և ունի շուրջ 58 միլիոն անդամ: Աշխարհում ամենահաջողակ, ամենաերկարակյաց ու ամենատարածված հասարակական կազմակերպություններից է:

ⁱⁱⁱ Ջեսս Բենջամին Ջեքսոն (1871–1947): 1905–1908 թթ. Ալեքսանդրեթում (Բաքենդերուն), 1908–1923 թթ. Հալեպում ԱՄՆ-ի հյուպատոս: 1915–1923 թթ. Հայոց ցեղասպանության կարևոր ականատեսներից է: Նրա հաղորդագրությունները հաճախ հենք են դարձել դեսպան Հենրի Սորգենթաուի գնահատականների համար: Ջ. Ջեքսոնը էական դեր է խաղացել սիրիական անապատներ բռնագաղթվածների համար մարդասիրական օգնություն կազմակերպելու հարցում:

^{iv} Ծովակալ Մարկ Լամբերթ Բրիսթոլ (1868–1939): 1919 թ. նշանակվել է Միջերկրական ծովի արևելյան տարածաշրջանում ամերիկյան ռազմածովային ուժերի հրամանատար և Կ. Պոլսում ԱՄՆ-ի գերագույն հանձնակատար: Փաստորեն, զուգահեռաբար համակարգել է ԱՄՆ-ի ռազմական և դիվանագիտական գործառնությունները Օսմանյան կայսրությունում: Թուրքիայի Հանրապետության ճանաչումից հետո մինչև 1927 թ. եղել է ԱՄՆ-ի դեսպան: Հիմնականում վարել է թուրքամետ քաղաքականություն:

^v Մերձավոր Արևելքում ամերիկյան օգնության կոմիտեն (American Committee for Relief in the Near East - ACRNE)՝ Ամերկոմը, հիմնադրվել է 1918 թ.՝ ԱՄՆ-ի կոնգրեսի որոշմամբ: Փոխարինել է 1915 թվականից գործող Հայկական ու Սիրիական օգնության ամերիկյան կոմիտեին (American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief

- ACASR): Կոնգրեսի 1919 թ. օգոստոսի 6-ի որոշմամբ վերանվանվել է Մերձավոր Արևելքի օգնության կոմիտե (Near East Relief - NER): 1930 թ. վերանվանվել է Մերձավոր Արևելքի հիմնադրամ (Near East Foundation - NEF) և այդ անվամբ գործում է գայտօր:

^{vi} Մթենլի Էլֆինսթոուն Քերրը (1894-1976) մասնագիտությամբ կենսաքիմիկոս էր: 1919 թ. կամավորագրվել է Մերձավոր Արևելքի օգնության կոմիտեին՝ Հայոց ցեղասպանությունից մազապուրծ փախստականներին օգնելու համար: Կարևոր դեր է խաղացել քրդերի ու թուրք ամուլների կողմից առևանգված հայ մանուկներին փրկելու հարցում: 1921-1923 թթ. կնոջ՝ Էլզա Ռեքման Քերրի հետ աշխատել է Մերձավոր Արևելքի օգնության կոմիտեի՝ Լիբանանում գործող Նահր Իբրահիմ հայ մանուկների որբանոցում, իսկ հետագայում, շուրջ 40 տարի, Բեյրութի ամերիկյան համալսարանում: Հրատարակել է «Մարաշի առյուծները» գիրքը (*The Lions of Marash: Personal Experiences with American Near East Relief, 1919-1922*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1973):

^{vii} Ծագումով կանադացի Ուիլյամ Չեմբրսը և նրա ընտանիքը ակտիվորեն մասնակցում էին Օսմանյան կայսրությունում Օտարերկրյա առաքելությունների լիազորների ամերիկյան խորհրդի (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions - ABCFM) կողմից համակարգվող միսիոներական գործունեությանը: Նա հիմնականում գործում էր Ադանայում, մինչև 1921 թ. տեղի ԵՔԸ նախագահն էր: