

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

A PORTRAIT OF ARMENIAN STUDENT LIFE AT THE
SYRIAN PROTESTANT COLLEGE 1885-1920

by
HRATCH YERVANT KESTENIAN

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
to the Department of History and Archaeology
of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences
at the American University of Beirut

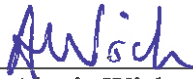
Beirut, Lebanon
September 2015

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

A PORTRAIT OF ARMENIAN STUDENT LIFE AT THE
SYRIAN PROTESTANT COLLEGE 1885-1920

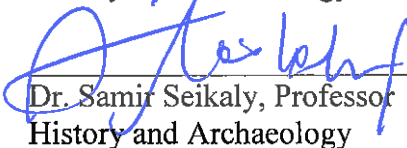
by
HRATCH YERVANT KESTENIAN

Approved by:



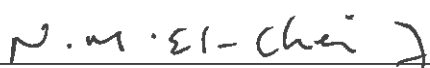
Dr. Alexis Wick, Assistant Professor
History and Archaeology

Advisor



Dr. Samir Seikaly, Professor
History and Archaeology

Member of Committee



Dr. Nadia M. El Cheikh, Professor
History and Archaeology

Member of Committee

Date of Thesis Defense: September 14, 2015

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

THESIS, DISSERTATION, PROJECT RELEASE FORM

Student Name:

KESTENIAN
Last

HRATCH
First

YERVANT
Middle

Master's Thesis
Dissertation

Master's Project

Doctoral

I authorize the American University of Beirut to: (a) reproduce hard or electronic copies of my thesis, dissertation, or project; (b) include such copies in the archives and digital repositories of the University; and (c) make freely available such copies to third parties for research or educational purposes.

I authorize the American University of Beirut, **three years after the date of submitting my thesis, dissertation, or project**, to: (a) reproduce hard or electronic copies of it; (b) include such copies in the archives and digital repositories of the University; and (c) make freely available such copies to third parties for research or educational purposes.

HRATCH KESTENIAN

17 September 2015

Signature

Date

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of my advisor, Dr. Alexis Wick and committee members, Dr. Samir Seikaly and Dr. Nadia El-Cheikh.

I'm deeply grateful to my advisor, Dr. Alexis Wick, for his time, edits, and constructive criticism.

I'm forever indebted to Dr. Samir Seikaly for teaching me how to do research.

Very special thanks to the archivists at the AUB library, as well as the librarians at Haigazian University. I would like also to thank Drs. Zaven Messerlian, Ara Sanjian, Vahe Tachjian, Selim Deringil and Yervant Kassouni for their encouragement and advise during my graduate studies.

I am grateful for the most kind and caring friends; Tamara and Choon thank you for your company, help and moral support.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my parents and sisters for their love, understanding, patience and trust.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Hratch Yervant Kestonian for Master of Arts
Major: History

Title: A Portrait of Armenian Student Life at the Syrian Protestant College 1885-1920

In December 1866 the Syrian Protestant College opened its doors with four professors and sixteen students. The College soon became a recognized center of higher education in the Ottoman Empire, and attracted without discrimination a large number of students from all over the Empire. Daniel Bliss, the founding father of the college, quickly organized a medical department to fulfill the needs of the region. After the language change in the medical department from Arabic to English, non-Arabic speaking students, among whom were many Armenians, started enrolling in the College.

This thesis, “A Portrait of Armenian Student Life at the Syrian Protestant College: 1885-1920,” examines the denominational, social and economic background of more than 230 Armenian students who came from Anatolia, anxious to study medicine at the SPC. The aim of this study is to evaluate the impact of SPC education on those students in the construction of an Armenian national consciousness. Besides exploring an important aspect of the College’s history and reconstructing student life during a challenging era, this thesis also highlights the exceptional but marginalized role played by the Armenian medical Alumni of the University during the First World War.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS V

ABSTRACT VI

Chapter

I.	INTRODUCTION	1
A.	A Brief History of the Syrian Protestant College (SPC)	1
II.	COMING TO THE SPC	5
A.	Reasons for choosing the SPC	5
B.	Reaching Beirut	11
C.	Revolutionaries heading to Beirut	13
D.	Conclusion	21
III.	ACADEMIC FORMATION	22
A.	Education and Nationalism	22
B.	Textbooks used at the SPC	25
C.	Representations of the Armenian Community	30
D.	Donated Armenian Books	32
E.	School of Nursing	40
F.	Conclusion	41

IV. STUDENT LIFE AND EXTRACURRICULAR

ACTIVITIES	43
------------------	----

A. Student Societies	44
B. The Armenian Students Union.....	46
C. The University Student Union.....	54
D. Student Manuscripts	55
E. Student Life.....	61
1. Theatrical Plays, Interracial Nights and Gatherings.....	64
2. College Field Day.....	65
3. Work Study	66
4. Students on Vacation.....	67

V. ON WAR!	70
------------------	----

A. The Road to WWI	71
B. From Suez to the Dardanelles	74
C. Faculty, Students, Jemal Pasha and the War.....	76
D. Alumni Letters and War Experiences.....	81
E. Conclusion	86

VI. CONCLUSION	88
----------------------	----

Appendix	95
----------------	----

I. LIST OF ARMENIAN STUDENTS 1885-1918	95
II. NUMBER OF STUDENTS AT VARIOUS MISSIONARY SCHOOLS	118
III. ARMENIAN POEMS TO WHICH THE STUDENTS WERE EXPOSED	119

IV. LIST OF ARMENIAN MEDICAL ALUMNI WHO DIED
DURING WWI AND AFTER 124

BIBLIOGRAPHY 130

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the early evening of June 26, 1923, a large congregation of doctors and pharmacists gathered in the upper foyer of West Hall, at the American University of Beirut, to witness the unveiling of a tablet inscribed with the names of thirty-two medical alumni who perished in the course of World War I.¹ Seventeen of these medical professionals were Anatolian Armenians who had come to Beirut in the early 1880's to study medicine at the Syrian Protestant College (renamed American University of Beirut after 1920). During the Lebanese civil strife, in 1976, the bronze memorial was moved to the university's College Hall to protect it from damage and the possibility of theft – but it lay there for years, forgotten, until research conducted to write this thesis recovered the lost tablet and the story behind its construction. On 1 November 2012, a new tablet was constructed and permanently installed in its original location in commemoration of AUB medical doctors, pharmacists and nurses who saved the college from closure during the war and sacrificed their lives for the well-being of others.

A. A Brief History of the Syrian Protestant College (SPC)

In December 1866 the Syrian Protestant College (hereafter SPC) opened its doors with four professors and sixteen students. The College soon became a recognized center of higher education in the Ottoman Empire, and attracted a large number of students from all over the Empire. Daniel Bliss, the founding father of the college, quickly

¹ For further information on the Memorial tablet see: *Al-Kulliyah* 9, no.8 (1923); *Al-Kulliyah* 12, no.5 (1926).

organized a medical department to fulfill the needs of the region and produce an elite native leadership, which could assist in molding the socio-economic, religious and political nature of the Arab provinces. In 1883, with the language change in the medical department from Arabic to English, the SPC began appealing to Armenian, Greek and Persian students as well; students eager to study medicine and pharmacy came to AUB from Anatolia and Persia.

The SPC and the American missionaries with their educational mission tried to ‘civilize’ the locals by introducing Western ideals related to progress, democracy, liberty and equality. At the same time Sultan Abdul Hamid II and his officials endeavored to counter the missionaries by introducing modern schools and colleges which targeted primarily Muslim students from various ethnicities. In both of these cases, education became an important socialization agent and played a pivotal role in agitating national consciousness. Even though the missionaries staunchly opposed separatist nationalism, since it contradicted their religious teachings, in a period of censorship their schools provided a fertile ground for the discussion of revolutionary ideas and the development of nationalist sentiments.

This thesis, “A Portrait of Armenian Student Life at the Syrian Protestant College: 1885-1918,” examines the denominational, social and economic background of more than 230 Armenian students who came from Anatolia and were anxious to study medicine at the SPC.² Additionally, it investigates aspects of student life and asks whether the education received played a decisive role in defining Armenian identity. At a time when the nature of the Armenian presence in the Ottoman Empire occupied center stage, were the students radicalized, specifically after the foundation of the first

² For a complete list of Armenian graduates see Appendix 1.

Armenian Student Union in the Arab provinces in 1908? Lastly, it analyzes the students' lives while at the SPC and after their return to Anatolia, reconstructing their professional as well as the political role in the context of the Ottoman Empire, especially during the Adana massacres (1909) and World War I.

During the period from 1885 till the end of World War I, Armenian students constituted the largest non-Arab ethnic group in the College.³ In the early stages, the majority of these students, coming from Cilicia, were attracted to the medical sciences rather than the humanities. The influx was massive since at various times, like in 1907, they represented more than half of the student body in the medical department.⁴ This can be explained by the fact that while American institutions in Anatolia did provide education in the humanities, unlike the SPC they failed to provide medical education.

Although various books and articles have been published about the history of the SPC, hardly any research has attended to the role played by Armenian students there. Hence, this study endeavors to fill a lacuna regarding the analysis of student life and education at the SPC. The study draws on archival materials largely from the Jafet Library at the American University of Beirut. Besides relying heavily on existing AUB archival records, such as student publications, Presidential collections and faculty minutes, the thesis also utilizes literary accounts, in Armenian, Arabic and English, written by the students themselves or those close to them.

³ For example during the academic year of 1904-1905 over 750 students were enrolled at the SPC including 87 Armenians, 55 Greeks and 144 Egyptians. See Howard Bliss, *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Syrian Protestant College to the Board of Managers 1904-1905*, American University of Beirut/Library Archives, Beirut, Lebanon, 34.

⁴ During the academic year 1907-08, 19 of the 32 medical graduates were Armenians. See *The American University of Beirut Directory of Alumni, 1870-1952* (Beirut: Alumni Association, 1953): 61-63.

The thesis is organized in four chapters. The first chapter is an attempt to explore the journey of the students to the SPC and understand why there was such a rapid influx. The second chapter provides a broader picture of the relationship between education and nationalism, before examining how the textbooks used emphasized the right and duty of rebellion against oppressive rule, and asking whether the education received played a decisive role in defining Armenian identity and in radicalizing Armenian political consciousness. The third chapter explores student life during the Hamidian and Young Turk periods, by focusing on the newly established Armenian Students Union, which had educational and nationalistic objectives, and investigating the inner interactions of Armenians between themselves and other student bodies. The chapter also sheds some light on the topics discussed and the articles written by the students in various manuscripts and publications. The final chapter, covering the time period 1909-1918, reconstructs the professional as well as the political role played by the returning students in their provinces or in the larger context of the Ottoman Empire. The thesis concludes with the demise of the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire and the expulsion of students and alumni from Anatolia.

CHAPTER II

COMING TO THE SPC

A. Reasons for choosing the SPC

If, in the 19th century, Harvard University was regarded as a national necessity, then the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut was ten times a necessity for there was no other of its kind in the region.⁵ Known as the “Oxford of the Orient”, the city of Beirut, with its two medical institutions, one American and one French, attracted a large number of students from all over the Ottoman Empire, Persia and Egypt. Between 1885 and 1918, more than two hundred and fifty Armenian students attended the SPC: one hundred and forty of them graduated from the School of Medicine, three from the School of Dentistry, fourteen from the Nursing School, fifty-three from the School of Pharmacy, twenty from the Faculty of Arts and Science, and four from the School of Commerce.⁶ As the numbers clearly indicate, most of these Armenian students, and in particular those who had already attended an American institution to receive a Bachelor’s degree, came to the SPC to receive medical training. Various internal and external reasons were behind the influx of Armenian students from Anatolia to Beirut to study medicine at the SPC. The following six factors were of special significance in attracting Armenian students: (1)

⁵ “Our Missionary Interests in Turkey,” *The Literary Digest* 27, no. 12 (1903): 362.

⁶ Anonymous, *25th Anniversary of the Armenian Students Union at the American University of Beirut* (Beirut: Vahakn Printing House, 1933), 85-98; *The American University of Beirut Directory of Alumni 1870--1952*, 16-229.

Closure of the Medical department of Central Turkey College in 1888. (2) Official language change from Arabic to English in the SPC Medical department in 1883. (3) Importance of medical education and the opening of missionary hospitals in Anatolia. (4) Admitting certain missionary college students without entrance examination and at half price. (5) Taking missionary recommendations into consideration and giving students special loans and financial assistance. (6) Improvement in transportation methods between Beirut and Cilicia.

The closure of the Medical School of Central Turkey College in Aintab led by necessity many Armenian students from throughout Cilicia to study medicine at the SPC. Between 1880 and 1888, the Central Turkey College had graduated 21 Armenian doctors, but the loss of American professors, and the deficiencies in equipment led to the closure of the medical department.⁷ As a result, the Syrian Protestant College became the only American institution that had a medical school in the Ottoman Empire. For many Armenian students, living in Anatolia, this closure had disastrous impacts since they were obliged to travel long distances either to Constantinople or Beirut to continue their medical studies. Avedis Nakashian was one of those students who were affected by the closure of Central Turkey College. Despite all odds, he decided to come to Beirut in the summer of 1891, and study medicine at the SPC.⁸ In this section, I will argue that the change of language from Arabic to English, at the SPC, and the various facilities granted by the faculty attracted a large number of Armenian students to Beirut.

On July 11, 1883 the Board of Managers of the SPC voted to change the language of

⁷ Alice Shepard Riggs, *Shepard of Aintab* (New York: Interchurch Press, 1920), 36.

⁸ Avedis Nakashian, *A Man Who Found a Country* (New York, Crowell, 1940), 40-60.

instruction in the Medical department from Arabic to English, starting after the commencement of the academic year 1883-84.⁹ For President Daniel Bliss, this was the most important step taken regarding the intellectual development of the College.¹⁰ According to Henry Jessup, the main reasons for this change were to keep up with the progress of science, and allow non-Arab students such as Armenians, Greeks and Persians who were discouraged by the Arabic language from entering the college, and to give students the chance of learning the English language.¹¹ Therefore, when English became the language of instruction, the door was opened to all students attending different American missionary schools, from various ethnicities, to come to Beirut and study medicine. Furthermore, it became possible for the students to use the latest modern textbooks and for the alumni to profit from the scientific journals and professional meetings of Europe and America.¹²

Educational and medical institutions were established by Protestant missionaries in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. In Anatolia, these institutions worked to expose the locals to the superiority of Western culture and encourage them to convert to

⁹ “Annual Meeting, July 11, 1883,” *Record of the Board of Managers of the Syrian Protestant College, 1864-1903*, ARCHIVE AA 2.1.2, Box 1, File 1, American University of Beirut/Library Archives, Beirut, Lebanon, 167.

¹⁰ Daniel Bliss, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Syrian Protestant College to the Board of Managers 1901-1902*, 6.

¹¹ Henry Harris Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, vol.1 (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910), 304-05.

¹² Bayard Dodge, “The American University of Beirut,” *Journal of World History* 10, no.4 (1967): 783-85.

Protestantism.¹³ When their religious mission failed in Muslim communities, they turned their attention to “civilizing” the Armenians. Practically all of the pupils at their colleges in eastern and central Anatolia, and the majority of those in western Anatolia were Armenians.¹⁴ Central Turkey College at Aintab, Euphrates College at Kharput (also known as Armenia College), St. Paul's Institute in Tarsus, and Central Turkey College for girls at Marash were attended, with few exceptions, by Armenian students exclusively.¹⁵ In addition to these, there were also the American College for girls at Constantinople, Anatolia College at Marsovan, International College at Smyrna, Robert College at Constantinople and the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, all of which had many Armenian students besides students of other nationalities.¹⁶

A few months after the language change, on Nov 6, 1883, the faculty of the SPC decided to admit graduates of Central Turkey College and Robert College without examination.¹⁷ To attract these graduate students, it was agreed further to accept them at one-half the regular rate of tuition.¹⁸ A few years later, similar privileges were also

¹³ Ayşe Tekdal Fildis, "The American Board's Vision of Protestant Anatolia and Fostering Armenian Nationalism 1810–90," *Middle Eastern Studies* 48, no. 5 (2012): 738.

¹⁴ See Appendix 2.

¹⁵ “What America has done for the Armenians” *The New Armenia* 1, no.3 (December, 1904): 7.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 7.

¹⁷ *Minutes of the Faculties*, ARCHIVE AA: 3.4.2, Box 1, 445.

¹⁸ *General catalogue of Central Turkey College : Aintab, Turkey, Asia* (Beirut: American Press), 7,(accessed April 27, 2015), American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, <http://www.dliir.org/archive/items/show/11305>

granted to graduates of Anatolia College¹⁹, Euphrates College²⁰, St. Paul's College²¹, International College²² and for students of the American Collegiate Institute of Smyrna²³. Prominent missionaries such as Dr. Fred Shepard of Aintab recommended these students and even asked the faculty of the SPC to grant them financial loans or accept them in the medical department with certain examinations that would allow them to proceed directly to the second medical year.²⁴ With such recommendations, and in addition to receiving scholarships from the college, Armenian students were eligible to apply for student loans. Out of the 20 loans granted, which I examined, only 5 belong to non-Armenians, and interestingly the vast majority of the Armenian students who received such loans belonged to the Protestant faith.²⁵ In the application for getting the loan, the missionary recommender had to express his sincere belief that the student was worthy of receiving the loan and intended to carry out the pledges of the loan.²⁶ As a scholarship holder, the student was required to render twenty five hours of service for every pound received, and keep an average higher than 70. Further, if those students were caught smoking tobacco,

¹⁹ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 2, 207.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 271.

²¹ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 3, 173.

²² *ibid.*, 173.

²³ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 2, 477.

²⁴ *ibid.*, 270-71.

²⁵ *Students 1910's*, ARCHIVE AA: 4.3.3, Box 1, File 2, Student's Loan Fund, 1910-1914.

²⁶ Some of the students who signed such applications included: Dikran Hallajian (£40), Mihran Levonian (£30), Bedross Benne Torossian (£28), Toros Chouljian (£15), Maksud Apikian (£10), Rupen Takvorian (£6), and Hovhannes Arzoumian (£4). See *ibid.*

the scholarship was revoked.²⁷ When these missionaries, such as Clarence Ussher of Van, visited the College, they asked about the students whom they recommended and were asked to send more students from Anatolia.²⁸

Medical education at the SPC was crucial for the spread of Western medicine throughout Anatolia and the Levant, and for the improvement of public health standards even in the remotest villages of the region.²⁹ In addition to being exposed, directly or indirectly, to modern concepts of liberty, equality and freedom through American missionary schools in Anatolia and Constantinople, students at the SPC were learning not only how to cure their fellow citizens but also reform and improve the healthcare system of the Ottoman Empire. For American missionaries, the physician had the important task of impressing the locals through his surgical skills and scientific methods. This physician was also entrusted to lead his patients to the “Great Physician of souls.”³⁰ As a result, modern hospitals were established in Beirut, Caesarea, Marsovan, Aintab, Mardin, Van, Adana and other places with which Armenians, who believed the quality of education in missionary schools was much higher than in national institutions, were affiliated. However, attending their schools “did not necessarily mean the students

²⁷ “Conditions relating to students receiving scholarship in the Syrian Protestant College,” *Memorabilia*, ARCHIVE AA: 1.6.2, Box 1; *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 2, 377.

²⁸ Clarence Ussher and Grace Higley Knapp, *An American Physician in Turkey: A Narrative of Adventures in Peace and War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917), 193-94.

²⁹ Robert D. Woodberry, “The Social Impact of Missionary Higher Education,” in *Christian Responses to Asian Challenges: A Globalization View on Christian Higher Education in East Asia*, ed. Philip Yuen Sang Leung and Peter Tze Ming Ng, (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2007): 103.

³⁰ *Missions of the A.B.C.F.M. in Turkey* (Constantinople: printed by H. Mateossian), (accessed April 27, 2015), American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/11281>

followed the religious teachings in earnest.”³¹ Nevertheless, this missionary education, besides fostering social mobility and giving poor students of different ethnicities the chance of learning, also provided women with the opportunity of becoming educated, and local patients with the possibility of being cured in newly established hospitals under the custody of educated physicians.

At a time when the total tuition fees of a student was around £10 per year, Miss Olivia Phillips Stokes donated \$1000 to the College to help needy Armenian students. This was probably the first major donation dedicated to a single group of students and it led to an increase in the number of Armenian students coming from Cilicia.³² This donation primarily aimed at helping Armenian students and orphans who were either attending or wanted to attend the college after the Hamidian massacres of 1894-96 in Istanbul and Anatolia. The college, aware of these massacres, not only helped those students financially, but also tried to offer medical help to the victims, particularly in Cilicia. On April 4, 1896 the Red Cross society telegraphed Beirut and asked for doctors and medicines to go to the affected regions. The SPC sent two of its graduate students, Drs. Faris Sahyoun and Amin Maalouf with other missionary doctors, who reached Zeitun and started soup kitchens, fed the starving villagers and treated disease.³³

B. Reaching Beirut

³¹ Pamela J. Young, “*Knowledge, nation, and the curriculum: Ottoman Armenian education (1853-1915)*” (PhD. Diss., University of Michigan, 2001), 69.

³² “Meeting of the Corporation, Syrian Protestant College, Jan. 18, 1898,” *Board of Trustees Minutes*, ARCHIVE AA: 2.1.0. Box 4, 1895-1916, 5.

³³ Jessup, 619; *Ninety-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: 1897), 208.

At the end of the nineteenth century, transportation methods used in the Levant were still primitive. Students living in Mount Lebanon had to use a mule or an old-fashioned carriage to reach the college, while Armenians living in Anatolia had to use animal transport to get to Aleppo, and then use the railroad to get to destination.³⁴ Perhaps the most fortunate students were those living on the coast, who directly took a ship to the port of Beirut. The completion of railway networks linking Beirut to Aleppo and Adana in 1906 definitely added to the volume of Armenian students coming from Cilicia. In the 1890's Beirut's trade expanded enormously, and the carriage road linking Beirut to Damascus was supplemented by cogwheel railroad and the port of the city was enlarged to accommodate large vessels to connect the city with Egypt, the Suez Canal and Sudan.³⁵

To superintend the landing and embarking of students at the Beirut harbor, the college made arrangements with Messrs. Cook & Sons in order to help the students transfer their luggage through the custom house and bring them to the college gate. This arrangement was only for the students who had passed the quarantine test on board, and those who failed the test had to stay at the quarantine station outside Beirut. The

³⁴ Bayard Dodge, "The American University of Beirut, International College and Damascus College, 1910-1948," *Bayard Dodge Collection*, ARCHIVE AA: 2.3.4, Box 4, File 4, 4.

³⁵ Robert Daniel, *American philanthropy in the Near East, 1820-1969* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1970), 82; on October 10, 1900, the School of Commerce opened its doors to meet the commercial needs of the people of "Syria, Egypt and the East". The aim was to give students business training in order to enable them to enter with success the various lines of commercial enterprise. The admitted students, at least 16 years of age, had to study two languages other than English during the program. Some of their courses included: Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Commercial Geography, History of Commerce, Typewriting, and Business Ethics etc... See "Prospectus of the School of Commerce, 1900," *Memorabilia*, ARCHIVE AA: 1.6.2, Box 1.

company also used to buy steamer tickets for returning students in order to relieve them of that burden.³⁶ Before 1906, and in ordinary times, students coming from Aleppo went to Alexandretta in a four-day journey on horseback and took the boat to Beirut.³⁷ But during cholera epidemics no steamers were allowed to touch the seaport, and students were obliged to travel to Damascus, through the Syrian Desert, on a ten day journey and then to Beirut in two days.³⁸ The latter journey was long, exhausting, and expensive. The students were only relieved when they met, after their arrival, professors such as Harris Graham, and John Ward, whom they may have encountered on medical service in the missionary hospitals of Anatolia. These professors not only cared for their former pupils, but also helped them to manage and solve their endless financial problems.³⁹ When Avedis Nakashian came to the SPC, for example, his former professor Harris Graham proposed on his behalf to be allowed to take the examination of the second medical year since Nakashian had already studied medicine in Aintab.⁴⁰ This positive attitude, and the important role played by such professors, definitely encouraged Armenian students to pursue a career in medicine at the SPC.

C. Revolutionaries heading to Beirut

In the fall of 1903, Nerses Khachadourian, from Aintab, headed to Beirut where he

³⁶ “Syrian Protestant College, 1901,” *Memorabilia*, ARCHIVE AA: 1.6.2, Box 1.

³⁷ Nakashian, 63.

³⁸ *ibid.*, 63.

³⁹ *ibid.*, 74.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 74-75.

had been accepted at the SPC to study medicine.⁴¹ During that time the central committee of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (also known as Dashnaktsutyun) had decided that special attention should be given to Cilicia by establishing different cells under the supervision of active members. After this decision, the Beirut committee of the Dashnaktsutyun advised Khachadourian to leave his medical studies and head to Cilicia. Khachadourian accepted the decision without hesitation, and headed to Aintab to smuggle revolutionary pamphlets and establish connections between underground cells.⁴² Khachadourian was not alone in taking this option. He was followed by a number of other students such as Khachadour Bonapartian⁴³, Imirza Ketenjian, Yacoub Muradian and many others. I argue that Armenian students who came from Anatolia were already nationalists and staunch adherents of Armenian revolutionary parties. Unlike Arab nationalism, which was developed or in various ways modified at the SPC, Armenian nationalism was already formed prior to these students' arrival at the SPC, where it was

⁴¹ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 3, (October 20, 1903), 176.

⁴² Kevork Barsoumian, *History of Aintabs' Armenian Revolutionary Federation* (in Armenian) (Aleppo: Tigris Publication, 1957), 285.

⁴³ On June 6, 1905, Khachadour Bonapartian and Yacoub Muradian requested from the faculty to leave the college on financial grounds for a short period of time and come back later for examination; but the faculty declined their request. Four years later, during the Young Turk revolution, Bonapartian (4th year Medicine) with his friend Ketenjian (3rd year Medicine), again requested to leave the College for financial reasons. This time their request was approved, but it turned out that Bonapartian was heading to Aintab to be part of the revolutionary celebrations, and to give orations to a large crowd of Turks and Armenians and to shout slogans praising the revolution. See *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 3, 347; *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, 32 ; Nerses Hagopian, "The Armenian Revolutionary Federation in Aintab," in *History of Aintab Armenians*, vol 1. ed. Kevork Sarafian (Los Angeles: Union of the Armenians of Aintab in America, 1953), 972.

both preserved and spread.⁴⁴

Armenian revolutionary movements emerged in the late 19th century.⁴⁵ These nationalist organizations had socialist-internationalist principles, expounding ideas of an Armenian renaissance and the struggle for national liberation.⁴⁶ The Hunchak revolutionary party, founded in 1887 by seven Armenian students studying in Geneva, had an explicitly Marxist ideology.⁴⁷ Their name, Hunchak, means bell in Armenian. These ardent revolutionaries formed the first socialist party in the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁸ They insisted on the complete independence of Ottoman Armenia, and the establishment of an independent socialist state in collaboration with oppressed Kurdish and Turkish workers, in order to enjoy freedom from economic and political oppression. As historian Richard Hovannisian says, they “saw no serious contradiction between patriotism and socialism or between nationalism and internationalism.”⁴⁹ The second group of revolutionaries were the members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation formed in

⁴⁴ George Antonius describes the Syrian Protestant College as playing a leading role in the development of Arab nationalism: “it may justly be said that its influence on the Arab revival, at any rate in its earlier stage, was greater than that of any other institution.” George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1961), 43.

⁴⁵ Bedross Der Matossian, "Ethnic Politics in Post-Revolutionary Ottoman Empire: Armenians, Arabs, and Jews in the Second Constitutional Period (1908–1909)" (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2008), 2.

⁴⁶ Razmik Panossian, *The Armenians: from Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars* (Columbia University Press, 2013), 200.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 203.

⁴⁸ Anahit Ter Minassian, *Nationalism and Socialism in the Armenian Revolutionary Movement* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Zoryan Institute, 1984)

⁴⁹ “The Armenian Question in the Ottoman Empire 1876 to 1914” in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times: Foreign Domination to Statehood: The Fifteenth Century to the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2, ed. Richard Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 214.

1890 in Tbilisi, the Armenian economic center of the Caucasus. The federation had a wide network of cells not only in Ottoman and Russian Armenia, but also in Europe and the United States.⁵⁰ Even though they were not as dedicated socialists as the Hunchaks, they still used class language to introduce their program, and denounce the bourgeoisie and the conservative clergy of the Armenian Apostolic Church. For them, nationalism and the fight for the liberation of Ottoman Armenia took precedence over any struggle. Unlike the Hunchaks, for whom liberation meant complete independence and the creation of socialist state, for the Dashnaks during that period and even until World War I (henceforth WWI), it meant creating an autonomous Armenia under Ottoman suzerainty in the six Eastern Vilayets.⁵¹ The Dashnaks even collaborated with the Young Turkish Committee of Union and Progress to overthrow Sultan Abdul Hamid II and achieve their objectives.

In the early 1900's a group of Dashnak and Hunchak revolutionaries from Anatolia went to the SPC to study either medicine or pharmacy.⁵² While at the SPC, Nerses Baghdoyan, Haroutyun Der Boghossian, Nerses Khachadourian and Hovhannes Terzian

⁵⁰ Panossian, 205-206.

⁵¹ Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 49.

⁵² In this thesis the term “revolutionary” does not necessarily mean freedom fighter or a military partisan, it just means fighting against a specific order. According to Gerard Libaridian, “this term may have a negative connotation for those who place the concept of the state above all since it challenges this concept. In this context, the Armenian revolution was considered unacceptable, while the Young Turk and Kemalist revolutions were acceptable.” See Gerard Libaridian, “What Was Revolutionary About Armenian Revolutionary Parties in the Ottoman Empire?” in *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Ronald Grigor Suny, Fatma Müge Göçek, and Norman M. Naimark (Oxford University Press, 2011), 85.

organized the First Dashnak committee in Lebanon in 1903-04.⁵³ During the very same period, Benne Torossian and Sahag Altunian, both SPC medical students, established a branch of the Hunchak party in Beirut.⁵⁴ These classmates, who were also their political rivals, organized declamation contests, orations and took part in political discussion and intellectual debates behind closed doors. When these students were later joined by other revolutionaries such as Vartan Topalian, and Khachadour Bonapartian, their main aim, besides studying medicine, was to smuggle revolutionary pamphlets, newspapers and books. Nerses Hagopian, a leading ARF member in Aintab at that time, comments on the aforementioned incident by saying:

At first the Ottoman post was used for smuggling letters and revolutionary newspapers such as *Droshag* to Aintab. But later when our colleagues, Nerses Baghdoyan, Nerses Khachadourian, Yacoub Muradian, and Haroutyun Der Boghossian moved to Beirut, to continue their medical education, the French post was used by these students under different pseudonyms to accomplish this daring task. To the name of Jean Terez (student name Hovhannes Terzian) from Europe these letters and newspapers were sent, later another SPC student named Khachadour Bonapartian was assigned the task of transmitting these material to Aleppo, and from Aleppo it was distributed to various places. And in this way Beirut became the post office of these revolutionaries.⁵⁵

⁵³ Sisak Varjabedian, *Armenians in Lebanon* (in Armenian) (Beirut: 1951), 440-441.

⁵⁴ Bedross Benne Torossian had a brilliant academic record, which allowed him to receive loans and speak during the commencement. Dr. Benne as an orphan was financially deprived, but the SPC encouraged his entrance and facilitated his stay. While in Beirut, he collaborated with Armenian students from Université Saint Joseph to establish a wing of the Hunchak party in the city. After graduating he moved to the United States to enrich his medical specialization. Before the outbreak of the First World War, he served in Constantinople as a physician. On June 15, 1915 he was hanged in Bayazid Square with 19 Hunchak political activists. See Jack Petro, "Dr. Benne" in *Twenty Gallows* (in Armenian) (Providence: Yeredasart Hayasdan, 1916), 36-40; Haroutyun Tanchoudian, *The Meeting of Constanta and the Twenty Gallows* (in Armenian) (Beirut: 1973); Kaspar Garoyan, *Martyred Armenian Doctors of the Genocide* (in Armenian) (Boston: 1957), 73.

⁵⁵ Barsoumian, *History of Aintabs' Armenian Revolutionary Federation*, 82; Hagopian, *History of Aintab Armenians*, 963.

These students were also able to meet secretly in Beirut with various Armenian revolutionaries such as Simon Zavarian, Sarhad and others. In 1901, Nerses Baghdoyan and Haroutyun Der Boghossian established contact with the Dashnak revolutionary Sarhad, and met him at the shop of an Armenian merchant from Aintab named Ilyas Boshgezenian. While in Beirut, Sarhad pretended to be an English merchant and behaved like a European consul, captivating the attention of Armenian students.⁵⁶ But the most important meeting was with Simon Zavarian, who “found the students already imbued with nationalistic convictions.”⁵⁷ At the turn of the century when Armenian students constituted considerable numbers in Beirut, Simon Zavarian decided to visit the city incognito and through his friend, the Russian-Armenian Consul of Hama and Homs, Constantine Gamsaragan⁵⁸, donated a large number of Armenian books to the SPC library.⁵⁹ These books were a combination of literary, historical, philosophical and revolutionary works in Armenian published in the Russian Empire, mainly in Tbilisi and Baku.⁶⁰ The main reason for such a donation was to foster the sense of national identity in Armenian students, particularly because they were living in Beirut, away from home and away from a large community. Traveling from Anatolia to Beirut had its effect on these revolutionaries. Attending Anatolia College in Marsovan, or Central Turkey

⁵⁶ Barsoumian, *History of Aintabs' Armenian Revolutionary Federation*, 82.

⁵⁷ Avedis Sanjian, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 93.

⁵⁸ Constantine Gamsaragan, Russian Consul in Hama and Homs, used to live in Beirut and attend on a regular basis the Armenian Apostolic Surp Nishan (Holy Cross) Church near the Grand Serail. See Varjabedian, 334.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 440-441.

⁶⁰ The content of the books and their impact on Armenian students will be discussed in the next chapter.

College in Aintab, was different from attending the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut. Even though the missionary approach in teaching and the curriculum followed in these colleges was somewhat similar, for these students Beirut was a foreign city where an Armenian community was not yet fully developed to offer some protection for student activities similar to that existing in such places like in Aintab, Marsovan or Kharput.⁶¹

The Armenians of Beirut were a small community composed of 1500 to 2000 residents. These residents were given important Ottoman bureaucratic positions in the Department of Public Debt or at the Tobacco Regie.⁶² Besides these residents, there was also a larger number of non-residents, such as college students, merchants and migrants. These numbers increased exponentially, especially at the Syrian Protestant College, starting in the 1900's.

Before the formation of any type of a student union, it was essential to spread revolutionary literature and culture, in order to awaken inside the students love towards Armenian national identity and history.⁶³ The Armenian press played a dominant role in the development of Armenian political thinking, and Simon Zavarian wanted to make sure that these students were exposed to it.⁶⁴ Zavarian staunchly advocated the

⁶¹ For example, in the mid 1900's Anatolia College in Marsovan, experienced various disturbances. Armenian revolutionaries secured a footing among the College students, and while hunted by the police, they were secretly protected and fed in the College by student compatriots. See W.J. Childs, *Across Asia Minor on Foot* (New York: William Blackwood and Sons, 1917), 55- 56.

⁶² Hilmar Kaiser, "The Armenians in Lebanon during the Armenian Genocide." In *Armenians of Lebanon: From Past Princesses and Refugees to Present-Day Community*, ed. Aida Boudjikianian (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2009), 35.

⁶³ Yervant Khatanassian, "History of the Zavarian Student Association (Part A - 1904-1914), http://www.zavarian.org/?page_id=7 (accessed October 2, 2014); *25th Anniversary of the Armenian Student Union*, 61.

⁶⁴ On the role of the press, see Der Matossian, 6.

importance of education, and in order to achieve his Dashnak party's objectives, he travelled throughout Anatolia and established schools and revolutionary cells. In an article speaking about American education published in Constantinople in 1911, he wrote:

The American College is the ideal place, where different ethnicities of the empire learn from their childhood, how to live side by side, by respecting the religious and linguistic uniqueness of their colleagues, and through loving and appreciating each other... Education has no boundaries, and it doesn't recognize ethnic or social differences. It warms like a sun, the Believer and the Atheist, the American and the Armenian. Therefore in this Ottoman World it's possible only through education to achieve equality, mutual respect, and a peaceful coexistence between the different groups of the empire.⁶⁵

On June 20, 1905, the faculty of the SPC extended a vote of thanks to Constantine Gamsaragan, for donating to the library a large number of Armenian books and pamphlets.⁶⁶ The faculty at that time was unaware that these books were actually donated by an Armenian revolutionary, nor did it know much about their content. According to Yervant Khatanassian, a graduate of the College, “prior to WWI, the library had around 1200 Armenian books... but during WWI, the faculty deemed it necessary to burn most of these books, which had a revolutionary content, to prevent Ottoman retaliation.”⁶⁷ By looking at the Book Accessions of Jafet Library, it becomes clear that Gamsaragan donated around 150 books, and it is clearly indicated that the vast majority of them were

⁶⁵ Simon Zavarian, *Azadamard May 8, 1911*, in *Nshkharner Simon Zavariane*. (Beirut: 1968), 110.

⁶⁶ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 3, 352.

⁶⁷ *25th Anniversary of the Armenian Student Union*, 61.

destroyed or burned during the war.⁶⁸

D. Conclusion

In 1909 when it was decided to reopen the Medical School of Central Turkey College, the SPC's president Howard Bliss strongly objected, arguing that the equipment available in Beirut was sufficient to meet the needs of the region below Constantinople. A meeting was also organized with Dr. Merrill, President of Central Turkey College, to convince him not to open the medical section.⁶⁹ The SPC knew well how to attract Armenian students from all over the Ottoman Empire. In addition, various internal and external factors played decisive roles in the influx of students from Anatolia to Beirut. These nationalist students, who came from Cilicia, could read, at least by implication, about political upheavals, progress and science. At the same time the secret visits of Armenian revolutionaries to Beirut motivated and inspired them to organize an Armenian student Union at the College.

⁶⁸ For further discussion of the burning of Armenian books see chapter 5; *Accessions of the Jafet Library*, Vol.2, April 1901- October 1920, American University of Beirut: Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections (Unclassified).

⁶⁹ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, 72; "Letter from James Dennis to the Faculty of the Syrian Protestant College, January 10, 1910," *Board of Trustees Minutes*, Box 4, 3.

CHAPTER III

ACADEMIC FORMATION

A. Education and Nationalism

Dr. Daniel Bliss, the founder of the college at Beirut, was the grandfather of Syria; and his son, Howard Bliss, the present President, is the father of Syria. Without the education that this college has given, the struggle for freedom would never have been won. The Arabs owe everything to these men.⁷⁰

American missionaries, made education an attainable goal for a large number of poor and rich Ottoman subjects. Men saw education as a means to achieve a successful professional career and a way to expand their political horizons.⁷¹ Women also, through these missionaries, were given the chance of improving their status in patriarchal societies. Perhaps the missionaries failed in their quest of converting Muslims and non-Muslims to Protestantism, but nonetheless they were successful in graduating a large number of intellectuals, doctors, nurses and businessmen. The education given at the Syrian Protestant College enabled students to read about a variety of subjects touching on democracy, nationalism, socialism, and progress. These students were exposed to a new world of ideas, particularly to Western definitions and concepts of science, history and politics. The college also produced a large number of intellectuals and leaders who led the national struggle in their societies.⁷² For this reason its relation to the

⁷⁰ "Interview with Prince Faisal," *The Outlook* 121, (Jan 1, 1919): 557.

⁷¹ Hans-Lukas Kieser, "Mission as Factor of Change in Turkey (nineteenth to first half of twentieth century)," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13, no. 4 (2002): 406.

⁷² Waheeb George Antakly, "American Protestant Educational Missions: Their Influence on Syria and Arab Nationalism, 1820-1923" (PhD. diss. American University, Washington, DC, 1975), 108.

development of Arab nationalism has always been emphasized. Even the King-Crane Commission in 1919, claimed that the SPC taught Syrian nationalism, and for this reason, besides various other reasons, the Syrians preferred, according to the commission, an American mandate over any other mandate.⁷³

Unlike Syrian nationalism, the Armenian national awakening which was the product of European notions of nationalism was not transmitted through American educational channels but rather through Russian populist movements. But we cannot deny that missionary education both in Anatolia and Beirut, encouraged aspirations for a democratic society and fostered a philosophy of individualism.⁷⁴ This rhetoric of individualism and emancipation became the catalyst for the growth of nationalism. And yet, as Donald Bloxham says, “missionaries remained staunchly opposed to the methods and agenda of the later Armenian political parties.”⁷⁵ Their “anti-nationalist and anti-separatist stance” remained steady, and at various times resulted in the expulsion of students who were accused of being nationalist revolutionaries.⁷⁶ It is my argument, that

⁷³ *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States The Paris Peace Conference 1919*, Vol XII (Washington: United States Government Printing Office), 815.

⁷⁴ Barbara J. Merguerian, “Missions in Eden: Shaping an Educational and Social Program for the Armenians in Eastern Turkey (1855-1895),” in *New faith in ancient lands: Western missions in the Middle East in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*, ed. Heleen Murre-van den Berg (Brill, 2006), 260.

⁷⁵ Bloxham, 43.

⁷⁶ Hans-Lukas Kieser, *A Quest for Belonging: Anatolia beyond Empire and Nation (19th-21st Centuries)* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2007), 21; missionaries were accused by Ottoman officials that they participated in Armenian plots, through educating Armenians and emphasizing their pride in their history, language and culture. At the same time, Armenian extremists were arguing that missionaries were not supportive of Armenian nationalist movements. A good example on the Ottoman-Missionary relation concerning accusations of uplifting the Armenian subject race is the story of Euphrates College in Kharput which was first named Armenia College. The college authorities, naively or not, who named the college as such were suspected by the

the college definitely did not advocate separatist nationalist tendency, during the Ottoman period, in any way whatsoever. Nevertheless, it allowed for the discussion of national ideals, democratic values, and most importantly Western notions of progress.

For the faculty members of the SPC, who were always cautious⁷⁷ in expressing their views about nationalism and the Ottoman empire, education was essential in order for the masses to “understand and spread the benefits of the highest civilization” i.e. Christianity.⁷⁸ According to Waheeb Antakly, before establishing the SPC, Daniel Bliss foresaw the day when the Ottoman Empire would break up and as an objective he worked to “cast in as much seed as possible” in order to construct a better government and society than what he saw as Ottoman despotism.⁷⁹ Perhaps, the most important description of national life and nationalism which shows the true position of the faculty at that time was made by President Howard Bliss. According to Bliss, national life was a “term connoting an incalculably strong emotion in the individual and in the community life.”⁸⁰ People who were united whether in race, territory, history or language were dying

government and advised to change the name, and they argued that the college was located in Ancient Armenia and the vast majority of its students were Armenians; but nonetheless, they had to comply with the governmental decision or threat. *Catalogue of Euphrates College, 1911-1912* (Boston: Trustees of Euphrates College), 15-20, (accessed April 27, 2015), American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/11091>

⁷⁷ During lectures and talks in the United States, President Daniel Bliss used to ask reporters not to take notes of some sad experiences in regards to various persecutions, in order not to cause further damage. See *Evangelical Christendom, Christian Work and the News of the Churches* 15, (1874): 350.

⁷⁸ “The Syrian Protestant College, 1896,” *Memorabilia*, AA 1.6.2 Box 1.

⁷⁹ Antakly, 99.

⁸⁰ Howard Bliss, “Students and the Application of Christ’s Teachings to Modern Life: To National Life,” *Report of the Conference of the World’s Student Christian Federation, Robert College April 24-28 1914* (Printed by the World’s Student Christian Federation, 1911), 131-132.

like lions for their cause, and living like sheep to endure hardships and privations.⁸¹ Therefore, national life “has tempted men to support measures disapproved by their consciences; it has opened their souls to new possibilities of heroic achievement; it has closed their eyes and led them to become strange victims of unscrupulous leaders who have shrewdly invoked this mysterious force of nationality in order to further their own selfish ends.”⁸² To solve all these problems, Howard Bliss, and perhaps also the faculty, believed that only Christ has a remedy since all men of all colors and races are children of the same God. Consequently, for Bliss, seeking the Kingdom of God was much more important than advocating the establishment of a nation, democracy, monarchy, theocracy, or a socialist state.⁸³

B. Textbooks used at the SPC

Students at the SPC were directly influenced by the American history textbooks used in their classes.⁸⁴ These textbooks were representations of Western interpretations of world history. Deliberately or not, the professors chose them in order to influence the

⁸¹ *ibid.*, 131-132.

⁸² *ibid.*, 131-132.

⁸³ *ibid.*, 134.

⁸⁴ The names of the textbooks were collected from the student catalogues available at the Jafet library. We can mention the following: John Lord, *Modern Europe; A School History* (London: 1882); William Swinton, *Outlines of the World's History* (New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, and Company, 1874); Vincent Adams Renouf, *Outlines of General History* (New York: Macmillan, 1909); Charles Downer Hazen, *Europe since 1815* (New York: H. Holt, 1910); James Harvey Robinson, *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe* (Boston: Ginn & company, 1902); George Willis Botsford, *A History of the Ancient World* (New York: Macmillan, 1911); Fanny E. Coe and Larkin Dunton, *Modern Europe* (New York: Silver, Burdett, 1892); Philip Van Ness Myers, *Outlines of Ancient History, from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Roman empire, A. D. 476* (Boston, Ginn & company, 1887).

formation of student identity. The main goal was to prove to the students the superiority of the West, and to show how religious, social and scientific progress was compatible with the Protestant beliefs advocated by the College.⁸⁵ The textbooks had both direct and indirect messages. The direct messages clearly stated the superiority of Western civilization and the racial inferiority of the Turk compared both to the White race and to the Arab. The essentiality of patriotism and the inevitability of progress were always advocated. The implied message was that progress attained in the west is incompatible with despotic rule and therefore right to be opposed. Some Armenian students interpreted the implied message as an endorsement of the right to rebellion.

For Norbert Scholz, “the American textbooks used at SPC stressed the racial superiority of the West, encouraged revolutions and anti-Ottoman regional ("Syrian") patriotism, and advocated the transplantation of Western modernity onto Eastern society.”⁸⁶ The Arabs were described as having had powerful armies and their cultural heritage was praised. While the Turks, who arose from the ruins of the Saracen Empire, were an obscure tribe of Barbarians who came from Central Asia and settled in Armenia and robbed and devastated the adjacent empires.⁸⁷ The Arabs, who were said to be masters of Palestine, were respected for protecting and encouraging Christian visitors to the Holy Land, while the Seljuk Turks, who became the rulers of Syria and Asia Minor in the mid-11th century, were blamed for pillaging and subjecting pilgrims to the most

⁸⁵ Norbert J. Scholz, "Foreign education and indigenous reaction in late Ottoman Lebanon: Students and teachers at the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut" (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 1997), 216.

⁸⁶ Scholz, 4.

⁸⁷ John Lord, *Modern Europe; A School History* (London: 1882) 289-90.

cruel treatments. The crimes perpetrated by the Turks on the Christians of Palestine and the European pilgrims, led directly to the Crusades, and produced a “deep feeling of indignation throughout Western Europe” and “aroused a strong desire ... to recover the Holy land from Muslim desecration.”⁸⁸

The textbooks acknowledged that the Turks made no attempt to assimilate non-Muslims, and “left them in kind of semi-independence as far as administration was concerned, allowing them to retain their civil laws and their local magistrates.”⁸⁹ Even though they were permitted to practice freely their religion, and in spite of certain privileges in reality the Christians possessed no political rights. These Christians were described as being “the flocks to be sheared” and the “victims of a government that was arbitrary, rapacious, capricious, and unrestrained.”⁹⁰ Therefore, in decay of the empire, and during the rise of Russia, and after the vast fame of the French Revolution it seemed inevitable for these authors that time had come for revolution in the Ottoman Empire. So in a way the textbooks implied both the right, and more importantly the duty, to rebel against oppressive rule. As an example of such rebellion, they spoke about the Serbian and Greek revolutions of the early 19th century.⁹¹ Further, the students were asked to

⁸⁸ William Swinton, *Outlines of the World's History* (New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, and Company, 1874), 254; Vincent Adams Renouf, *Outlines of General History* (New York: Macmillan, 1909), 220-221.

⁸⁹ Charles Downer Hazen, *Europe since 1815* (New York: H. Holt, 1910), 603-04.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, 603-604

⁹¹ “The Serbians were the first to rise.... The next of these subject peoples to rise against the hated oppressor was the Greeks. The Greeks had been submerged by the Turkish flood but not destroyed. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they had experienced a great reinvigoration of their racial and national consciousness. Their condition in 1810 was better than it had been for centuries, their spirit was higher and less disposed to bend before Turkish arrogance, their prosperity was greater.” in Hazen, 604; Fanny E. Coe and Larkin Dunton,

admire the French revolution, because it was “the French Revolution which revived the old love of liberty” and Freedom.⁹²

Mankind, in these textbooks was divided racially into three groups: Black, Yellow and White. The Black race of central and southern Africa, were “the lowest in intelligence, and have contributed practically nothing to the progress of the world.”⁹³ The Yellow or Mongolian race included, civilized Chinese and Japanese besides Central Asians, Turks, Hungarians and Finns. The Turanians (Turks) and the Magyars (Hungarians) were regarded as having conquered their present homes from the Europeans.⁹⁴ While the third race, White or Caucasian, was historically the most important, since it was responsible practically for “all the improvements of the past seven thousand years.”⁹⁵ In its subdivisions, the Indo-Europeans (Aryans, Medes, Armenians, Persians...) ranked at the top, followed by the Semites (Arabs, Jews...). Speaking about the subdivisions of these races, the said textbooks affirmed that the Turanian Turks “have never evinced any aptitude for the arts and sciences, or love for the higher walks of culture”,⁹⁶

Geographically, the continent of Europe even though being the smallest continent

Modern Europe (New York: Silver, Burdett, 1892), 357; James Harvey Robinson, *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe* (Boston: Ginn & company, 1902), 640.

⁹² Renouf, 402-03.

⁹³ George Willis Botsford, *A History of the Ancient World* (New York: Macmillan, 1911), 4.

⁹⁴ Renouf, 4-5.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, 4.

⁹⁶ Philip Van Ness Myers, *Outlines of Ancient History, from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Roman empire, A. D. 476* (Boston: Ginn & company, 1887), 3.

was considered to be the most educated it was “sown thickly with Universities and Colleges.”⁹⁷The textbooks also referred to the Ottoman Empire in Europe as being the alien state which had no right to stay in Europe since its natural home was Asia.⁹⁸They also stressed on the existence of “Turkish Armenia” as a territorial entity over which the Ottomans and the Russians fought.⁹⁹ Politically, the textbooks explored the protection of England and other powers of the Ottoman Empire, “as not so much through love of Turkey as through fear of Russia.”¹⁰⁰ For them the Sultans would have been driven out of the Dardanelles long ago, if Great Britain and Russia agreed to whom Constantinople should fall.¹⁰¹ While speaking about Sultan Abdul Hamid II, these historians considered that, through his “national and religious fanaticism,” Abdul Hamid was trying to make the Ottoman Empire only for the Turks and stop foreign interventions.¹⁰²But “the intervention of Christian powers was becoming more and more inevitable,” since they “could not rest easy witnessing the outrages committed upon their co-religionists.”¹⁰³

During history examinations, students were asked to compare between various ethnic groups such as: Phoenicians and Egyptians, Hebrews and Persians, and to name the

⁹⁷ Coe, 13.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, 18.

⁹⁹ Hazen, 626.

¹⁰⁰ Coe, 362.

¹⁰¹ Renouf, 235; During the Crimean War (1853-56), “the aim of the powers was to preserve Turkey as a bulwark against Russia. But during the succeeding years the Turkish government by its own capacity, made further interference in its affairs inevitable. The powers could not look idly, while thousands of inoffensive Christians were massacred by their Mohammedan fellow subjects.” *ibid.*, 405.

¹⁰² Hazen, 622.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, 622.

principal branches of the chief historic race and the nations which descended from each branch.¹⁰⁴ The histories of various regions, such as: Egypt and Mesopotamia were periodized and the students had to describe first the various periods and second the rise and fall of these civilizations. Besides doing that they had to determine how one nation was better than the others, and through what means did it outstrip the others. In the Collegiate Department, sophomore students had to learn Ancient History 4 hours per week, and junior students Medieval and Modern history.¹⁰⁵ In their senior year, they were taught Constitutional History of England, and the philosophy of History.

C. Representations of the Armenian Community

Harvey Porter, one of the Founding Fathers of the SPC, served the College as a History professor for more than 50 years and used the aforementioned textbooks to teach his students Western oriented history. While the textbooks did not say much about the Armenian community, Porter did. He used the same methods employed by the textbooks in order to interpret Armenian history and to influence Armenian students.

For Porter, the Armenians as a separate community existed from the earliest times. They were ruled by Assyrians, Persians and Greeks and “had enjoyed the distinction of furnishing a king to Syria on the downfall of the Seleucids.”¹⁰⁶ In the Ottoman Empire, Porter considered the Armenians to be intellectually second to none. But as businessmen,

¹⁰⁴ “Questions on History, 1889,” *Memorabilia*, AA: 1.6.2. Box 1 .

¹⁰⁵ “SPC Announcements 1897-98,” *Memorabilia*, AA 1.6.2 Box 1.

¹⁰⁶ Harvey Porter, "Outline of the History, Ethnology and Religious Conditions in the Turkish Empire," in *Reconstruction in Turkey: A Series of Reports Compiled for the American Committee of Armenian and Syrian Relief*, ed. William Hall (New York, 1918), 5.

they were crooks and untrustworthy because the “oppression and rapacity of Turkish officials have cultivated in them the tendency to protect themselves by deceit and falsehood.” Contrary to this character, when they were educated and trained by American missionaries they had shown “not only great ability but also integrity and rectitude.” Religiously speaking, Porter emphasized that the Armenians were the earliest Christian nation, who under persecution steadfastly defended their faith and remarkably preserved their individuality as a people, “resembling the Jews in this respect.” For this SPC historian, the mere existence of the Armenians as a “degraded” community subjected to Kurdish overlords in Anatolia was in itself a wonder. Being intellectually superior to their masters, and acquiring a far larger wealth than their numbers, had led to their oppression and massacre. Porter vigorously argues, that the actions of the powers in befriending the Armenians, after the Hamidian massacres, “has accentuated the animosity of the Turks against them and led to the design of exterminating them.”¹⁰⁷ The Young Turks, in return “sought to abolish the Armenian question by abolishing the Armenians.”¹⁰⁸

Non-Armenian students at the SPC, such as Aristeidis Xoudis, like their Professor Harvey Porter, expressed their thoughts regarding the Armenians. Xoudis claimed that the Armenians, “who had occupied an important place since antiquity,” were unfortunate because they lived under the domination of powerful countries.¹⁰⁹ Distinguished by their intelligence, mild character, and skillfulness in commercial affairs, and because of

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, 16.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 16.

¹⁰⁹ Aristeidis Xoudis, “The Armenians,” *The Business Amanuensis* 5, (March 1, 1906). The location of all the student manuscripts is: AA 4.2.1, Student Manuscript Magazines.

persecution and unspeakable miseries they had to emigrate to the distant corners of the world. About the Armenians under Ottoman rule, Xoudis expressed the view that the Armenians became the most miserable people in the whole world, because they lost their liberty and, in certain regions, became the vassals of the Kurds. Their case was hardly known in Europe before the Hamidian massacres, and being Gregorians, they were neither protected by the Orthodox nor by the Catholic churches. Lastly Xoudis concludes by saying that “many persecutions and massacres have not been sufficient to keep them (Armenians) down” and he praised their motivation in organizing revolutionary societies that fought for freedom.¹¹⁰

D. Donated Armenian Books

“Yesterday we were an ecclesiastical community, today we are patriots, tomorrow we will be a nation of workers and thinkers.” (Grigor Ardzruni)¹¹¹

"O father's! O forefathers! I drink this glass, but not as a toast to your remains. Had you built fortresses instead of monasteries with which our country is full; had you bought guns and ammunition instead of squandering fortunes on holy urns; had you burned gunpowder instead of perfumy incense at the holy altars, our country would have been more fortunate than she is today.... "(Raffi)¹¹²

Most of the Armenian books donated by Constantine Gamsaragan were printed outside the Ottoman Empire, mainly in the Armenian intellectual centers of Tbilisi and Baku of the Russian Empire. The donated collection included the works of famous 19th century Armenian novelists, poets, historians and satirists such as Khachadour Apovian,

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹¹ Grigor Ardzruni cited in Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: the Development of Armenian Political Parties through the Nineteenth 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 48.

¹¹² Ronald Grigor Suny, *Looking toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History* (Indiana University Press, 1993), 10.

Raffi (Hagop Melik Hagopian), Kamar Katiba (Rafael Patkanian), Avedis Aharonian, Hovhannes Toumanian, Hagop Baronian and many others. Some of these literary figures were considered to be leading revolutionaries and ardent patriots advocating armed struggle for the emancipation of Ottoman Armenia, while others were the framers of nationalist historiography. The most important themes discussed, by these authors, dealt with the history of Armenia, the formation of the Armenian “nation” with an emphasis on national progress as a necessity for solving the Armenian Question. In this patriotic literature, the heroes of the novelist Raffi, for example, “were agitating elements in the spirit of young Armenians”¹¹³ like those attending the SPC. Praising the concepts of education and enlightenment became the principle common ground between the ideas of these novelists and those of the SPC. At a time when Karl Marx was asking the workers of all lands to unite and throw off their chains, Kamar Katiba and Raffi were using “the pen to embolden their people to throw off their chains.”¹¹⁴ It is my argument, that these donated books played an important and essential role in influencing the formation of Armenian identity, definitely more so than the history textbooks used by the College. They tackled and tried to solve the vital problems facing the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, and became the oxygen for these revolutionary students who were trying to breath liberation.

Besides being exposed to this type of literature, the donors, Gamsaragan and Zavarian, made sure that a number of Armenian newspapers from the revolutionary press such as, *Haratch* (Forward), *Droshag* (Flag), and *Mourj* (Hammer), were sent to the

¹¹³ Gorun Shrikian, *Armenians under the Ottoman Empire and the American Missions' Influence* (Ottawa: Canada, 2011), 291-292.

¹¹⁴ Nalbandian, 132-133.

students. At that time this type of newspaper, which was being smuggled to Anatolia, was considered to be the moving force behind the Armenian nationalist movement.

The poems of Mikael Nalbandian and Raphael Patkanian were exceptional in their approach, and in arousing in their student readers “a love of country and a deep desire to redeem their enslaved homeland.”¹¹⁵ These two poets were passionate patriots who devoted their life to rescue their countrymen from their oppressors and to motivate freedom fighters and revolutionaries. They believed that only the equal distribution of land could save Armenian peasants and bring happiness and prosperity to the people. In their poems they encouraged armed resistance to rescue and liberate Ottoman Armenia. Reading the poems of Patkanian and Nalbandian, and the novels of Raffi became a must for every Armenian. Similarly, Raffi believed that “patriotism and nationalism are holy duties for every individual and the war for freedom and protection of the fatherland is a holy war.”¹¹⁶ He wanted his readers to desire freedom and throw the chains of enslavement, because “man is born free and has a right to remain so.”¹¹⁷ Raffi argued that education was essential to make people realize the importance of freedom. Just as the history textbooks emphasized the importance of freedom in achieving progress, Raffi also in his novels argued that Armenians cannot develop to their utmost capacity under oppression and despotic rule, therefore freedom was essential. These enthusiastic patriots also expressed their anger towards Europe and its imperialistic policies and in a sarcastic way praised the Ottoman Sultan for slaughtering the Armenians. Patkanian in his poem “Complaint to Europe” protested that the centuries long sacrifice and suffering

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, 62; see Appendix 3.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, 65.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, 64-65.

of the Armenians was forgotten by Europe. In his famous poem, "Praise to the Sultan," he wrote:¹¹⁸

Our thanks to you, great Sultan! You turned
Armenia to a chaos of hewn stone;
Daily by myriads you have slaughtered us;
Our thriving hamlets you have overthrown.

Glory and fame unto your Majesty!
Following the Koran's law, you have not feared
Our holy Bible's pages to defile;
With filth and mire the cross you have besmeared.

Our gratitude to you, great Padishah!
Gain from our slaughter has accrued to you;
Your intimate associates you have made
Circassians foul, and Kurds, a thievish crew.

In noisome dungeons, thousands glorify
Your Sovereign Majesty with loud acclaims.
You leave no blank in all the calendar,
But fill each space with myriad martyrs' names.

Armenia's happy ruins, glorious King,
Will ne'er forget you; on our history's page
Your wondrous deeds and your illustrious name
Shall blazoned be, to live from age to age.

E. Medical Education at the SPC

Human progress appeared conspicuously in the medical education offered at the SPC. Besides introducing modern medicine and sanitation awareness to the region, the college also scientifically trained Ottoman students to become qualified physicians and establish various hospitals throughout the region.¹¹⁹ It also introduced the new and important profession of nursing. In their mission to plant the seeds of modern healthcare

¹¹⁸ Raphael Patkanian, "Praise to the Sultan," in *Armenian Poems*, ed. Alice Stone Blackwell (Boston, 1917), 84.

¹¹⁹ James Barton, *Human Progress through Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1912), 208.

system, these missionaries could have failed if it wasn't for their native students who became professional physicians and played a pivotal role in the adaptation process to modern medicine.¹²⁰

The minimum age of admittance to the medical department was seventeen.¹²¹ Candidates for admission had to pass examinations in English, Mathematics, Physics and either French or Turkish. Students who had satisfactorily completed the sophomore year of the Collegiate Department were qualified to enter without further examination. While the completion of the sophomore year in the Collegiate department gave students entrance to the Medical department, nevertheless the faculty earnestly recommended students to complete the junior year in order to meet the requirements of the University of State of New York as candidates for its diploma. The tuition fee per annum was £10, but graduates of the SPC, Robert College, Central Turkey College, Anatolia College and Euphrates College were admitted at half price. The charge for board was £12, at the general table, £25, at the special table offering European meals.¹²² In the method of instruction great prominence was given to laboratory work in the first and second years, and to clinical and hospital work in the later years of the course. Students also had the chance to train at the Johanniter hospital, which was founded by the Knights of Johanniter Order of Germany and placed under the medical and surgical care of the members of the SPC faculty. About 500 patients were treated yearly in the hospital, and students assisted in the operations and attended daily treatments. In addition 14,000 cases

¹²⁰ Isabel Kaprielian-Churchill, *Sisters of Mercy and Survival: Armenian Nurses, 1900-1930* (Beirut: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2012), 73.

¹²¹ "SPC Announcements 1897-98," *Memorabilia*, AA 1.6.2, Box 1, 14.

¹²² *ibid.*, 16.

were treated yearly in the polyclinics.¹²³

On March 12, 1903, at the Faculty meeting, President Howard Bliss read a letter from Dr. George Post announcing that an imperial decree had been granted authorizing an Ottoman governmental commission, “to examine in Beirut students of the Medical Department and to grant the Imperial degrees of Medicine and Pharmacy.”¹²⁴ Before this time, graduating students had to travel to Constantinople in order to take their examination and fulfill the requirements. The journey was long and charges were high, particularly to poor students who barely had the means of paying their tuition. One of the professors of the SPC, Lewis Gaston Leary, also noted that residence for Armenian students in the Ottoman capital “was often an occasion for insolent treatment, if not actual violence.”¹²⁵

After graduating in June 1894, Avedis Nakashian with his classmates went to Constantinople to take the state examinations.¹²⁶ Nakashian narrates that Syrian students were worried because few of them spoke Ottoman or French, the two official languages of the examination, unlike their Armenian classmates who at least knew Ottoman. For the students, it was well known that the Imperial faculty resented the medical work of the SPC, and that some of their colleagues failed these examinations and had to wait another year to retake them.¹²⁷ According to Nakashian, the greatest obstacle the students had to

¹²³ *ibid.*, 18-19.

¹²⁴ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 3, 126.

¹²⁵ Lewis Gaston Leary, “Turkey and the American Schools,” *The World Today* 7, (Jul-Dec 1904): 1418.

¹²⁶ Nakashian, 85-86.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, 87.

face was passing an Ottoman examiner nicknamed “Deli Zoros” or “Mad Pasha.”¹²⁸ This doctor was the nightmare of every student, and even some of them such as Kaloust Najarian, a graduate of 1888, resorted to use a Greek version of their name to impress this examiner, for example Kaloust Najarian became Kaloss Najaroghlu.¹²⁹ With the passing of these examination, these doctors and pharmacists had the opportunity of serving in about 10 mission hospitals connected with the American Board located at Marsovan, Sivas, Kharput, Erzurum, Van, Diyarbakir, Mardin, Aintab, Adana, Talas (Caesarea); there were also other hospitals not connected with the Board in places like Konia and Beirut.¹³⁰

The influx of Armenian students to the Medical department reached its climax in the early 1900's. Impressively enough, these students earned the majority of the Certificates of Merit granted by the university and during commencements were allowed

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, 89-90.

¹²⁹ *Al Kulliyah* 25, (June-July, 1950).

¹³⁰ To state just few of the cases with which these graduates were involved, we can mention: Dr. Asadour Altunian, MD 1906, installed an X-ray apparatus in Samsun, which became the only apparatus in that region. See *Al Kulliyah* 3, no.6 (April, 1912); Dr. Hagop Eminian, MD 1905, worked as the municipality physician in Merzifon. See *Al Kulliyah* 2, no.7 (May 1911) ; Dr. Mihran Levonian, MD 1912, worked as a physician in the company which was assigned the construction of the Baghdad Railway, and his classmate Dr. Dikran Kassabian, worked as a surgeon at the German Missionary hospital in Urfa. See *Al Kulliyah* 4, no.4 (December, 1912); Garabed Saprighian, Ph.M 1912, opened a pharmacy in Beirut in 1914 near Dr. Harris Graham's house. See *Al Kulliyah* 5, no.1 (November, 1913); Dr. Vahan Galusdian, MD 1908, after graduation practiced Medicine in Egypt by moving up and down the Nile. See *Al Kulliyah* 4, no.6 (April, 1913); During WWI, Krikor S. Krikorian, MD 1916, joined the Ottoman Army and served till the end of the hostilities. See *Al Kulliyah* 12, no.5 (March, 1926); Dr. Haig Artinian, Ph.M 1911, after serving the Ottoman army for 11 years, in the early 1920's he left the army and opened a pharmacy near the river road in Beirut. See *Al Kulliyah* 10, no.4 (February, 1924); Dr. Yervant Khatanassian, MD 1921, was in charge of the Civil Hospital of El-Obeid, the biggest provincial town in Sudan. See *Al Kulliyah*, 14, no.3 (January, 1928).

to represent the Medical school as student speakers.¹³¹ Some of the topics addressed during these, in both the Medical and the Preparatory department included:

- *Emigration*, by Vahram Yacoubian during the Preparatory Commencement of 1893.
- *The Arab's Home and Life*, by Mushegh Haroutyunian during the Preparatory Commencement of 1897.
- *The True sources of Reform*, by Garabed Samsarian during the Preparatory Commencement of 1899.
- *The Effect of Education*, by Vahe Stepan Sandalian during the Preparatory Commencement of 1903.
- *Life's Purpose*, by Dikran Garabedian during the Preparatory Commencement of 1903.
- *The War on Mosquitos*, by Dr. Mihran Ghazarian during the Commencement of 1903.
- *Labor, Perseverance, Success*, by Garabed Batmanian during the Preparatory Commencement of 1909.
- *The Value of a Commercial Education to the Businessman* by Vahram Utidjian, during Commencement of 1910.
- *Role of the Physician*, by Dr. Nuri Ishkhanian during the Commencement of 1912.
- *The need of Educated Pharmacists in Turkey*, by Ph.M Levon Yenovkian during the Commencement of 1913.
- *Heroism in Medicine*, by Dr. Vahan Kalbian, during the Commencement of 1914.

¹³¹ For example: in 1902 the Certificates of Merit in Pathology were awarded to Antranig Arakelian and Avedis Jebebian, in Surgery to Antranig Arakelian, in Eye and Ear to Antranig Arakelian and Kevork Bohjalian, in Dermatology to Mihran Ghazarian, in General Excellence for First and Second year to Kevork Arslanian, in Anatomy to Kevork Arslanian, and in Physiology to Levon Melidonian. See *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 3, 71; In 1903 the Certificates of Merit in General Excellence in 3rd and 4th year were awarded to Mihran Ghazarian, in Surgery to Ghazarian, Kevork Bohjalian and Serop Churukian, in Materia Medica to Bohjalian and Ghazarian, in Diseases of Women to Ghazarian, in Eye and Ear to Levon Melidonian, in Anatomy to Hovhannes Hadidian and Vosgan Topalian, in Histology to Vosgan Topalian, and in Chemistry to Parnag Daghlian. See *ibid.*, 160-61; in 1904 the Certificates of Merit in Diseases of Women were awarded to Hovhannes Kamburian, in Highest Rank to Kevork Anlamian, in Dermatology to Kamburian and Vosgan Topalian, in Eye and Ear to Kamburian, in Anatomy to Parnag Daghlian, in Chemistry to Garabed Bulbulian and Hagop Bezjian. See *ibid.*, 266-67; In 1906, the Certificates of Merit in Highest Rank in first and second year were awarded to Zeroun Hekimian, in Dermatology to Parnag Daghlian, in Histology to Hekimian and Vahan Kalustian, in Chemistry to Hekimian and Garabed Khalfian. See *ibid.*, 429; in 1908, the Certificates of Merit in Histology were awarded to Benne Torossian, in Surgery and Dermatology to Zeroun Hekimian, and in General Excellence in the 3rd and 4th year to Hekimian. See *ibid.*, 590.

- *Honesty in Pharmacy*, by Ph.M. Louis Hekimian, during the Commencement of 1915.¹³²

On the eve of WWI, Vahan Kalbian was one of those students who spoke, during the commencement, about the importance of medicine. Kalbian described medicine as a profession involving highest type of heroism, because “heroism in medicine is constructive while heroism in warfare is destructive.”¹³³ For Kalbian the true hero is the medical doctor who at the expense of his own life saves many fathers and mothers, children and loved ones.

F. School of Nursing

The Training School for Nurses, was established in 1905 in connection with the Medical School of the SPC, and became the only school of its kind in Anatolia and Egypt.¹³⁴ Its main objective was to give training to “young women desiring to become certified nurses.”¹³⁵ The school offered a three years program, after which diplomas were received by the successful students. Mrs. Gerald F. Dale was the superintendent of the College hospitals, and Miss. Jane Van Zandt, was the principal of the school and the Head Nurse of the College hospitals. Regarding entrance requirements, a candidate had to be 17 years of age, possessing good moral character, sound health, and a general secondary school education with sufficient knowledge in English.¹³⁶ And as an entrance

¹³² See AA 1.6.2 *Memorabilia*, Boxes 1-4.

¹³³ *Al Kulliyah* 5, no. 8 (June, 1914).

¹³⁴ *The Search-Light* 25, no.16 (April 22, 1905): 187.

¹³⁵ Mrs. Gerald Dale, “The Training for Nurses of the Syrian Protestant College,” *Memorabilia*, AA 1.6.2, Box 1.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*

fee they had to pay £2. The first four months of course work, were a probation period, and in case the candidate decided to retire, £1 was refunded. After passing this probation period, a monthly allowance was made to each student, namely a 1 Mejde a month for the first year and 2 Mejdies for the Second and Third years. This allowance was made to cover the expenses of the students (such as books, fees, and uniforms).¹³⁷

With the establishment of the nursing school in 1905, Armenian women from Marash, Adana and Aintab came to the SPC. Two of the three young women of the first graduating class of 1908 were Armenian: Rosa Kulunjian¹³⁸ and Osanna Maksoudian¹³⁹. After the Armenian Genocide, and with the arrival of thousands of refugees and orphans to Syria and Lebanon, the percentage of Armenian women in the nursing school increased exponentially to reach as high as 80% in years such as 1927.¹⁴⁰ Isabel Kaprielian, analyses this phenomenon by saying “the American University of Beirut provided an important venue for Armenian refugee girls to pursue nursing and midwifery at a time when Armenian women were unemployed and destitute and when Armenian survivors languishing in refugee camps desperately needed medical attention.”¹⁴¹

G. Conclusion

¹³⁷ *ibid.*

¹³⁸ Miss Rosa Kulunjian, Class 1908, after graduation worked at the Beirut Mission hospital in 1909, and later travelled to Cairo, Egypt to work at the Victoria Nursing Home. See *Al Kulliyah* 3, no. 2 (December, 1911)

¹³⁹ Miss Ossana Maksudian, Class 1908, after graduation returned to her hometown, Marash, and worked at the missionary hospital there. See *Al Kulliyah* 3, no. 3 (January, 1912)

¹⁴⁰ *Directory of Alumni, 1870-1952*, 177; Kaprielian, 337.

¹⁴¹ Kaprielian, 336.

Besides the professional expertise provided by the college, the biggest impact SPC education had on Armenian students was in imparting to them a degree of political, and greater, civic awareness. Even though it veered away from advocating radical political tendencies, nonetheless the curriculum motivated students to think critically about their political and social environment. The textbooks adopted by the college, were representations of Orientalist interpretations of World and Middle Eastern history. These Orientalist historians emphasized the superiority of Western civilization and highlighted the racial inferiority of the Turks compared both to the Arabs and the Christians of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, these textbooks played a crucial role in influencing the formation of student identities. But for Armenian students these textbooks were not enough to tackle various issues dealing with the Armenian question and the future of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. As a consequence various Armenian books and pamphlets were donated to the SPC library to influence the national consciousness of the students. Although the college was staunchly against radical activity, its liberal attitudes enabled students to discuss, only as part of extra-curricular activities, topics dealing with freedom, patriotism, progress and nationalism.

CHAPTER IV

STUDENT LIFE AND EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

On 12 November 1902 around 600 enthusiastic students gathered at the Medical Gate of the SPC, and formed a double line extending 200 yards, to celebrate the inauguration of their new president Dr. Howard Bliss.¹⁴² Bliss was welcomed with palm branches, banners and badges. Students, excited for the new era, chanted the words of their colleague Sarkis Chilingirian, who wrote a “song of inauguration” in Armenian and translated it to prose English.¹⁴³ With the inauguration of Howard Bliss, the College moved from a politically and religiously conservative atmosphere to a more tolerant one, in which student publications and unions flourished. This period of tolerance, reached its climax after the Young Turk revolution, when all kinds of subjects were written about.

Emphasizing the role of liberal education, Howard Bliss stated “that it is possible for men, differing as they do racially and politically, to have a common ideal and patriotism.”¹⁴⁴ Besides emphasizing spiritual uplift, Bliss stressed the importance of social and educational change breaking ethno-religious barriers and overcoming class differences. As a result he encouraged the introduction of athletics to the College, particularly football. On a football field, a son of a prince played “under the captaincy of

¹⁴² *New York Observer* 81, (1903): 167.

¹⁴³ “The Song of Inauguration, 1903,” *Memorabilia*, AA1.6.2, Box 1.

¹⁴⁴ Howard Bliss, “Sunshine in Turkey,” *The National Geographic Magazine* 20, no.1 (January 1909): 75.

a peasant or the son of a cook.”¹⁴⁵ In this section, I intend to shed some light on the Armenian Student Union formed at the SPC in 1908 after the promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution. I will try to investigate the daily experiences of the students, the challenges they faced and the socio-political ideas that they imbibed in a transformed atmosphere.

A. Student Societies

With the promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution, students at the SPC became eager to form new societies where politics and public affairs would be discussed “after the long period of enforced silence.”¹⁴⁶ As a result, a committee was appointed by the faculty to formulate a new policy regarding political discussions and the formation of student societies. The new policy composed of 7 points, aimed to assure the Ottoman government about the complete neutrality “of the college in all matters of local and imperial politics,”¹⁴⁷ as the most important point stated:

Student Societies are permitted to discuss questions in History, Sociology, Economics, Education, and the Theory of Government, it is with the strict proviso that in considering questions relating to the Ottoman Empire, discussion of all such subjects as, for example, criticism of the Government, changes in the form of the Government, the conduct of its officials, and all partisan questions, shall be excluded.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 75.

¹⁴⁶ Howard Bliss, *Forty Third Annual Report to the Board of Trustees of the Syrian Protestant College 1908/1909*, 26-27.

¹⁴⁷ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, (November 24, 1908), 20-21.

¹⁴⁸ Howard Bliss, *Forty Third Annual Report to the Board of Trustees of the Syrian Protestant College 1908/1909*, 26-27.

Student societies were obliged to announce all their meetings in advance and to accept the supervision of an appointed faculty member. Once established, all public topics open to debate had to be approved by the faculty. Unlike student publications which were academically censored, these discussions which took place behind closed doors were not.¹⁴⁹ Vahan Kalbian described this period as being the “age of student societies.”¹⁵⁰ The College reached this stage as a result of a transition to the “age of student papers,” affected by the dawn of a liberal age when more than a dozen student papers were produced and distributed. For Kalbian, the political changes which followed the Young Turk revolution:

awakened in many a greater sense of responsibility for the amelioration of the social, economic, intellectual and religious conditions of the Ottoman nation; further they have inspired them with nobler ambitions, and these, in turn, have suggested to them the urgency of persuasive and forcible public speaking for the attainment of which they have established most of the recent organizations and reformed or revived the old ones.¹⁵¹

As a result the vast majority of the students of the SPC became members of 22 societies, such as: the Arabic Literary Society, the Armenian Student Union, the Egyptian Union Society, the Flower of Culture, Homer Hellenistic Society, Kadima Hebrew Literary Society, the Student Union, the Syrian Literary Society, Young Men’s Christian Association, the Cricket Club, the Damascus Brotherhood, the Palestine Society, C. T.C. (Central Turkey College) Club of S.P.C., Phoenicia society and the French literary society.

¹⁴⁹ Scholz, 289.

¹⁵⁰ Vahan Kalbian, *Al Kulliyah* 1, no.1 (February-July 1910).

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*

B. The Armenian Students Union

On October 31, 1905, the faculty received a petition from a number of Armenian students requesting permission to establish an Armenian literary society.¹⁵² During this time, literary societies (devoted to the promotion of Arabic, English, Greek, Hebrew, and French), were already in existence. There were also other societies, which had a national character such as the Egyptian and Palestinian student societies. Nonetheless, the faculty rejected the petition of the Armenian students, and the formation of an officially approved Armenians student Union was denied.¹⁵³ But this rejection, according to Haroutyun Der Boghossian, did not stop Armenian students from forming a society that operated secretly inside the college.¹⁵⁴

Mugerdich Boghossian, instructor of Ottoman-Turkish at the college, on November 3, 1908 requested official permission to take a number of Armenian students to a special service, at the Surp Nishan church in Beirut on the following Sunday.¹⁵⁵ The faculty granted Mr. Boghossian permission, and the students were excused from attending chapel on that occasion. Two days later, the faculty found that they were deceived, because the request of Mr. Boghossian “to conduct Armenian students to a religious meeting in the city was a misrepresentation”, since the meeting was for political purposes, primarily for considering the formation of an official Armenian student union.¹⁵⁶ The faculty regarded the action of Mr. Boghossian with disfavor. One month

¹⁵² *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 3, 384.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, 384.

¹⁵⁴ *25th Anniversary of the Armenian Student Union*, 51.

¹⁵⁵ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, 13.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 17.

later Boghossian was notified by the faculty that his services were no longer required after the close of that academic year.¹⁵⁷ Three weeks after their gathering with Mr. Boghossian, on November 24 the students, who were unaware of the situation and the negative atmosphere, asked the faculty to form an Armenian students union with Mr. Boghossian as president.¹⁵⁸ The faculty postponed their decision by one week, and on December 1, 1908 announced:

The faculty looks with disfavor upon the organization of student societies outside the college, that which are established without reference to conditions laid down by the college and which therefore are obliged to hold their meetings outside the jurisdiction of the college. The request of the Armenian society for recognition was by vote taken up for discussion. Voted that the further discussion of the establishment of an Armenian society be deferred until the coming academic year.¹⁵⁹

Twenty Five years later, in a letter sent to the Armenian Student Union, Mugerdich Boghossian commented on the aforementioned incident, and said:

The faculty rejected our proposal, reasoning that it was too early to form an Armenian Students Union. But the students were joyful since they were experiencing the first months of the Ottoman Constitution. After getting this rejection, 80 students angrily petitioned again for the formation of the Union... Prof. West was supportive to the students demand, and under his recommendation, the union was organized.¹⁶⁰

One week after the rejection decision, on December 8, as Boghossian says, a large number of Armenian students petitioned again to form an Armenian student union. The

¹⁵⁷ *ibid*, 25--26.; on May 11, 1909, the finance committee of the faculty, gave Mr. Boghossian an honorarium of £10 in view of his nine years of service to the college. See *ibid*, 75.

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 20-21.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 21.

¹⁶⁰ *25th Anniversary of the Armenian Student Union*, 50.

faculty reconsidered its decision on the basis that all the Armenian students at the college “desired merely a literary organization with no political complexion.”¹⁶¹ As a result Armenian students were immediately allowed to form a literary society calling it the Armenian Student Union.¹⁶² The main reasons behind the rejection of the faculty for the formation of the union, even after 4-5 months from the Young Turk revolution, had to do with the ethno-national character of the union. First the faculty was afraid during the continuing reign of Abdul Hamid that such a union would create problems with the authorities, and they did their best to prevent its formation. Second, the absence of a professor who knew Armenian, to control the students and supervise their activities, and third the presumed politicized nature of the union, were all negative factors delaying the formation process. In addition to these factors, the faculty also received letters from American missionaries stationed in Anatolia, warning them about Armenian revolutionary activities at various colleges. In connection to the 1909 prayer crisis at the SPC, where Muslim and Jewish students protested against compulsory Chapel attendance and Bible classes, a report was sent from Central Turkey College, through E.G.Freyer, treasurer of the Syria Mission. E.G.Freyer mentions the reason for sending the report by saying:

In view of the fluctuating attitude of the faculty of the Syrian Protestant college in handling its student problem it is refreshing to get evidence of determination to rule and not to be ruled by a handful of rebel students.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, 23.

¹⁶² *ibid.*, 23.

¹⁶³ E.G. Freyer, “Beirut-Letter from Aintab. Closing of the Central Turkey College. Reasons. Student Riots,” March 9, 1909, Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence and Reports, 1833-1911, Syria-Lebanon Mission, 1869-1910, Presbyterian Historical Society, *Archives Unbound*. Web.

According to the report Armenian revolutionaries students, at Central Turkey College, were demanding a holiday on Feb 18, as Saint Vartan's Day. St. Vartan was an Armenian military commander who fought the Persians in the 5th century AD, and considered to be a martyr of the nation. The report continues by mentioning the reasons behind the disturbances:

During the first term, at two different times, the college authorities made serious efforts to make clear the relation of the college to the government, and the general principles and ideals, for which the college stood.... In spite of these efforts there has been carried on a quiet but effective propaganda characterized, it appears to us, chiefly by the following points.

1) College authority is to be obeyed if its actions seem to us students to be just. We are under no compulsion to obey unless we deem a rule or action to be right.

2) The present government of the country is unsatisfactory. Just what changes are to come are not clear, but we cannot work in harmony with the present state of affairs.

3) Religion is superfluous. Propaganda has been successful beyond all imaginings. Boys heretofore obedient and peaceful are poisoned with the virus of anarchy and irreligion.¹⁶⁴

In conclusion, the report advised the SPC to be cautious about national sentiment underpinning. As a result of this atmosphere Armenian students at the SPC, until the promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution, tended not to be part of student protests, and worked in secret to avoid trouble with the college authorities or the post-1908 Hamidian police. With the Young Turk revolution, the attitude of the college was subject to change. At that time even the highly politicized Zavarian Student Association, the student branch of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, received an official approval

<http://go.galegroup.com/gdsc/i.do?&id=GALE%7CSC5104859678&v=2.1&u=aub&it=r&p=GDSC&sw=w&viewtype=fullcitation>

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*

for existence in Beirut.¹⁶⁵

The official and unofficial history of the Armenian students union at the SPC can be divided into two parts: pre-constitutional and post-constitutional. Students such as, Haroutyun Der Boghossian, Imirza Ketenjian and Rupen Takvorian admitted in their letters to the students union, on its 25th anniversary, that they unofficially organized a union, which secretly operated inside the college prior to the promulgation of the constitution.¹⁶⁶ Imirza Ketenjian wrote about the period saying:

Inside the college, the leading activist was the medical student Hovhannes Terzian who came from Dikranagerd (Diyarbakir). Terzian gathered around him a large number of students, and secretly we organized literary gatherings, discussions, and orations. From the diaspora, on a regular basis, we received books and pamphlets. During vacations we organized field trips to the Lebanese mountains where we freely discussed and debated... Various books and revolutionary pamphlets were exchanged among students; there was even a time during which, a one copy student manuscript was issued and secretly distributed among the Armenian students of USJ...While living in dormitories, we established friendship ties and students occasionally gathered in my dorm room which was located in the north-western section of Ada Dodge Hall's top floor.¹⁶⁷

Dr. Vartan Topalian, confirms these stories and adds:

Starting with 1905, revolutionary students came from the Anatolian villages and used pseudonyms to organize a student union. The university officials were always suspicious, and did their best to prevent such a union. Of course they were obliged to act this way, in order to prevent political repercussions. Nonetheless, we were always grateful that we had Professors West and Moore on our side.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Nikola B. Schahgaldian, "The Political Integration of an Immigrant Community into a Composite Society: the Armenians in Lebanon, 1920--1974" (PhD diss. Columbia University, 1979): 54.

¹⁶⁶ *25th Anniversary of the Armenian Student Union*, 52.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 52.

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, 53.

During this pre-constitutional period, Rupen Takvorian, one of the leading members of the union, asked his fellow classmates to sign a petition and present it to the faculty to get their permission to organize a literary Armenian society. Takvorian made sure to use the term literary, because he knew well that Ottoman authorities were closely observing their activities and the faculty was totally against political nationalistic aspirations.¹⁶⁹ Until getting the official approval, the students had to organize their gatherings in dormitories, where they not only discussed socio-political and literary topics but also entertained themselves by organizing theatrical performances such as Molière's *Le Docteur Amoureux*.¹⁷⁰

After December 8, 1908, Armenian students affiliated with the SPC had the right of joining the newly-formed union. In its by-laws the union indicated that its official language was Armenian, and that it had four main objectives:

1) To foster the love of Armenian language, literature and history among students by

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*, 53-54.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, 53-54; After WWI, the students living in dormitories had a different experience. Nazareth Barsoumian in his memoirs narrates his dormitory life and says: "Three Armenian students and one Greek student were assigned to Room 20 in the old dormitory building across from the Campus. I was one of the Armenians; the other two were not my associates from home. My roommates were older than I, and to all appearances from well-to-do families, especially the Greek. He was the scion of a rich silk merchant of Bursa...My roommates were all first-year students from Cilicia, where I contend that the Armenian culinary art has attained perfection. These newcomers were rather unaccustomed to the local cuisine which differed considerably from Armenian cooking. This proud Greek lad of fortune who, no doubt, already feeling homesick and lonesome, and craving his mother's cooking, could hardly resist the tempting aroma and flavor of my Rice Pilov. He made a proposition before the week ended to defray all expenses if I would prepare and share with him our evening meals. Needless to say, I jumped at the opportunity. In token of this new-found friendship and to bind his bargain, my amiable friend, who was a prince if everyone lived, escorted me to a Cafe Shantan on the seafront, about which I heard so much from other well-to-do students, for an evening's entertainment." See Nazareth Barsoumian, *Stowaway to Heaven* (Barrington, Illinois: Armenian Information Bureau, 1960), 6.

donating a large collection of Armenian books to the library, and through organizing literature readings, writing contests and orations.

2) To give students an opportunity for the development of their oratory skills by participating in history debates and contests that nurture public speaking skills and by encouraging democratic elections.

3) To help needy Armenian students by organizing a student fund.

4) To be interested in various Armenian educational issues and establish relations with different Armenian student organizations throughout the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷¹

To accomplish these objectives, the union started organizing literary gatherings, panel discussions, oratory contests and debates. They also established a fund, by means of donations and yearly student subscription fees, to help financially deprived students and to buy Armenian books and newspapers on a regular basis for the library. After the Russian Consul, Constantine Gamsaragan, donated a large number of Armenian books to the library, the union worked to expand this collection and established a library fund. They also established relations with Armenian student organizations at missionary schools throughout Anatolia and Constantinople.¹⁷²

Bi-weekly literary gatherings were organized by the union, and some of the topics discussed during the panels included:

- *People's Social Progress* by Hovhannes Terzian on 30/3/1909.
- *Armenian Literature* by Bedross Benne Torossian on 30/3/1909.
- *The Adana Massacres and Reactionary Attempts* by Khalfayan on 4/4/1909.
- *Progress* by Hovhannes Terzian on 11/11/1910.
- *Laughter* by Dikran Halladjian on 13/3/1910.
- *Life outside the Earth* by Vahan Kalbian on 20/3/1910.
- *The Values of Armenian Language* by H. Muradian on 12/1/1911.
- *Our National Uniqueness* by H. Tarpinian on 27/1/1911.

¹⁷¹ *25th Anniversary of the Armenian Student Union*, 22-25.

¹⁷² *ibid.*, 22-25.

- *The Problem of Immigration* by Vahan Kalbian on 18/11/1911.¹⁷³
- *How shall the Armenian Student be trained so that he can serve his Nation?* by Sahag Altunian on 18/11/1911.
- *At Present can the Armenian wish for Independence?* by Maksud Apigian on 6/1/1912.
- *Do the Kurds have a History?* by Nishan Bakkalian on 20/1/ 1912.
- *The Rich Armenian has not contributed to the National Reawakening* by K. Husisian on 3/2/1912.
- *The Mother of the Revolutionary Armenian and Her Role* by Yaqub Touzjian on 17/2/1912.
- *The Racial Problem and the Young Turks* by Rupen Takvorian on 16/3/1912.
- *Why should we be proud for being Armenians?* by Vahan kalbian on 16/1/1912.
- *The Armenian Question* by M. Vartanian on 8/2/1913.
- *The Armenian Nation and its Intellectuals* by Yervant Khatanassian on 15/11/1913.
- *Nietzsche and his Philosophy* by Yervant Khatanassian on 13/12/1913.
- *National History before Christ* by L.Gharibian on 3/1/1914.
- *The Future of the Armenian is it Hopeful or Not?* By Maksud Apigian on 17/1/1914.
- *The Armenian Military Service in Turkey is it Beneficial or Not?* By M. Baghdasarian on 12/12/1914.
- *Turkish rule or Russian rule is more Beneficial for Armenians?* By H. Avedisian on 30/1/1915.
- *Our Role after School* by V. Piranian on 13/2/1915.¹⁷⁴

On a regular basis the union also received letters from needy students asking for urgent financial help. Since helping the students was one of its objectives, the union did all that it could to keep its promise.¹⁷⁵ One of those letters read:

¹⁷³ Probably Kalbian in his speech used Simon Zavarian idea that “The emigration from a poor, ignorant East to a rich, enlightened, and organized West, can only be stopped when both of these two worlds, become equal in Freedom, Justice and in riches. This equality can only be achieved, either when the West becomes regressed as the East or the East becomes as progressed as the West.” See Zavarian, 104.

¹⁷⁴ *25th Anniversary of the Armenian Student Union*, 67-80.

¹⁷⁵ With faculty permission, the union organized musical concerts outside the College to raise money in order to buy books and help financially some students. For example a concert was given on March, 15 1913, under the direction of Mr. Muradian, in the Memorial Hall in the

For various unexpected reasons, I urgently need 7 Ottoman golden pounds to pay my tuition for the second semester. Therefore, I ask this respectful committee to take into consideration my hardship; otherwise I will not be able to finish my senior year. I promise to repay this amount with its interest as soon as possible. Hoping that you will understand the seriousness of my situation, and I present my sincere thanks to you.¹⁷⁶

C. The University Student Union

The Student Union, founded in 1906, was perhaps the most important society at the SPC, which attracted a large number of students from different societies. The aim of the union “was to introduce its members to critical thought, the rules of democracy, as well as patriotism.”¹⁷⁷ The union held annual elections to teach students about democracy, and debating contests to allow them to propose and debate various ideas. For example in one of the meetings Krikor Krikorian proposed that the Orient needed a democracy in education, in government, in industry and religion.¹⁷⁸ In another meeting also Krikorian debated that a man owes more to his mother than to his father.¹⁷⁹

The Union through its elections tried to establish a mini parliament. The members encouraged public speaking, and obeyed the rules of a democratically elected majority.¹⁸⁰ Through these elections, Armenian students such as, Vahan Kalbian¹⁸¹,

American Mission Compound. “A large and appreciative audience enjoyed the varied program. The proceeds were divided between the Armenian school and the library of the Union.” See *AI Kulliyah* 4, no.5 (March 1913).

¹⁷⁶ *25th Anniversary of the Armenian Student Union*, 56-57.

¹⁷⁷ Scholz, 296.

¹⁷⁸ *AI Kulliyah* 4, no.6 (April 1913).

¹⁷⁹ *AI Kulliyah* 2, no.2 (Dec.1910).

¹⁸⁰ *The Student Union Gazette* 1, no.3 (Dec. 1913) in Scholz, 296.

Hovhaness Terzian¹⁸² and Rupen Takvorian¹⁸³, were given the opportunity of presiding the Union for many years, and through these actions they proved that Armenian students at the SPC were capable of integrating with other student bodies.¹⁸⁴

D. Student Manuscripts

At the turn of the 20th century, the faculty of the SPC allowed the issuance of student publications under the supervision of certain professors. Students wrote in these publications in order to improve their writing and linguistic skills. Until the Young Turk revolution, these were subject to university supervision but nevertheless, students, writing in Arabic, English and French discussed topics relating to national history, modernity, and the values of Enlightenment.¹⁸⁵ Unfortunately, the Armenian publications, mentioned by Imirza Ketenjian, which were circulated secretly only in one copy and distributed to the Armenian students of the Université Saint Joseph, did not survive WWI.¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless we have a record of some articles published by Armenian students, including:

- “Wait and Hope” by Aram Zavzavtjian in *Sada al Ist'dadiyah* 1, 1902.

¹⁸¹ *Al Kulliyah* 1, no. 2 (March 1910), 56.

¹⁸² *Memorabilia*, AA 1.6.2, Box 4.

¹⁸³ *Al Kulliyah* 4, no.5 (March 1913).

¹⁸⁴ These students played active roles in other societies also, such as the YMCA. For example during the 1905 elections of the YMCA committee, 14 out of 44 medical students were Armenian candidates who had the right of being elected democratically in a committee composed of 5 members from various faculties. See “YMCA Elections, 1905,” *Memorabilia*, AA 1.6.2, Box 1.

¹⁸⁵ Scholz, 249.

¹⁸⁶ *25th Anniversary of the Armenian Student Union*, 52.

- “The Twentieth Century” by Aram Zavzavtjian in *The Miltonian*, 22 June, 1903.
- “A Summer Evening Splendor at the Syrian Protestant College” by Aram Zavzavtjian in *The Miltonian*, 22 June, 1903.
- “False Friendship” by Rupen Takvorian in *Happy Days of SPC* 1, no. 6, 1904.
- “The Ultimate Rule of Law” by Rupen Takvorian in *Happy Days of SPC* 1, no.8, 1904.
- “What Each One of Us can Do” by Rupen Takvorian in *Happy Days of SPC* 2, no. 4, 1905.
- “False Friendship” by Rupen Takvorian in *Happy Days of SPC* 2, no. 6, 1904.
- “What Napoleon Did to Europe” by A. Shimshirian in *Happy Days of SPC* 3, no. 3, 1905.
- “The Free Voice of Conscience” by Rupen Takvorian in *Happy Days of SPC* 3, no. 3, 1905.
- “What Each One of Us can Do” by Rupen Takvorian in *Happy Days of SPC* 3, no. 4, 1905.
- “A Plea for SPC prayer meetings” by Lootfy Levonian in *The Life of Service* 1, no. 2, 1907.
- “In Tune with God” by G. Daghljan in *The Life of Service* 1, no. 3, 1907.
- “Salvation” by H. Kalartianian in *The Life of Service* 1, no. 5, May, 1908.
- “The British Empire and her Postage” by Dikran Utidjian in *The Light* 1, no. 4, 1906.
- “Biography of John Milton “by Dikran Utidjian in *The Light* 1, no.1, 1906.
- “Is the Civilized Man happier than the Barbarian” by Hovhannes Terzian in *The Light* 1, no.3, 1906.
- “The Ideal Man” by Dikran Utidjian in *The Light* 1, no. 3, 1906.
- “The Heating of the Atmosphere” by Vahram Utidjian in *The Light* 1, no. 8, 1906.
- “Earthquakes” by Vahram Utidjian, in *The Business Amanuensis* 1, no. 2, 1907.
- “Cyprus” by Vahram Utidjian in *The Business Amanuensis* 1, no.2, 1907.
- “What Constitutes a Successful Businessman” by Dikran Utidjian in *The Commercial Review*, 1, no. 1, 1906.
- “England of Chaucer and the England of Shakespeare” in *Pioneers of the SPC* 1, no.2
- “The Self” by Hovhannes Terzian in *Pioneers of the SPC* 2, no. 2.
- “A view from the grounds of the College” by Aziz Garabedian in *Pioneers of the SPC* 1, no. 5
- “Christ and Popular Christianity” by Hovhannes Terzian in *Pioneers of the SPC* 1, no.3.
- “Vice and Virtue” by H. Gurunlian in *Pioneers of the SPC* 1, no.1.
- “What is the Best Religion” by A.Shimshirian in *Pioneers of the SPC* 1, no. 1.
- “Why Nations Revolt”, editorial in *Pioneers of the SPC* 1, no 3.

- “A Moral View of Strikes” by Karekin Antreassian in *The Commercial Triumvirate* 1, no.3, 1906.
- “A Summary of Agricultural Chemistry” by Armenag Seraidarian in *The Commercial Triumvirate* 1, no.3, 1906.
- “Trade Conditions in Cyprus” by Vahram Utidjian in *Al Kulliyah* 1, no.3, 1911.
- “Teaching of Turkish in the New Era” by Levon Levonian in *Al Kulliyah* 1, no. 4, 1910.
- “The Possibilities of Universal Peace” by Rupen Takvorian in *Al Kulliyah* 2, no. 5, 1911.
- “Opportunities for Self- Help in the SPC” by Vahan Kalbian in *Al Kulliyah* 4, no 2, 1912.¹⁸⁷

According to Norbert Scholz, students in their writings expressed “little sympathy for the Ottoman Empire,” which was represented as the “epitome of backwardness.”¹⁸⁸ The students considered themselves to be the saviors of the empire and the people of the Orient, from their backwardness, through the introduction of European concepts of enlightenment, modernity, and progress. Aram Zavzavtjian hoped that “Men will come out of this bed of darkness, will throw aside this cover of ignorance, which has made them quite unconscious of their surroundings.”¹⁸⁹ Zavzavtjian described ignorance as “the principal source of sin, which has dragged our ancestors down and has made them the most miserable creatures before God.”¹⁹⁰ Education was the secret weapon of these students who called themselves “the men of tomorrow.”¹⁹¹ Through their education they sought to “elevate the East to the same level of cultural and technological advancement

¹⁸⁷ See *Student Manuscript Magazines*, AA 4.2.1.; It's worth mentioning that 5 of 7 editors of *Happy Days of SPC*, and 3 of the 5 editors of *Light*, were Armenians.

¹⁸⁸ Scholz, 300.

¹⁸⁹ Aram Zavzavtjian, “The Twentieth Century,” *The Miltonian* (22 June, 1903).

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁹¹ Hovhannes Terzian, “S.P.C. Papers,” *Light*, no. 3 (1906): 5-7.

the West had already achieved.”¹⁹² Even though political discussions and writings were completely prohibited by the faculty, nevertheless the students managed to directly criticize the Ottoman Empire especially after the Young Turk Revolution.¹⁹³ The most common means used to express criticism was by:

1) Praising previous empires that had ruled this part of the world before the advent of the Ottomans.

2) Praising Western intellectuals and technological advance introduced by Westerners.

3) Praising Japan and its civilization, which was competing with Europe.¹⁹⁴

For students like Hrand Utidjian, the Japanese model represented the most perfect model to emulate. First, because Japan was part of the “orient.” Second, because the Japanese respected equality, and provided opportunities to all men belonging to their nation, enjoying equal rights and duties. Utidjian expressed his view in the following manner:

..the guiding principles of political conduct explain the wonderful unity of purpose, courage, self-reliance, and lastly the patriotism of the Japanese nation which has astonished the world... It cannot be doubted that the greatest guides to her success can be summed up in the single word Patriotism.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Scholz, 251.

¹⁹³ Syrian students were leaders in criticizing the empire and the reign of Abdul Hamid II. In a biography of Abdul Hamid, Adib Faris wrote: “If ever a tyrant existed in western Asia, it was Abdul Hamid II... Abdul Hamid was short in stature, thinly built, dark in color, with wide nose and small eyes. He was known to be stingy and money lover from his youth. He had many mean habits as spying when his uncle was on the throne. He loved women very much since he had over 500 wives in his palace. He was a lazy man since his youth.. As a politician he was great and of very great ability...” See Adib Faris, “Abdul Hamid II,” *The Businessman*, (March 1911).

¹⁹⁴ Scholz, 265.

¹⁹⁵ Hrand Utidjian, "The Awakening of Japan," *Light*, no.1 (1906): 7.

After all, the vast majority of these students wrote what they were taught. Rupen Takvorian used his textbooks to assign to each nation a specific role. According to Takvorian:

The Englishmen are created to govern other people, as if purposely planned by God... Nature has granted different blessings to different peoples, Americans are men of letters, so are many Europeans, Jews and Armenians are sharp bankers; the French have the best power of criticism, the Syrians have good memories and so on... No nation should expect to do things exactly like others. Every one of us can do something.¹⁹⁶

Others like A. Shimshirian and Lootfy Levonian analyzed religious topics, and like their missionary professors, praised Christianity for having “the greatest influence on the civilization of the world.”¹⁹⁷ In comparing Christianity with different religions, Shimshirian considered the Jews to be “inferior even to the Persians in narrow mindedness.”¹⁹⁸ It is possible that such statements could have created sectarian divisions among students, and even may have led to the prayer crisis of 1909.¹⁹⁹ Levonian, in his article, complained that many students had very low and selfish motives, because they chose the College just to be educated in order to secure a better life.²⁰⁰ Therefore, for

¹⁹⁶ Rupen Takvorian, “What Each One of Us can Do,” *Happy Days of SPC*, 2, no. 4 (April 1905).

¹⁹⁷ A. Shimshirian, “What is the Best Religion,” *Pioneers of the SPC* 1, no. 1 (May 1905).

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Regarding sectarian divisions, a number of students complained that the spirit of brotherhood existed among a number of students and professors. See Hovhannes Terzian, “S.P.C. Papers,” *Light*, no. 3 (March 1906): 6; for them it was unfortunate that Syrians did not “overcome their racial prejudice or mixed with the Armenians” nor the Greeks with the Egyptians. See “Editorial,” *Happy Days of S.P.C.* 1, no.3 (December, 1903): 13.

²⁰⁰ Lootfy Levonian, “A Plea for S.P.C. Prayer Meetings,” *Life of Service* 1, no. 2 (1907).

Levonian, these “selfish” students needed a “whole revolution in their spiritual life” so that they can understand the language of the Bible.²⁰¹ While Levonian understood revolution in spiritual terms, his classmates understood it as a “factor in the development and progress of the human race.”²⁰² Some students went even further in their revolutionary ideals, and advocated Darwinism considering the theory that man and apes have the same origin to be reasonable.²⁰³

Dealing with topics on nationalism, patriotism, modernity and progress, did not necessarily mean that the students wanted the breakup of the Ottoman Empire, and the creation of nation states. On the contrary, these students criticized the empire in order to improve it, and they were confident, particularly after the Young Turk revolution, that change was on its way. Levon Levonian, instructor of Ottoman-Turkish, believed that with the promulgation of the constitution, the government began showing “symptoms of self-recovery and progress along the lines of Western Civilization”.²⁰⁴ To Levonian the removal of Sultans’ despotic grip, which suppressed and controlled national life, helped the people to realize that they are Ottoman citizens and should not rely on outsiders in language, education, commerce and technology. Levonian was certain that during this new era different ethnic and national groups will establish closer relationships with each other, and the knowledge of the Ottoman language will be more widespread.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ *ibid.*

²⁰² “Why Nations revolt,” *Pioneers of the SPC* 1, no. 3.

²⁰³ “The Man and His Responsibilities,” *Happy Days of SPC* 2, no. 1 (1905).

²⁰⁴ Levon Levonian, “Teaching of Turkish in the New Era” *Al Kulliyah* 1, no. 4 (1910).

²⁰⁵ *ibid.*

E. Student Life

Students of the SPC had to understand “that all offences against morality of all kind, all visiting of places of bad reputation, all deception, lying and cheating, all gambling, all quarrelling and fighting, all profanity and bad language, all damage to buildings, trees and other property, all uncleanness, all irreverence at Chapel” were not only to be avoided by themselves, but also discouraged and prevented in case of their colleagues.²⁰⁶ All students were required to live within the college grounds.²⁰⁷ Upon satisfactory conduct, once a month, some of the students were given the privilege of leaving the grounds but on condition that they return before suppertime. Other prohibitions included, the carrying of firearms, entrance to the kitchen or servant’s rooms and observatory, damaging college property or even using the grounds for physical relief as a bathroom instead of the erected water closets. Smoking in the buildings, in the case of students from the Preparatory, Commercial, and Collegiate departments, was prohibited. Only Medical students had the right to smoke on the grounds, but they were

²⁰⁶ “Regulations for Students, 1904,” *Memorabilia*, AA 1.6.2, Box 1; some Armenian students were also involved in receiving warnings for actions. For example: on April 22, 1890, Melkon Elmayan was given first and second warning for drunkenness and notorious behavior. See *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 2, 90-91; on February 3, 1891, Hampartsoum Ughurlian was warned for continued absence from the class in history. See *ibid.*, 122; on January 9, 1894, Alexander Gaidzakian was given a first warning for smoking on the grounds. See *ibid.*, 239; on January 29, 1899, Krikoris Jamjian was publicly reprimanded, and received first and second warning for opening and reading a letter addressed to one of the professors. See *ibid.*, 46; on April 16, 1899, Mihran Hagopian was given first and second warning for unexcused absences and unsatisfactory behavior. See *ibid.*, 58; on February 25, 1902, Setrak Kurkjian was given a first warning for excess chapel absences. See *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 3, 38; on May 30, 1916, Alexander Tabourian was publicly reprimanded by the president for having in his possession a locker key, which he took without permission and had tried to fill certain lockers. See *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, 517.

²⁰⁷ *Catalogue of Syrian Protestant College* (Beirut: American Press, 1907), 27.

also encouraged not to do so.²⁰⁸ The dormitory rooms were always made ready for inspection and had to be kept clean; students were asked not to throw objects from windows, or even make loud noises. In the dining room, they had to be in proper dress, and “food was not to be touched before the blessing was asked.”²⁰⁹ And most importantly they were required to treat their colleagues, who were working as waiters, courteously. According to the student catalogue, these disciplinary measures were justified on the basis that they aimed to develop straightforward character, and teach habits of diligence and earnestness.²¹⁰

President Howard Bliss told the new incoming students, that the SPC was not a prison, but a place to study; teachers were like parents anxious to help students achieve the utmost in progress of mind, body and soul.²¹¹ Besides abiding by these general rules, every student had to understand that he should be “a truthful, honorable gentleman, scorning a lie, eager to make the most of his opportunities at the College, and glad to help those about him.”²¹² Bliss, asked the newcomers to study hard and play hard, in order to become “intelligent, chivalrous, trustworthy” men. According to the president, students of the SPC had the reputation, of standing straight, talking straight and acting straight and new students had to maintain that reputation. In case of any difficulty or misunderstanding, students were asked to consult the president or any of the teachers.²¹³

²⁰⁸ “Regulations for Students, 1904,” *Memorabilia*, AA 1.6.2, Box 1.

²⁰⁹ *ibid.*

²¹⁰ *Catalogue of Syrian Protestant College*, 27.

²¹¹ “To Our New Students, 1907,” *Memorabilia*, AA 1.6.2, Box 1.

²¹² *ibid.*

²¹³ *ibid.*

Students were obliged to attend morning and evening prayers held at the College every day. On Sunday there were also church services in the morning and a Bible school in the afternoon.²¹⁴ Only resident medical and pharmaceutical students were exempt from attending morning prayers and Sunday Bible classes, everyone else had to abide by the rules. During their spare time, some of the students went to College Hall to study or even read a book from the library's collection of 20,000 books. Others participated in declamation contests organized by the faculty on a regular basis. Students competed with each other in four languages (English, Arabic, Ottoman-Turkish, French) and they were judged by their professors.²¹⁵

Besides educating students, the College gave special attention to compulsory physical exercise, under the supervision of a trained instructor. Students from the Preparatory and Collegiate departments were obligated to participate, while those from other departments were only encouraged to take part in the athletics.²¹⁶ After exercise, students went to their dormitories to shower in 46 individual bathrooms supplied with hot and cold water. Starting with their Easter Vacation, students were given permission to go swimming, during assigned hours, under the supervision of a trained lifeguard.²¹⁷

²¹⁴ *Catalogue of Syrian Protestant College*, 14.

²¹⁵ *Memorabilia*, AA1.6.2 Box 5; by looking at the records we can see that the majority of the competitors in Turkish were Armenians.

²¹⁶ *Catalogue of Syrian Protestant College*, 13.

²¹⁷ *ibid.*, 13.

1. *Theatrical Plays, Interracial Nights and Gatherings*

Extracurricular activities at the SPC were not confined to declamation contests, annual field days, or athletic games. Students also had the chance of participating in theatrical plays. Armenian students not only participated as actors during these events, but also played musical instruments, particularly violin and piano to entertain the audience.²¹⁸ The same students also took part in plays organized by the Students Union. For example, Yeznig Terzian took the role of Julius Caesar, and Karekin Tabourian, the role of Dardanius in the Shakespearean play *The Tragedy of Julius Caesar*, which was sponsored by the Students Union, and performed in West Hall Auditorium, on 13th of June, 1914.²¹⁹

During interracial nights, different races and ethnicities at the SPC shared parts of their national life and history. Armenian students presented a legendary scene, which took place 2000 years ago, when King Abcarius, who suffered from leprosy, was waging a war against Rome. When news came that Jesus was performing miracles in Palestine,

²¹⁸ *Al Kulliyah* 5, no.3 (January 1914).

²¹⁹ *Memorabilia*, AA 1.6.2, Box 4; organizing such plays, impressed American missionaries stationed in the near east. For example John Oliver La Gorce wrote: "Could a more unique and picturesque stage setting be imagined for a Shakespearean production than a grove of stately pines on the shores of the Mediterranean, with the Lebanon range, rising to a height of several thousand feet, as the distant background? Such was the actual setting for the alfresco production of "As You Like It," given last spring on the beautiful campus of the Syrian Protestant College, at Beirut, Syria, by its students. The entire cast was drawn from the student body of the college who were representatives of nearly every nationality and religion in all the varied and polyglot East and all the parts were taken by young men, coeducation being, of course, unknown in the Orient. "Rosalind" was a young Greek from Tripoli; "Orlando" came from a small Syrian village in the Lebanon; "Celia" was the son of an Armenian residing in Cyprus; while "Phebe" was a Jewish boy from Aleppo. "Oliver," brother to "Orlando," belonged to a prominent Druze family; "Oliver," the wrestler, was a Kurd from beyond Damascus; "Corin" was the son of English parents living in Beirut, the only one of the actors really familiar with the English drama. "Jacques" was a Muslim student from Egypt; "Duke Frederick" came from Armenia; "Adam's father" was a Greek pilot on the Suez Canal, while "Dennis" was a Copt from the Nile valley." See John Oliver La Gorce, "A Shakespearean Production in the Holy Land," *The World Today* 16, (January-June 1909): 657-658.

one of his disciples came and cured the King from his disease and the King ordered the destruction of all the Armenian idols.²²⁰ Greek students sang few of their melodies, and Egyptians offered two scenes from Heliopolis where a Coptic priest and Muslim Sheikh were shaking hands “in front of a red flag emblazoned with the Cross and the Crescent.”²²¹ Interracial nights were followed by Cosmopolitan nights, which were attended by more than 6000 people.²²² Also during these nights different nationalities did exhibitions in order to introduce their unique culture to fellow students and Beirut residents.²²³

2. *College Field Day*

In the year 1898, the SPC acquired its first recreation field where athletic events such as track events, gymnastics and football were first introduced.²²⁴ With this acquisition, the college started organizing its annual field days, which were open to the public. The

²²⁰ *The Muslim World* 12, no.2 (1922): 411.

²²¹ *ibid.*, 411.

²²² *Al Kulliyah* 9, no.8 (June 1923).

²²³ On a cosmopolitan night organized in 1923, *Al Kulliyah* writes: “The nationalities which represented the exhibition were in alphabetical order, the following: Armenians, Egyptians, Greeks, Mesopotamians, Palestinians, Persians, Russians, Syria-Beirut, and Syria-Lebanon.... The Armenian students had a pavilion erected on the north side of College Hall, here the Royal conference of Ashdishad in the 5th century was presented. Nearby St. Mesrob in a little cell by himself received the heavenly inspiration of the Armenian Alphabet. A third feature was a rural dance. The Egyptians presented the magnificent tomb of King Tutankhamun, and the Nile River guarded by two sphinxes. The Greeks for once neglected their philosopher and at the Marquand house presented the life of a Greek mountaineer. The Mesopotamians erected the tower of Babel decorated with Japanese lantern; the Palestinians showed drawings of the Holy city and Persians decorated the space near College Hall with Persian rugs, while the Lebanese and the Russian built traditional houses on the Tennis court. All these scenes were accompanied by a variety national music and dances.” See *ibid.*

²²⁴ Daniel, 83.

events were such a great success that even the provincial governor of Beirut with his military band attended.²²⁵ Some of the activities included: Discus throwing, Running, High Jump, Yard Dash, Potato Race, Three legged race, Football and Basketball.²²⁶ During these field days students and departments competed against each other. More than 600 strong students represented all race, tongue and faith of the near east and the field days allowed them to become amalgamated. As a result of these field days, and in consequence to the emergence of the athletic department, the potent force called “College Spirit” was developed and racial and religious barriers between students were weakened.

3. *Work Study*

Scholarships and loans were not enough for financially deprived Armenian students to support their tuition and board. These students had to perform additional various tasks inside the college in order to receive additional money. By arranging work studies the faculty was seeking first to help poor students financially and second to nurture their character. The work performed was either non-Academic or Academic. Non-Academic work included: cleaning classroom blackboards, working as waiters in the cafeteria, collecting flowers, while academic work involved assisting hospital and surgery professors, or working as demonstrators in Anatomy.²²⁷ In the beginning, according to

²²⁵ Lewis Gaston Leary, “A College Field Day,” *The World Today* 6, no.4 (1904): 497.

²²⁶ “Annual Field Day, April 4th 1903,” *Memorabilia*, AA 1.6.2, Box 3.

²²⁷ Interestingly enough, during this period, the vast majority of Anatomy demonstrators and surgery assistants were Armenian students. See *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 2.

Vahan Kalbian, many of the students were ashamed at doing manual labor to support themselves, but after a while they were convinced that by working they were strengthening their character and increasing their income.²²⁸

4. *Students on Vacation*

During summer vacations, Armenian students were given the opportunity of either returning to their villages or staying in Beirut. Students in financially stable conditions preferred to return to Anatolia where they interacted with the local population, spreading the knowledge and values acquired at the SPC; other students, staying in Beirut, were given the chance of working at SPC hospital or studying at the American Mission School at Suq el Gharb. The mission school was under the direction of Rev. O.J. Hardin, and students from Egypt and Anatolia preferred staying there rather than taking the long journey back home.²²⁹ During WWI, the college also organized the Shweir Summer School, in Mount Lebanon, to provide a pleasant and helpful summering space for students who could not return to their villages.²³⁰

F. Conclusion

Howard Bliss described the Young Turk revolution thus: “Lips unloosed after 30 years of censorship.”²³¹ As a result of these “wonderful political events,”²³² students at

²²⁸ Vahan Kalbian, “Opportunities for Self- Help in the SPC,” *Al Kulliyah* 4, no. 2 (December 1912): 41-42.

²²⁹ *Memorabilia*, AA 1.6.2, Box 1.

²³⁰ *The Missionary Herald at Home and Abroad* 111, no.5 (September 1915): 431.

²³¹ Howard Bliss, “Sunshine in Turkey,” 67.

the SPC participated in public gatherings, which aroused great interest and enthusiasm. At the Hamidian Garden in Beirut, on July 31, 1908 people celebrated the revolution and Christians and Muslims saluted each other as brothers.²³³ Armenians followed the parade of the soldiers and kissed their rifles as a sign of Ottoman loyalty. And on the next day, they organized a large demonstration in front of the Surp Nishan church, where Muslim dignitaries also participated and spoke about the importance of “liberty, fraternity and equality,” lamented the Armenian massacres and hoped that the Armenian question would be solved for good.²³⁴ On December 17, 1908 the opening day of the Ottoman parliament, the whole student body marched to the Grand Serail in Beirut, where scores of citizens were assembled. With this promulgation, student societies at the SPC flourished and the College started showing a liberal attitude towards extracurricular activities, socio-economic and ideological discussions and writings. This permissive attitude gave Armenian students the opportunity to form a student union despite faculty hesitancy and reservations owing to officiate wariness of Armenian political activity.

The Armenian Student Union besides encouraging Armenian students to appreciate their history and language also collaborated with other student unions to introduce reforms into the Ottoman Empire. Even though the faculty prohibited the discussion of partisan issues dealing with the political structure of the Ottoman Empire, nonetheless the students managed to indirectly criticize the empire and the socio-political situation. Unfortunately for the students this jubilant atmosphere characterized by extracurricular

²³² Howard Bliss, *Forty-Third Annual Report to the Board of Trustees of the Syrian Protestant College 1908/1909*, 26.

²³³ "Moslems and Christians at Beirut," *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, (August 20, 1908): 1 in Der-Matossian. 80.

²³⁴ *ibid.*, 80.

activities and collaboration between various student groups, did not last long because the catastrophic subsequent war was dramatically to alter conditions in the Ottoman Empire.

CHAPTER V

ON WAR!

Conditions in Beirut are still distressful. Those who have survived starvation have done so only at the expense of lowered vitality and intense mental depression. Medical relief is one of the first needs. Many are ill from diseases induced by unnatural and insufficient food. Other causes of the unhealthy conditions grow out of prolonged personal suffering, the gazing on scenes of horror, and the despair into which the loss of their people and the break-up of all life's ordinary machinery has plunged these men and women.²³⁵

Howard Bliss, president of the Syrian Protestant College

During the Great War dramatic changes took place at the College, which affected the lives of Armenian students. The Armenian Student Union was compelled to cease its activities; Armenian professors who taught Turkish at the college were expelled under governmental pressure; Armenian books were burned on the pretext that they had subversive nationalist content; doctors and medical students were sent on expeditions and military hospitals to serve in the Ottoman Army as captains. Nonetheless, for Armenian students the College became their safest haven, providing shelter and protection. On political grounds the college authorities shirked away from close connection with non-student Armenians, even as they saved thousands of orphans and treated freely hundreds of Armenian refugee patients on humanitarian grounds. In return Armenian medical alumni with their colleagues impressed Jemal Pasha and participated in saving the college and the Medical school from closure. How was it possible that the Armenians throughout the empire were being labeled as traitors, when hundreds of

²³⁵ *The Missionary Herald* 115, no.6 (June 1919): 228.

doctors were answering their medical call and serving and dying for the Ottoman army? This chapter will not be able to answer such questions, but it will try to analyze the experiences of the students and the alumni throughout the duration of the war.

A. The Road to WWI

The Ottoman countercoup of 1909 resulted in a series of massacres directed against the Armenians of the Vilayet of Adana. Reports from the province estimated that the massacres culminated in the death of perhaps 25,000 Armenians.²³⁶ These massacres played a pivotal role in agitating Armenian students at the SPC. After all, the vast majority of the students had relatives living in that Vilayet, without having sufficient information about them. On April 27, 1909, Vartan Topalian, Haigazun Varvarian, Boghos Seraidarian, Nishan Baron Vartan, and Karekin Vartabedian of the senior medical class, petitioned the faculty to be allowed to proceed to Adana in order to volunteer their services to aid victims of the massacres.²³⁷ The faculty voted “that these gentlemen be thanked for their loyal offer of help to those in distress and anxiety,” but permission was not granted for them to travel.²³⁸ A few days later, another student from the third year medical class, Bedross Benne-Torossian, left the college against the advice of the president and without permission, in order to take part in the relief work at Adana.

²³⁶ Raymond Kevorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: a Complete History* (IB Tauris, 2011), 76.

²³⁷ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, 71.

²³⁸ *ibid.*, 71.

As a consequence, the faculty asked the president to privately reprimand Benne-Torossian for his breach of discipline.²³⁹

Some satisfaction came to the students when they were informed that the college was preparing a medical commission to go to Adana. A sum of 10,000 piasters were contributed by students and teachers to organize the medical relief effort in response to the call of the American Red Cross committee of Beirut.²⁴⁰ The medical commission reached Adana on May 5, 1909. Dr. Harry Dorman, medical professor at the SPC, was in charge of the relief effort, consisting of two non-Armenian students of the fourth year medical class, Drs. Kamil Hilal, Fendi Zughaiyar and Miss Macdonald along with two German sisters from the Johanniter Hospital.²⁴¹ In an article about the mission Dr. Dorman described his experience:

With us was a complete hospital outfit of surgical instruments, sterilizers, sterilized dressings and sutures, and a supply of condensed milk, tinned soups, drugs, etc. Miss MacDonald was succeeded later by Miss Davis, who arrived on May 10. The size of the Beirut delegation was increased later by the arrival, on May 12, of Mr. Benne Torossian, of the third year in the Syrian Protestant College Medical School, and on May 20 by Dr. Haigazun Dabanian, who had been released by Dr. Torrence, of the Tiberias Mission, from his engagement in the English hospital there that he might assist in the Adana relief work. The two senior medical students were Syrians who spoke Turkish; the last two men were Armenians and deserving of especial credit in coming to Adana at this time, for they knew that in so doing they ran the risk of government suspicion and arrest.²⁴²

²³⁹ *ibid.*, 76.

²⁴⁰ Howard Bliss, *Forty-Third Annual Report to the Board of Trustees of the Syrian Protestant College 1908/1909*. 26.

²⁴¹ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, 73.

²⁴² Harry Dorman, "Turko-Armenian Relief," *American Red Cross Bulletin* 4, no. 4 (October, 1909): 23.

If the Adana massacres affected the students psychologically and mentally, then the Italo-Turkish war of 1912 affected them physically. On February 24, 1912, two Italian military vessels bombarded the Beirut harbor and sank an Ottoman torpedo boat. The Ottomans were heavily beaten, and their naval presence at the Beirut harbor was annihilated. At the SPC, students, faculty and even residents of Beirut were packed in safe locations, and the “American flag was placed upon the lightning-rod of the College tower.”²⁴³ Howard Bliss described the war as being unnecessarily barbarous.²⁴⁴ At that time Bliss was unaware that the Italo-Turkish war was just the beginning, as an apocalyptic war was on its way.

Until the advent of the First World War, student societies at the SPC were flourishing and international visitors from Europe and the US were lecturing to students about their adventurous journeys. One of those visitors was Viscount James Bryce, a British historian and liberal politician, best known for being the principal Armenophile in Britain during the Hamidian massacres.²⁴⁵ Lord Bryce was of the opinion that “the Armenians were one of the noblest races on earth, and the potential revitalizers of Asia Minor.”²⁴⁶ When Armenian students found that Bryce was coming to the SPC, and

²⁴³ *The Outlook* 100, (March 30, 1912): 713.

²⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 713.

²⁴⁵ Howard Bliss, *Forty-Eighth Annual Report of the Syrian Protestant College to the Board of Trustees 1913-1914*, 20-21.

²⁴⁶ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant diplomacy and the Near East: missionary influence on American policy, 1810-1927*, (University of Minnesota Press, 1971), 74-75.

wanted to lecture at the college, their excitement reached its climax.²⁴⁷ This excitement did not last long, however, because the First World War had just begun.

B. From Suez to the Dardanelles

With the outbreak of WWI, the American Red Cross committee in Syria offered medical help to Jemal Pasha, Minister of Marine and Commander in Chief of the Fourth Ottoman Army. The pasha accepted the offer and “requested that an American field hospital be installed in the desert south of Beersheba to care for the wounded in the attack on the Suez Canal.”²⁴⁸ Dr. E. St. John Ward, Professor of Surgery in the Syrian Protestant College, was chosen as director of the expedition, and Rev. George C. Doolittle of the American Mission, was appointed associate director. The agreement with Jemal pasha was that the relief expedition “should serve as a tent-hospital of two hundred beds at Hafir el-Auja, a station on the Egyptian frontier, one day's ride from Beersheba.”²⁴⁹ On January 17, 1915 in a special train provided by the Ottoman government, the members of the expedition left Beirut and headed safely to Hafir-el-Auja.²⁵⁰ Beside the director and the associate director, four sisters of the Kaiserswerth Mission, three graduate doctors and sixteen senior medical students from the SPC,

²⁴⁷ Yervant Khatanassian, “History of the Zavarian Student Association (Part A - 1904-1914), http://www.zavarian.org/?page_id=7 (accessed October 2, 2014).

²⁴⁸ Edwin St. John Ward, “American Red Cross Work in Turkey,” *Levant Trade Review* 5, no.1 (June Quarter, 1915): 6-7.

²⁴⁹ *ibid.* 7

²⁵⁰ Howard Bliss, *Fiftieth Annual Report to the Board of Trustees of the Syrian Protestant College 1915/1916*, 20.

including six Armenian students, took part in the relief mission.²⁵¹ The expedition carried with it a number of fully equipped tents, and a three months' stock of medicines. The difficulties faced in conducting such a desert hospital were enormous. The water supply was inadequate, transportation was entirely done by using camels, and sandstorms were frequent.²⁵² However, the hospital impressed Jemal Pasha and took care of 220 Ottoman casualties. After six weeks, the last of the wounded reached Jerusalem and with him the members of the expedition returned to Beirut and organized themselves in order to show the pasha readiness for similar future work.

When the hostilities at Gallipoli began, Dr. Ward, who had just returned from the Suez expedition, did not wait long to travel to Constantinople with his team in order to assist the wounded and organize a 500 beds hospital ran by the American Red Cross.²⁵³ On May 16, 1915 two American nurses from the SPC, Miss Van Zandt, Principal of the Nurses Training School, and Miss Nightingale, in addition to two Syrian graduate nurses and one medical student, accompanied Dr. Ward on the U.S. Collier Vulcan, offered by the American Ambassador Henry Morgenthau.²⁵⁴ The Ottoman Government supplied

²⁵¹ The Armenian doctors included: Mihran Ishkanian, Louise Hekimian, Alexander Bezjian, Hovhannes Torian, Stephan Erzinginian and Dr. Vahan Kalbian. See "The Syrian Protestant College Red Cross Mission, 1915," *History of SPC and AUB*, AA 1.6.1, Box 3, File 5; Ward, 6-7.; George Doolittle, "With the Turkish Army in the Desert, An American Red Cross Relief Caravan Journeys across Syria toward Egypt," *The American Red Cross magazine* 10, no. 9 (September 1915): 316.

²⁵² Ward, 6.

²⁵³ Ward, 10.

²⁵⁴ Armenian students also participated in helping Ottoman soldiers during the Gallipoli campaign. Garabed Yeghiayan served a year as surgeon at the Ambulance Hospital at the Dardanelles, while Avedis Nakashian, one of the Armenian intellectuals arrested on April 24, 1915, was released upon the intervention of the American Ambassador and sent to serve at the Gulhane hospital in Constantinople. For Yeghiayan, See *Newsletter* 4, no.1 (January 1923); for Nakashian, see Nakashian, 224.

food to the newly created hospital, at the Tasch-Kishla barracks, and the Red Cross provided the necessary medical equipment and surgical material needed by Dr. Ward and his team. The Medical missions sent by the college in January 1915 to the Suez Canal, and from May to September to Constantinople, created a favorable impression on the Ottoman authorities and allowed the College to survive the war.²⁵⁵ Jemal Pasha not only kept the SPC open throughout the war, but also furnished it with wheat and food supplies, at the most difficult times.

C. Faculty, Students, Jemal Pasha and the War

During the war, students at the SPC had to adjust to the new situation. Recently developed Ottoman policies, obliged those of the higher medical classes to serve in the army as captains. Moreover, Turkish language courses were intensified at the College, new textbooks were introduced by the authorities, and Chapel attendance and religious classes, under governmental pressure, were no longer compulsory.²⁵⁶ In order to increase the number of volunteering students in the army, the Ottomans introduced a new law which decreed that all medical students had to serve a full year of internship in government hospitals, as a condition for receiving the Imperial medical diploma.²⁵⁷

During this trouble period, the newly erected West Hall building became the only place which could offer student release. Starting with late 1914, West Hall became a

²⁵⁵ Howard Bliss, *Fiftieth Annual Report to the Board of Trustees of the Syrian Protestant College 1915/1916*, 20.

²⁵⁶ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, 453.

²⁵⁷ Howard Bliss, *Fiftieth Annual Report to the Board of Trustees of the Syrian Protestant College 1915/1916*, 21.

center of hope and good fellowship. On Saturday nights diverse programs were organized by faculty and students such as lectures, motion pictures, theatrical and musical performances.²⁵⁸ A Skating Ring Club provided scope for physical activity, while a Chess Club offered mental exercise. Besides these activities, students also had the privilege of using a newly equipped games room, with a bowling alley and a billiard table.²⁵⁹ But with the escalation of the war, such activities at the College became less frequent. The faculty knew well the displeasure of the Ottoman authorities regarding student societies, and with the outbreak of the war the Chief of Police of Beirut suspended all societies, including the Armenian Student Union.²⁶⁰ Only the Turkish Literary Society received official permission to continue its extra-curricular activities.²⁶¹ The alumni journal, *Al-Kulliyah*, described the period as “a time when suspicions on the part of the authorities were easily aroused and actions, perfectly innocent of intention, came to be regarded as significant hidden hostility.”²⁶²

With the intensification of Turkish language courses, the faculty decided to re-appoint the “expelled” instructor Meguerditch Boghossian back to his post.²⁶³ Boghossian returned on October 19, 1915 but his return did not last long.²⁶⁴ On the same

²⁵⁸ Howard Bliss, *Forty-Ninth Annual Report of the Syrian Protestant College to the Board of Trustees 1914-1915*, 20.

²⁵⁹ *ibid.* 20.

²⁶⁰ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, (May 30, 1915), 517.

²⁶¹ *ibid.* 517.

²⁶² “War Annals 5:1915-1916,” *Al Kulliyah* 6, no .6 (March 31, 1920).

²⁶³ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, 447.

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 453.

day, the Mudir el Ma'arif, i.e. Principal of Education, complained to the faculty that “the pronunciation of Turkish as spoken by Armenians varies from the correct pronunciation of the Turks and suggested that in that respect a Turk would better serve the college than an Armenian.”²⁶⁵ The faculty, in consequence, had to initiate new negotiations in order to secure substitute Turkish instructors from Constantinople, acceptable to the Provincial Ottoman director of education²⁶⁶ In the meantime, on recommendation of the Under-Secretary of Education; Hakki Bey was assigned to teach Turkish at the College until the arrival of Suleiman Saib Bey from Constantinople as new instructor.²⁶⁷

The situation of Armenian students at the college was not much better than the situation of their expelled instructors. Besides dismissing Boghossian and Haroutunian, the Ottoman authorities also requested from the faculty a list of the names of all the Armenian students enrolled at the College, and a “similar list including the names, occupations and whereabouts of those Armenians, who were formerly enrolled as students but had graduated or had left the College.”²⁶⁸ The Chief of Police added that the

²⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 453; in his memoirs Edward Nickoley, acting President of the SPC 1919-1920, wrote: “They will not allow us to have our Turkish taught by Armenians as we used to do. Poor old Haroutunian has been displaced and has been relegated to the position of secretary to the President in all matters involving Turkish and there is a great deal of that now.” See Edward Nickoley, “Historic diary written during the year 1917,” *Edward Nickoley Collection*, AA 2.3.3, Box 1, File 2.

²⁶⁶ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, 455.

²⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 482 ; *ibid.*, 502 ; Howard Bliss, *Fiftieth Annual Report of the Syrian Protestant College to the Board of Trustees 1915-1916*, 17.

²⁶⁸ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, 453; similar list, including the names of Armenian students liable for military service, was also requested in March 1918. See *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 5, 62.

request was made “in order to protect the students and not for the purpose of molesting them in any way.”²⁶⁹ Requesting the names of students and organizing statistics was an essential task given by Talaat Pasha, the Minister of Interior, to all the provinces, including Beirut, in order to keep track of the deported and non-deported Armenians.²⁷⁰ Fortunately for some Armenian students, Howard Bliss and the faculty, took a protective decision and refused to hand in the names of the former students and the nurses, and only accepted to submit the names of enrolled students who were under their protection.²⁷¹ Probably Bliss knew well that by handing the names and addresses of the alumni, he might jeopardize their lives particularly at a time of enforced deportations.

Fear and terror led thousands of Beirut residents to regard the SPC as the safest place in the city, and many requests were received by the president asking for food and shelter.²⁷² In the meantime, the small Armenian community of Beirut fortunately escaped deportation, but not harassment. Starting in September 1914, communal properties belonging to Apostolic Armenians were confiscated and the Surp Nishan Church, founded in 1851 and considered to be the heart of the community, was demolished by the Ottoman authorities.²⁷³

²⁶⁹ *ibid.*, 453.

²⁷⁰ Kaiser, 39.

²⁷¹ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, 455; similar incidents took place at other missionary colleges such as Central Turkey College where the president hesitated to give the list of Armenian faculty members in order to protect them from deportation. See Judd W. Kennedy, “American Missionaries in Turkey and Northern Syria and the Development of Central Turkey and Aleppo Colleges, 1874-1967” (BA, College of William and Mary, 2008), 63-64.

²⁷² Howard Bliss, *Forty-ninth Annual Report of the Syrian Protestant College to the Board of Managers 1914-1915*, 14.

²⁷³ Varjabedian, 433-434.

On a political level, charges were made against the college that it “discouraged loyalty to the Ottoman Empire,” and “encouraged Armenian revolutionary measures.”²⁷⁴ Of course, the college did its best to deny such accusations, particularly those made by German officials who wanted to occupy the campus.²⁷⁵ The fact that the United States was helping the Allies with ammunitions and the Armenians of Anatolia through education “have made the Americans a special object of distrust.”²⁷⁶ Assertions were made that American institutions were responsible for all the “Armenian troubles” throughout the empire. As a consequence the college not only denied its involvement, but also denied the significance of the number of Armenian students enrolled in the college.²⁷⁷

In early April 1917, the United States besides declaring war on Germany also ruptured its diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire. Upon this decision, the SPC was immediately surrounded by a cordon of police, and German officials waited for Jemal Pasha’s green light to enter the campus. On the 22nd of April, the Vali of Beirut required President Bliss to suspend all activities and hand over the college to the

²⁷⁴ “Contingencies in the course of the war's progress, February, 1916, The Syrian Protestant College and the Ottoman Government: A forecast of some of the more or less remote contingencies in the course of the war's progress,” *History of SPC and AUB*, AA 1.6.1, Box 2, File 4, (February, 1916).

²⁷⁵ Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut: a Brief History of the University and the Lands which it serves* (Beirut: Khayat's, 1958), 43.

²⁷⁶ “Contingencies in the course of the war's progress,” *History of SPC and AUB*, AA 1.6.1, Box 2, File 4, (February, 1916).

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*

Ottoman authorities.²⁷⁸ Two days later, it was decided to keep the college closed but its properties untouched. Still given the prevailing condition of uncertainty, the college took the decision to destroy many archival documents and Armenian books “which had unfriendly references to the Turks.”²⁷⁹

D. Alumni Letters and War Experiences

After the end of the war, President Howard Bliss asked the alumni to share with the College their war experience. A large number of Armenian students complied with the request and wrote back to the president about their dreadful experience. One of those students was Dr. Haigazun Varvarian who wrote from Constantinople on August 4, 1919 said:

.. During the war I suffered very much, was imprisoned in Constantinople at the beginning of the war, condemned to death, saved by a miracle and afterwards exiled. Then I was sent to the Caucasus front, where they wanted to kill me, but I succeeded in escaping almost from the hands of my murderers. I got to the Caucasus where I was kept for five months as prisoner of war. At the time of the revolution I was saved and began to do my best to relieve the sufferings of my martyred people, until the Bolsheviks came to the Caucasus. Then, because of the Turkish invasion, I fled to the interior of Russia. There too I suffered much at the hands of the Bolsheviks, but I finally fled to Sevastopol. As soon as the Allies entered that city, I returned to Constantinople, from where I returned to the Caucasus with the A.C.R.N.E.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ *Minutes of the Faculties*, Box 4, 589-599.

²⁷⁹ Dodge, "The American University of Beirut, International College and Damascus College, 1910-1948". 8; Dodge, *The American University of Beirut: a brief history of the university and the lands which it serves*, 43; Elizabeth Starkey, "A Talk with Bayard Dodge," *Saudi Aramco World* 23, no. 4 (1972): 11-17.

²⁸⁰ "Accounts by alumni of their war experiences (mainly in Turkish army)," *History of SPC and AUB*, AA: 1.6.1, Box 2, File 6.

In a similar experience Hovsep Tatarian, also mentions that he served the Ottoman army for 16 months.²⁸¹ But unlike his colleague Varvarian, who was sent to the Caucasian front, Tatarian was sent to the Egyptian front where he lost his Medical diploma, and presumably Dr. Kalbian, who was in the Suez relief expedition, found it and sent it to the SPC. In Aug. 1916, the British imprisoned Tatarian, but he was released immediately and allowed to serve in the British army as medical officer. After serving the British army for a year, Tatarian travelled to London to continue his medical studies, but on his way back to Egypt his boat was torpedoed; fortunately he was rescued and was taken by the Japanese to France.²⁸²

Many of the letters described in vivid terms how some Armenian doctors felt towards the Ottoman authorities. Sarkis Semerdjian, for example, wrote of his experience thus:

²⁸¹ Letter from Dr. Hovsep Tatarian sent on April 4, 1919 . See *ibid.*

²⁸² We can also mention the experiences of: Dr. Mugerdich Baghdassarian who was taken prisoner by “the British in the Hejaz and interned at Heliopolis. There he was released on parole and put in charge of medical work at the prisoners camp.” See *Al Kulliyah* 6, no.3 (February 15 1920); Dr. Levon Kurkjian, after graduation, served in the Ottoman army until the armistice, and later moved to the British army. “In 1919 he joined the Armenian sanitary commission in Cilicia, and worked in the Adana hospital until the evacuation.” See *Al Kulliyah* 10, no.9 (July 1924); Dr. Mikael Kuzul-Keshishian during the war suffered imprisonment and deportation, and was obliged to serve in the Ottoman army. See *Al Kulliyah* 10, no.1 (November 1923); Dr. Stepan Keshishian, while serving in Basra, was captured by the British and his diploma was destroyed by the accidents of war. Likewise Levon Husisians’ diploma was burned during the war when his house was destroyed. See *Al Kulliyah* 7, no.6 (April 1921); Dr. Oksen Der Haroutyunian, during the war served in the American Missionary hospital at Van and then for two years was District physician of the Near East Relief at Alexandropol. See *Al Kulliyah* 8, no.4 (February 1922); Dr. Misak Krikorian, lost his entire family and all possessions during the war. While Kegham Seropian lost his diploma during the deportations. See *Al Kulliyah* 7, no.6 (April 1921); Haroutyun Der Ghazarian during the war served at the German Hospital, Marash. There he experienced the execution of 220 Armenians on charges of treason, and he interpreted the hangings as “warning to the Armenian community against any form of resistance to government authority.” See Stanley Elphinstone Kerr. *The Lions of Marash: Personal Experiences with American Near East Relief, 1919-1922* (SUNY Press, 1973), 21.

...Some weeks ago I received your letter and according to your demand I sent a copy of my *varakat nufus* (Identity card). I hope that my Turkish diploma will be secured. I am going to keep it as a memory of the Turkish ruined and disorganized government. If I know that the diploma to given will serve me no more than this I will never get it. If there was the slightest probably that someday I will be obliged to practice under the Turkish government by that diploma, I will tear it into pieces and go there where that rubbish piece of paper will never be needed. I have been in the Turkish army for two years from August 1916 to September 1918. I served as dentist in Jerusalem, Damascus and Nazareth... During my two years military service, I saw in the Turkish army nothing but unrighteousness, the lack of character and discipline, stealing and after all barbarism. I was serving in the army by force, as one of the members of a nation who has been persecuted and tortured for centuries more than Jesus Christ himself; I would never render my service even for a single hour in the army of a savage nation who has left ruins wherever she has put her dirty feet... Lastly, I was in Nazareth, when at a bright morning Sept 19, 1918 the English brave army suddenly occupied the city and thanks God we were all saved. The Turks were planning to kill the Christians in the army especially the Armenian officers and soldiers; but by their terrible defeat this satanic plan remained unfulfilled. I hope that they will never get the chance again to endanger the lives of thousand innocent people. They are more dangerous than cholera microbes...I could not tell anybody my ideas, before else they should hang me; but now I'm sure that their dirty and bloody hands will never touch me. The world is anxiously waiting for the judgment of the great savage nation. I'm going to practice here in Jerusalem as long as my country is not open. As soon as I get the chance to go to my beloved country Armenia I will leave Jerusalem.²⁸³

Armenag Markarian, who served in Konia as captain in the Ottoman army (and was eventually hanged by the Kemalists in 1921) echoed his colleague:

... As you are anxious to know about my circumstances during the war, let me write a few details about my story...When I was working as a general practitioner near Broussa, I was invited to the military as a captain, as all my colleagues in the Turkish army. And sent to Konia as a doctor of mobilization in the railway station. This was on the 14th of November 1914. After nearly six months of service on the 8th of May, 1915, they banished me, taking my military uniform, with the 20 personalities natives of Konia to a town named Sultaniya something 60 miles on the South-East of Konia. I was released from there after 3 ½ months of banishment, in behalf of my being a Protestant, and came back to Konia. I worked here as a general practitioner nearly ten months, when I was called again (in the second time) to the military service in the

²⁸³ Letter sent by Sarkis Semerdjian, from Jerusalem on Sept 4, 1919. See "Accounts by alumni of their war experiences (mainly in Turkish army)," AA: 1.6.1. History of SPC and AUB, Box 2, File 6.

military hospitals here in Konia. And after ten months of service they took again my uniforms by the order of His Highness, the Minister of War, Enver Pasha. And banished me to Der Zor and far away from it. I remained there and passed thirteen months in an Arabian village called El-Buseyra, and ate grass during all the winter. In the beginning of the armistice and on the retreat of the Division of Euphrates, the commander Djemal bey called me into the military service (this was the third time of my military service calling) and with the division I retreated into Ras ul-Ain. They demobilized me after one month of service. And so I returned back to home, on the 1st of February 1919, remaining 25 months in exile. I'm here since that date working as general practitioner ... I'm very sorry I can mention to you several names of our dear friends and classmates who have died during the war. Dr. Vosgan Topalian, Dr. Minas Yarmayan and Dr. Hagop Eminian were killed by Turkish officers. Dr. Haroutyun Babikian has died from Cholera, Dr. Levon Sewny from Typhus, Dr. Sarkis Chilingirian from Typhus.²⁸⁴

Hatred towards the Young Turks and the Ottoman regime was not just expressed by Armenian doctors who suffered during the war, but also by Syrian doctors like Amin Abu Fadel and others. Abu Fadel, during the war served in Hauran and Rayak where he saw “enough of the cruelty and ignorance of the Turks.”²⁸⁵ While in Rayak he insisted on helping the Armenian refugees in order to control the Typhus epidemic, but none of the officials cared until it became uncontrollable. Like Markarian, who mentioned the death of his Armenian classmates, Abu Fadel also mentions in his letter the death of his Syrian classmates: Suleiman Salibi, Abdallah Sawaya and Ali Alam el din.²⁸⁶ If Varvarian, Tatarian, Semerdjian, and Abu Fadel were fortunate enough to survive the war and share their story, other doctors like Gulbenk Gulbenkian were not. While serving at the Urmia Hospital, Gulbenkian told his colleague Dr. Jacob Sargis that all the Armenians at the

²⁸⁴ Letter sent by Armenag Markarian from Konia on 3, August 1919. See “Accounts by alumni of their war experiences (mainly in Turkish army),” *History of SPC and AUB*, AA: 1.6.1, Box 2, File 6.

²⁸⁵ Letter sent by Amin Abu Fadel from Damascus on 20, August 1919. See *ibid.*

²⁸⁶ *ibid.*

hospital were “doomed to be butchered.”²⁸⁷ And obviously Gulbenkian was right in his prediction, since he did not survive the war.²⁸⁸

Although the vast majority of Armenian doctors served in the Ottoman army, there were also few doctors such as Khachadour Bonapartian, who defected from the army and tried to leave the empire. Bonapartian became the personal physician of General Antranig, a freedom fighter also known as “the Garibaldi of the Armenians.”²⁸⁹ With the Kemalist attack on the newly established Armenian republic, Bonapartian became certain that the Allies would not help the Armenians to defend themselves. Nonetheless, he travelled in 1919 to the United States on an official military mission and asked the government to help Armenia with ammunitions and military equipment. “Tell the American women,” he wrote, “that we do not ask them to send an army of their sons and brothers to risk their lives for us. Let Congress give us arms and ammunition, and a few officers, and we shall be able to protect ourselves.”²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ Viscount James Bryce, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-16: documents presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon, Secretary of state for foreign affairs* (HMSO, Printed by Sir Joseph Causton and Sons, 1916), 159.

²⁸⁸ Before his death, Gulbenkian even wrote an article about world peace and said: “If peace at present would mean that the causes which brought the war are swept away, let us have peace. Otherwise, a peace treaty today would be harmful to the interest of permanent peace...The war must go on till it performs its mission; until democratic ideals dominate; until militarism is crushed and German Kultur is rendered harmless; and until the small or dependent nationalities like the Armenians are allowed to breathe freely and to develop unhampered and untrammelled their culture, their civilization in the society of progressive nations. Any peace which does not secure these principles is harmful to humanity. The United States, the most democratic nation, has a great duty before her, the interest of her ideals and therefore the interest of humanity requires her taking an active part in the war until its mission is fulfilled.” See Gulbenk Gulbenkian, “Views on the Present Peace Proposal,” *Armenian Herald* 1, (February 1918): 137-8.

²⁸⁹ The orphanage was located in Mount Lebanon, near the Jounieh bay. See *The New Armenia* 12, no. 3 (March 1920): 36; *NARD journal* 34, no. 11 (June 15 1922): 430; *The Woman Citizen* 4, no. 38 (April 10, 1920).

²⁹⁰ *The Woman Citizen* 4, no. 38 (April 10, 1920).

Besides Bonapartian, there were other doctors like Artin Der Ghazarian who severely criticized Imperialist Europe and emphasized its negative role in the Armenian atrocities. Der Ghazarian was convinced that the Armenians were used as weapons by the imperialist powers, and for half a century they became the pretext used by European and Russian powers to intervene in the Ottoman Empire.²⁹¹ The “cruel, barbarian and oppressive” Turks were driven into a panic of Europe, and took their revenge on the Armenians.²⁹² Therefore, Der Ghazarian advises his countrymen not to walk into the European trap.

E. Conclusion

The First World War dramatically affected the lives of Armenian students and alumni affiliated with the SPC. Like other Ottoman citizens, the alumni served in the army, while the students had to bear the moral and psychological impacts of WWI in general and the Armenian Genocide in particular. In this situation the College did its best to save and protect the campus, and provide the necessary humanitarian aid to famine sufferers and genocide survivors. Politically, the College preferred to sacrifice some of its archival collections and Armenian books, and even to expel its Armenian instructors in order to please Ottoman authorities or to prevent trouble. But at the same time the safety of the students and the alumni was much more important than any military order. Bliss and his colleagues vehemently refused to give the list of Armenian students and alumni in order to protect them. In the end, the war altered not only student

²⁹¹ Mabel Evelyn Elliott, *Beginning Again at Ararat* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1924) 67-69.

²⁹² *ibid.*, 67-69.

lives but also the very essence of student unions and student identities. The multiethnic empire was destroyed, nation states were created, and national divisions became apparent.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Drawing extensively on archival material housed in the AUB's central library, this study aimed to reconstruct Armenian student life at the SPC during the span covered by the thesis, evaluating, in particular, the impact of the education they received in shaping their political and national identities. At the turn of the 20th century Apostolic and Protestant Armenians, in equal proportions, attended the SPC to study at its medical department. Many of these students who came to the College, were already aware of the many turbulent political currents which agitated the Ottoman Empire to which they belonged, but it was at the College that they were able to develop a more developed political consciousness owing to the relative freedom which enabled them, although often in secret, to discuss socio-economic and political developments as these affected their community. But it was not this factor which, exclusively, attracted underprivileged Armenian students to the SPC; rather it was the prevailing notion that a medical education was the best avenue for the attainment of a better economic future and social advancement

Even though the SPC failed in its mission to convert large numbers of Muslims and non-Muslims to Protestantism, nonetheless it was successful in graduating a large number of properly trained professionals including doctors, nurses and pharmacists of various ethnicities. While the college did not advocate separatist nationalism or the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, it did foster discussion of nationalist ideals, democratic values, individual rights, and Western interpretations of progress. The

students were mainly influenced by the American history textbooks, which played a pivotal role in affecting their academic formation and molding their identities. The college provided a relatively free atmosphere for the discussion of European liberal thought which necessarily exposed them to the notions of patriotism, freedom and individual rights. As Robert Daniel argues “such experience made students receptive to the blandishments of political nationalism.”²⁹³ Additionally Armenian students were exposed to the writings of prominent 19th century Armenian novelists and poets. Some of these literary figures were considered to be revolutionary propagandists and ardent patriots advocating armed resistance for the emancipation of Ottoman Armenia, while others were the framers of the nationalist historiography. These Armenian books, donated by Constantine Gamsaragan and Simon Zavarian, not only motivated students to learn more about Armenian nationalist historiography but also inspired students to organize an Armenian Student Union at the SPC which had educational and implicit nationalistic objectives. Besides reading these textbooks and the donated books, Armenian students were also directly influenced by the opinion of their professors, such as Harvey Porter, who considered the Armenians intellectually better than everyone else in the Ottoman Empire. As a consequence, ideas of racial, mental and economic superiority cultivated a strong sense of national pride among students.

In 1902 Howard Bliss was inaugurated as the second president of the SPC. During his presidency a new era began in the history of the College, an era characterized by socio-political and religious freedom. Such freedom reached its climax after the Young Turk revolution of 1908. The euphoric state created by the revolution, gave students the chance to organize new societies and “freely” discuss politics and public affairs. These

²⁹³ Daniel, 86.

students considered themselves to be the saviors of the empire from ignorance and backwardness. Their main objective became not to break up the empire into small nation states, but rather to reform it. In principal students abstained from discussing political topics, in relation to the Ottoman Empire, and their discussions were confined to literary, cultural and scientific issues. Such societies and publications became the indicators for the way SPC education and censorship had affected the formation of student identities and mentalities. One of those societies was the Armenian Students' Union established on December 8, 1908.

The Young Turk revolution obliged the college to change its position, from outright rejection to grudging acceptance of the creation of the Armenian Student Union. Before the revolution Armenians at the college operated secretly, and presumably even published a student paper in their language. The organizers of the union smuggled, from Beirut to Anatolia, censored Armenian revolutionary books and pamphlets. They even organized small gatherings in the dormitories and discussed socio-political, historical and literary topics. At the same time, they tried not to arouse neither the suspicion of the College nor that of the authorities. The SPC faculty, in order to avoid the attention of Ottoman officials, openly opposed the formation of the Union on the basis that it was likely to be highly politicized and would have an ethno-national character. But with the Young Turk revolution the official Union was established, and attracted the vast majority of the Armenian students at the college. Its main objectives were to encourage the love of Armenian history and language, and organize extracurricular activities to entertain the students and help them financially. This dynamic was cut short, however, as WWI broke out, during which over one hundred Armenian medical alumni of the SPC served in the Ottoman army and in various hospitals.

When the war came to an end, the Armenian Student Union resumed its activities. Besides “aiming to establish a brotherly union among the Armenian students of the college, to inculcate a spirit of mutual help in the members,” the Union also worked to keep alive the ethnic and national consciousness of the newly formed Armenian refugee community of Beirut.²⁹⁴ Fortnightly literary meetings were organized to cultivate in the students “the power of forcible speaking and accurate thinking.”²⁹⁵ At the same time distinguished intellectuals from the community were invited to give lectures, and students were given the opportunity to discuss the importance of language and the essentiality of patriotism.

The SPC did not even wait for the Mudros Armistice to change the curriculum and place the Ottoman-Turkish language in a subordinate position.²⁹⁶ Interestingly enough the first person who objected the change and severed his relation with the College was the Armenian instructor of Ottoman, Mr. Haroutyunian.²⁹⁷ On a political level, Howard Bliss was asking President Wilson “to study the wishes of the Syrian and Palestine

²⁹⁴ *Al Kulliyah* 1, no.2 (March 1910): 57.

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*, 57.

²⁹⁶ Minutes of the Faculties, Box 5, (Oct 2, 1918), 122.

²⁹⁷ *ibid.*, 219; The Armenians of the SPC valued the Ottoman-Turkish language greatly, particularly after the Young Turk revolution. In this respect Levon Levonian wrote: “In the Syrian Protestant College a special class was formed of some thirty students who felt their need to study Turkish after the constitution was established... I’m of the opinion that the insistence upon a common language is the greatest means of unifying the different nationalities, because if all classes are provided with a common language, it will be easy for the government and the leading men to reach the people and try to make the necessary improvement among them. May I predict that new language will make a new man, a common language a community. Now Arabic, Greek and Armenian speaking people have their communities but then they will all come to form a larger and more useful community, still keeping their national languages to perpetuate their existence as separate nations.” Levon Levonian, “The Teaching of Turkish in the New Era,” *Al Kulliyah* 1, no.4, (May 1910).

peoples before getting committed to any too definite plan for their administration.”²⁹⁸ And the College was allowing its students to form back their union and participate actively in extracurricular activities.

On Dec 16, 1919, the Armenian Students Union was allowed to resume its activities.²⁹⁹ In these new circumstances, the Union worked to create a social circle for the students and help them practice their mother tongue. Every fortnight, regular meetings were organized with an average attendance of over 40 students.³⁰⁰ At times distinguished Armenian intellectuals from Beirut and SPC professors were invited to give lectures, while at other times the speakers were students who showed great zeal in developing their mother tongue.³⁰¹ Just as before, various literary, commercial and historic topics were discussed. But this time it was clearly stated that they believe in “sublimity of patriotism” and realize the supreme need of the Armenian nation to their efforts.³⁰² To help the “nation” and the victims of the genocide, they organized fund raising campaigns. Some of these campaigns included: offering sum of money to Armenian girls at the Ghazir orphanage, helping deportees in Aintab by giving them the

²⁹⁸ Charles Crane, “The Row in Syria “ *Our World*, (Aug. 1922): 6.

²⁹⁹ Minutes of the Faculties, Box 5, 295.

³⁰⁰ Lutfi Alianak, *Al Kulliyah* 6, no.11, (July 1, 1920).

³⁰¹ In one of the lectures, Prof. Brown spoke about his journey to the Caucasus and “the students were reminded of the marvelous service and the bountiful help that the Near East Relief has given to the people of that unhappy region.” See *Al Kulliyah* 9, no.4, (Feb 1923); *Al Kulliyah* 9, no.7, (May 1923).

³⁰² Lutfi Alianak, *Al Kulliyah* 6, no.11, (July 1, 1920).

money which was set aside by the Union for entertainment.³⁰³

The Union subscribed to some Armenians newspapers, to help the students improve their language and remain up to date with critical political events. By 1924, when the number of member students exceeded 80, the students, besides organizing a Musical group, started publishing a student gazette by the name of “Sevan” to improve their Armenian writing skills.³⁰⁴ They also found willing helpers from the Armenian community of Beirut to assist in recovering the destroyed books of the war.³⁰⁵ The students also worked to establish close relationships with various sister societies abroad. But more importantly they sought to improve their cooperation with other societies and organizations at the college in order to “maintain harmony through individuality and unity through diversity in social orders.”³⁰⁶ And they expressed their sincere gratitude to the professors and the students who were showing sympathy and goodwill towards the suffering Armenians.

During the academic year of 1922-23, 133 Armenian students representing 14% of the total number of students were attending the university. Compared to the pre-war

³⁰³ *ibid.*; “In appreciation of the Dr. Porter’s services to the University, the Union instead of placing a wreath on his grave, gave an equivalent sum as scholarship for a year to an orphan student in the Armenian National school in the city.” *Al Kulliyah* 9, no.4, (Feb 1923); “West Hall has been the scene of some interesting concerts and entertainments this years, but probably the most interesting given in 1926 was the one by the Blind Armenian orphans of Ghazir. 40 blind boys and girls, dressed in Khaki colors of the Near East relief orphanages, and each child held his violin. Besides singing in English, various Armenian folk-songs were part of the program which dazzled the audience.” See *Al Kulliyah* 12, no.3, (Jan 1926).

³⁰⁴ *Al Kulliyah* 10, no.4, (Feb 1924); the musical group consisted of 5 members: 1 pianist and 4 violinists. The group sang selections from Armenian music and played pieces of European music. See *ibid.*

³⁰⁵ *Al Kulliyah* 6, no.11, (July 1, 1920); *Al Kulliyah* 7, no.8, (June 1921)

³⁰⁶ *ibid.*

period, and as a consequence to the genocide and the closure of the American missionary schools in Anatolia, there was an exponential decrease in the number of Medical students, while an exponential increase in the number of Preparatory students. Only in the schools of Nursing and Dentistry Armenian students still represented an ethnic majority compared to pre-war period.³⁰⁷ With the influx of large number of refugee Armenian students to the Preparatory Department, the newly organized Armenian students Union applied to the faculty with a proposal regarding the teaching of Armenian language to these students.³⁰⁸ But the case was delayed, until the appointment of Bayard Dodge as president of the University in 1923. With his appointment, Dodge and the faculty accepted the proposal of the Armenian students and appointed Vahram Ardzruni as instructor. After various ups and downs in the instructorship of the language, in 1928, it was decided that the faculty does not acknowledge Armenian to be officially an obligatory language for Armenian students. Every student was free to choose whether to learn it or not and each week around 8 hours were assigned to teach the language after 4 pm.³⁰⁹ Bayard Dodge greatly appreciated the efforts of the Armenian students who were trying to preserve their historic heritage and language by taking extracurricular classes.³¹⁰ But his main concern was to teach the Armenian students to cooperate with their Syrian colleagues.

³⁰⁷ *Al Kulliyah* 10, no. 2, (Dec 1923).

³⁰⁸ *25th Anniversary of the Armenian Students Union*, 107-08.

³⁰⁹ *ibid.*, 107-08.

³¹⁰ Bayard Dodge *Report of the President of the American University of Beirut for the Sixty-Third Year, 1928-1929*, 5; Dodge described that “education is a racial passion for an Armenian. He or she is willing to make the sacrifice of his life to be educated. No race has paid a higher price, in blood and sweat, than the Armenian for an education.” See *The New Near East* 6, (October 1921): 13.

Appendix I

LIST OF ARMENIAN STUDENTS 1885-1918³¹¹

	Last Name	First Name	Graduation	General Info
1	Haroutyunian	Samuel, K.	BA 1885	Assistant editorial work for Armenian and Turkish papers; He worked also with the American Mission in Constantinople 1905; Instructor at the AUB 1912-1917.
2	Azoyan	Sarkis, B.	MD 1887	Born in Adana; Served in Adana as General Practitioner; Deceased during WWI.
3	Sarkissian	Manuel,	MD 1887	Last position, physician to the municipality of Antioch; Deceased 1900.
4	Hagopian	Michael,	MD1888	Born in Aintab, 1867; After staying at the Hallajian Orphanage in Aintab, English missionaries sent him to Beirut to study medicine; Served in Turkey, Lebanon and the United States; Served at the German Hospital in Mamuret el Aziz 1905-1911.
5	Najarian	Kaloust,	MD 1888	Last Position, assistant surgeon in the German Hospital, Marash; Killed in 1920 by the Kemalist forces with his family in Marash (Marash Gam Kermanig, page 911)
6	Sarkissian	Kevork,	MD 1888	Protestant; Married, 2 Boys,4 Girls: Last Address Aleppo.
7	Barsumian	Baghdasar,	Ph.M.1889	Last position, pharmacist in Aintab; Deceased during WWI.
8	Elmayan	Melkon, Asadour	BA 89, MD 1893	Last Address, Charletonbourg, Germany 1905-1909.
9	Apelyan	Sulayman,	MD 1890	Served in Antioch.
10	Bairamian	Toros,	MD 1890	Served as government medical office in Pathos, Cyprus.
11	Jamjian	Krikor, G.	MD 1890	Private practitioner at Ada Bazar; Deceased 1908
12	Jamijian	Hagop,	Ph.M. 1891	Director Pharmacie Apollon, Smyrna.
13	Bezjian	Moses, A.	Ph.M. 1893	Born in Aintab; Pharmacist at the American Mission Hospital in Aintab 1905-1908.

³¹¹ Sources Include: *The American University of Beirut Directory of Alumni, 1870-1952*, (Beirut: Alumni Association, 1953); American University of Beirut. *Who's Who, 1870-1923*, (Beirut: Printed at the American Press, 1924.

14	Takian	Krikor, G.	Ph.M. 1893, MD 1907	Born in Talas, 1877; Protestant; Practitioner, Asia Minor, 1907-14.
15	Nakashian	Avedis, Sarkis	MD 1894	BA Aintab College; married 1898: 1 boy, 3 girls; Surgeon and Oculist; performed over ten thousand operations, was deported and imprisoned more than once; Author of Memories of journey Through Greece, Italy, Switzerland and Bulgaria, Constantinople, 1911; contributed many Medical, Social and Political Articles, mostly in Armenian and Turkish papers (Avedaper, Rahnuma, Jamanag, Joghovour); Member Armenian Med. Soc. of Constantinople; last address: Rue Nubar Pasha, Cairo. Deceased.
16	Abcarius	Amin, Yuhanna	Ph.M. 1894	I Believe they were of Armenian Descent.
17	Abcarius	Nasib. Yuhanna	Ph.M. 1894	
18	Klujian	Nigoghos,	MD 1896	Last Address, Bab-Sidra, Alexandria, Egypt.
19	Nazarian	Armenak, K.	Ph.M. 1896	Deceased in Aintab, 1908.
20	Yacoubian	Vahram, Krikor	BA 1897	Last Address, Shari-ul-ramel, Cairo, Egypt.
21	Kuzulhashishian	Mikhael, H.	MD 1898	Last heard from, Malatia, 1913.
22	Kevorkian	Dikran, Jacob	Ph.M. 1898	Deceased in Jaffa, 1899.
23	Yacoubian	Senekerim, Philip	BA 1898	Merchant; Last known address Heliopolis, Egypt.
24	Arslan	Hovhannes, K.	MD 1899	Assistant physician at the American Hospital in Caesarea 1906-1908.
25	Eumurian	Diran, K.	MD 1899	Last Position physician at Balik Kessir, Vilayet of Sivas; Deceased during WWI.
26	Hekimian	Khosrov, H.	MD 1899	Worked as an Operating Surgeon in Trebizond; Deceased during WWI.
27	Arevian	Solomon, Garbed	Ph.M. 1899	Worked as a manager of a pharmacy in Aleppo and Urfa; Anesthetist to Dr. E.D. Shepard, 1899-1900; Also he was Pharmacist at the American Hospital in Aintab 1904-1905.
28	Najarian	Samuel, Ohan	Ph.M. 1899	Served as a Med. Corps in the Turkish army at Monastir, 1899-1905; Later he moved to Salonika in 1907, Acre, Palestine in 1908-1918 and Marash in 1919.
29	Ekmekjian	George, K.	MD 1900	Born in Aleppo, 1876; Medical Corps in the Egyptian Army, Sawakin, Sudan, 1905-12; Served at the Military Hospital, Alexandria, Egypt. 1913.
30	Der-Markarian	Vahan, Nigoghos	Ph.M. 1900	Born in 1878; Last address Aleppo, Syria.

31	Nakkashian	Nerses, Sarkis	Ph.M. 1900	Last Known Address, Bible House, Constantinople.
32	Babikian	Garabed, Babik	MD 1901	BA 1897, Aintab College; Married in 1912 , and had 2 boys and 1 Girl; He was a private practitioner in Khandak st. Aleppo.
33	Nalbandian	Nazaret,	MD 1901	
34	Bairamian	Iskandar, Kevork	Ph.M. 1901	Last Known address , Khandak St. Aleppo.
35	Edzadjadian	Reuben, Bedros	Ph.M 1901	Protestant; Pharmacist, druggist and dealer in Antiquities; Married in 1905 and had 1 Boy and 1 Girl: Deceased in 1930.
36	Ekmekjian	Dikran, Garabed	BA 1901	Business executive; Born in Aleppo, Syria, 1880; B.A. 1901; Protestant; married to Aznive Mukhtarian; was appointed as translator in the Sudan Gov. at Haifa, transferred to Wad Medani, Singa, then to Port Sudan, 1905-1915; head clerk, Welcome Research laboratories, Khartoum, 1915-18; head clerk, Judicial Dept. 1918-21; secretary, Ministry of Justice 1921-24; secretary, Cadre Commission 1925-29; appointed in the Railways Dept. 1930; secretary, Board of Management of Iraqi State Railways 1939-48. Received M.B.E. 1923, from British Govt. Add: c/o Mr. Y. Ekmekji, B.P. 1458, Beirut, Lebanon. Tel.: 38-77.
37	Arakelian	Antranig,,Garabed	MD 1902	
38	Aroyan	Yeghia, Garabed	MD 1902	Born in Aintab, 1875; BA 1896, Central Turkey College married in 1905, and had 4 boys and 2 girls: Municipal Doctor in Beredjik 1903-1904; German Hospital Urfa; Turkish army ambulance hospital , Iraq front 1914-15.
39	Babikian	Harutyun, Hagop	MD 1902	Private Practitioner in Aleppo, Deceased during WWI.
40	Der-Markarian	Apkar, Nigoghos	MD 1902	Last Known Address, Cairo, Egypt.
41	Jebejian	Avedis, Hovhannes	MD 1902	BA 1896, Aintab College, studied medicine at the University of Berne,1905; Last Address Khandak,st. Aleppo.
42	Keshishian	Khosrov, Hampartsum	Ph.M 1902	Deceased in Malatia in 1915.
43	Kurajian	Karekin, Kevork	Ph.M. 1902	Born in Palu.
44	Raphaelian	Sinan, Raphael	Ph.M. 1902	Probably from Caesarea.
45	Kyurkjian	Setrak, Sarkis	BA 1902	Agent Singer Sewing Machines; Last Known address

				New York,USA.
46	Ghazarian	Mihran, Sarkis	MD 1903	
47	Bezjian	Jacob, Alexandre	MD 1903	Deceased in 1904.
48	Bohjalian	Kevork, Bedros	MD 1903	Tarsus
49	Churukian	Serop Hovsep	MD 1903	Adana and Tarsus 1905-10; Egypt 1911-12; Deceased 1932.
50	Hekimian	Arsen, Kevork	MD 1903	Born in Kessab in 1880. He received his BA from Central Turkey College (also Known as Aintab College) and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1903. After graduating he served in Kessab as a physician, and his last position was captain in the Turkish army during the First World War. He was married to Miss G. Enjejikian, but in May, 1915 he was shot.
51	Kessabian	Hovhannes, Krikor	MD 1903	Deceased during WWI.
52	Mamlian	Setrak, Giragos	MD 1903	Municipal physician, "Utmaniyah" Adana.
53	Poladian	Yesayi, Avedis	MD 1903	Last Address, Jounieh, Lebanon.
54	Tobjian	Noris, Toros	MD 1903	Deceased 1919.
55	Movsesian	Pilibos, Movses	Ph.M 1903	Pharmacist in Kharput, 1905-08; Last Known address Philadelphia, USA.
56	Mugurian	Manuel	Ph.M 1903	Pharmacist in Asia Minor 1911-13; Last Address, Egypt.
57	Ohan	William, Joseph	BA 1903	Clergyman; Born in Seirt; BA 1903; B.D. ,McCorryllick Theological Seminary - Chicago, 1910; Went to U.S. 1907; naturalized citizen 1912; pastor, 11th. Ch., 1910-16; Bethany Ch. since Sept.1916, dedicated 80,000 dollars addition to Church edifice; served as a four-minute man, World War in Red Cross and patriotic drives. Moderator Presbytery of Chicago, 1929-30; instructor in Arabic, McCormick Theol. Sem. 3 yrs.; Director Chicago Bible Soc.; trustee Chicago Ch. Foundn. Republican. Mason (K.T. 32nd deg); Clubs Logan Squarz Kiwanis. Lecturer on «Life in the Holy Lands»and regarded as authority on that subject. Author of: «Bible Stories» in Children's Activities Mag.; Column writer for the Sunday School World.
58	Arslanian	Kevork	MD 1904	Born in Aintab, 1877; BA 1900 from Central Turkey College; Physician in the Turkish Army 1916-1920; Beirut 1920-1930; Catholic.
59	Hampartsumian	Nishan, Megurdich	MD 1904	Traveled to France in 1913.

60	Kalinian	Khoren, Mardim	MD 1904	Served in Mamuret al Aziz; Last Address Alexandria, Egypt.
61	Ouzounian	Garabed	MD 1904	American Mission Hospital in Cairo, 05-09; Medical officer in Sudan 1909-13.
62	Torian	Aram, Sarkis	MD 1904	Last position physician in Kokson, Marash.
63	Yarmayan	Minas, Garabed	MD 1904	Born in Tokat, Asia Minor. He received his Medical Degree in 1904 from the Syrian Protestant College. During the First World War, he served in the Aziziye Hospital as captain in the Turkish army, and was shot at the courtyard of the hospital in June, 1915.
64	Turekian	Karen, Toros	Ph.M. 1904	Pharmacist in Urfa.
65	Krikorian	Samuel, Hagop	BA 1904	
66	Minas	Minas, Setrak	BA 1904	
67	Baghdoyan	Nerses, Manoug	MD 1905	Born in Aintab, 1880; Private practitioner 1906-1912; served in the Turkish army 1912-1918; Director of the Euphrates hospital 1912-13; Surgeon at the Military hospital in Aintab 1914-1915; Director and surgeon American Relief hospital Aleppo, 1918-19; US army 1921-1934; served in the civilian conservation corps 1934-1946.
68	Eminian	Hagop, Serovpe	MD 1905	Born in Rhodes in 1878. He received his BA in 1899 from Anatolia College and his Medical Degree in 1905 from the Syrian Protestant College. His last position was teacher in hygiene and general practitioner in Merzifoun, Asia Minor, but during the First World War he was murdered in 1915.
69	Hadidian	Hovhannes, M.	MD 1905	Born in Aintab, 1877; Physician at the American Mission Hospital in Aintab; Assistant Surgeon at the Turkish hospital 1910-1919; Arrived Beirut in 1920.
70	Kamburian	Hovhannes, H.	MD 1905	Born in Kharput; BA Euphrates College; Left to the USA.
71	Kellayan	Yakub, K.	MD 1905	Born in Aintab, after practicing in Aintab 1910-19 left to the USA; Gregorian.
72	Mahdessian	Hagop, Sarkis	MD 1905	

73	Markarian	Armenag,G.	MD 1905	Born in Aintab, married: children: 3 sons, 2 daughters; was Captain in Turkish Army Medical Corps, later practiced in Konia. Hanged by the Turks during Armenian massacres, 1921.
74	Melidonian	Levon,V.	MD 1905	Born in Zeytun, Last position was physician at the municipality of Zeytun; Protestant.
75	Sewny	Levon, Karekin	MD 1905	Born in Sivas to an Armenian Protestant family. He received his Medical Degree in 1905, and his last position was surgeon at the Armenian National Hospital and visiting surgeon at the governmental hospital in Sivas, Asia Minor. During the First World War he was deceased from typhus.
76	Tahmazian	Zareh, K.	MD 1905	Born in Divirigi; Protestant.
77	Tokajian	Hagop,S.	MD 1905	Private Practitioner in Salima, Lebanon.
78	Topalian	Vosgan, K.	MD 1905	Born in Marash in 1878 to an Armenian Apostolic Family. He received his BA from Central Turkey College and his MD in 1905 from the Syrian Protestant College. During the war, he served as captain in the Turkish army at the Aziziye Hospital, and was shot in Erzinga in June, 1915.
79	Attrarian	Abraham, Issa	Ph.M. 1905	BA, Central Turkey College; Pharmacist and Surgical Assistant at the German medical Mission hospital 1908-14.
80	Hampartsumian	Karnig,	Ph.M. 1905	Born in Beirut; Gregorian; Deceased in Beirut.
81	Shakarian	Hovagim, Hovhannes	Ph.M. 1905	Born in Sharshamba; Gregorian; Pharmacist in Sivas , 1906; Pharmacist at the American Hospital in Talas, Asia Minor.
82	Altunian	Asadur, Melkon	MD 1906	Born in Marsowan, 1883; practitioner in Samsun 1907-1919; moved to New Jersey; Gregorian
83	Chilingirian	Sarkis, Krikor	MD 1906	Born in Banderma, Asia Minor in 1884 to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his Medical Degree in 1906 from the Syrian Protestant College, and was deceased in the Dayr el Zor desert during the First World War as part of the Armenian Genocide.
84	Daghlian	Parnag,T.	MD 1906	Born in Amasia, 1879; Protestant; BA from Central Turkey College

85	Der-Ghazarian	Artin, Garabed	MD 1906	Born in Marash, received his BA from Tarsus College in 1901; Assistant surgeon at the German Hospital in Marash 1914-1920; & Surgeon at the Military Hospital 1915-1919; Surgeon at the American Hospital, Adana, 1920-1921; Post graduate course, Frankfurt, Surgery and Gynecology 1922; Surgeon at the American Hospital Latakia, Syria, 1923-1925; worked also as General Practitioner in Aleppo, Syria; published Articles in Armenian papers.
86	Der-Boghosian	Haroutyun, Gabriel	MD 1906	Born in Aintab, 1878; BA from Central Turkey College; Deceased in 1934.
87	Der-Ghevontian	Artin,	MD 1906	Born in Marash, BA from Tarsus College.
88	Der-Ghevontian	Hovhannes,	MD 1906	Born in Aleppo, and practiced there after graduation.
89	Krajian	Kevork, Sarkis	MD 1906	Born in Aintab, 1880; Gregorian; Deceased during WWI.
90	Missirian	Garabed, Kevork	MD 1906	Born in Aintab, 1883; Central Turkey College; Protestant.
91	Torkomian	Levon, D.	MD 1906	Born in Sivas, last position internist in Sivas; deceased during WWI; Gregorian.
92	Antreasian	Karekin, Bedros	BC 1906	Ordon, Black Sea.
93	Sarrafiian	Samuel, George	BC 1906	Merchant and commissioner, collector of ancient art objects, Beirut, Syria; Protestant; Married in 1909, 1 Boy, 2 Girls; Travelled Palestine and the Egypt; Made special study of the Archeology of the country.
94	Bezirjian	Diran, Haroutyun	MD 1907	Born in Adana; Director of the Municipal hospital in Cilicia, 1918-20; Deceased in 1941.
95	Bulbulian	Garabed,	MD 1907	Born in Tokat in 1883; BA Anatolia College; married: one daughter; Author of «Common Sense in Hygiene Living».
96	Diranian	Hagazun, Bedros	MD 1907	
97	Der Haroutyunian	Oksen, Arshag	MD 1907	Born in Van, 1882; M.D. 1907; Ph.M. 1902, Imperial Med. College; practitioner Van, Asia Minor, 1907-13; Armenian Red Cross Pharmacy, Pera, Istanbul, 1921.
98	Donikian	Puzant, Parsegh	MD 1907	Born in Gemrek; BA Antaolia College; Protestant.
99	Ghazarian	Vahan, Hovhannes	MD 1907	Gregorian; BA Anatolia College; Deceased during WWI.

100	Gulbenkian	Gulbenk, Kevork	MD 1907	Born in Talas, Asia Minor in 1883 to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his BA from Anatolia College in 1903 and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1907. He worked as practitioner in Talas from 1907 to 1913, and was deceased on the Russian front during the First World War.
101	Halebian	Lutfi, Haroutyun	MD 1907	Born in Aintab in 1882 to a Protestant family. He received his BA from Central Turkey College in 1902 and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1907. He worked as practitioner in Aintab and Malatya from 1907 to 1914, and served as captain in the Turkish army during the war and was known as Sir Tabib Lutfi. He was shot on July, 1915 at the Erzinga road with his friend Dr. Hovhannes Terzian. From his family , only his sister and her fiancée L. Levonian survived the Armenian Genocide , and they settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, USA.
102	Khayan	Hagop, D.	MD 1907	Born in Hajin, 1881; BA1902, St. Paul's College; Physician, Hajin, Adana, Asia Minor, 1907-19.; He served in Adana to help the victims of the 1909 massacres; during WWI he served in the Ottoman Army as physician. (source Hajeni Entanour Badmutyun page 236)
103	Melikian	Garabed, Kevork	MD 1907	Born in Arapgir; BA Euphrates College; Deceased in Palou,1915.
104	Nizibian	Senekerim, Haroutyun	MD 1907	Born in Aintab; BA Central Turkey College; Gregorian; Served in Alexandretta; Deceased 1929.
105	Sahakian	Sarkis, Megurdich	MD 1907	Born in Bourdur, Gregorian, also served in Bourdur; Deceased in 1927.
106	Seradarian	Armenag, K.	MD 1907	Born in Sivas; Protestant; Served in Sivas ; After graduating he returned to his hometown, to serve his countrymen without racial or religious discrimination (Source Garoyan, 91)During WWI he served in Tokat,
107	Sewny	Armen, Karekin	MD 1907	Born in Sivas 1881; BA 1901 from Anatolia College; Practitioner in Sivas 1907-1910; traveled to Paris 1910-1912.
108	Takian	Krikor, Ghazar	MD 1907	Born in Talas; Protestant.
109	Cherkezian	Dikran, Garabed	Ph.M. 1907	Born in Changri, Asia Minor, 1881;BA 1903, Anatolia College; Gregorian; Pharmacist in Konia, 1907-12.

110	Chorbajian	Arshag, Giragos	Ph.M. 1907	Born in Marash; BA Central Turkey College; Gregorian; Last Known address Egypt.
111	Ishkhanian	Nerses.	Ph.M 1907	Born in Aintab; Protestant; BA Central Turkey College; Served in Aintab 1907-11; Married to Beatrice Karamanoukian ; Owner of Pharmacie du Liban, in Aley.
112	Urghanjian	Guros, Khachadour	Ph.M. 1907	Born in Amasia; Gregorian; Returned to Amasia in 1907.
113	Garabedian	Aziz, Selim	BA 1907	Publicity expert & journalist; born in Seghert, Armenia, Oct. 21st. 1888; protestant; B.A. 1907, M.A. 1912; taught at the American Boys' School, Tripoli, Lebanon, 1907; later moved to Egypt, joined Sudan Finance Dept. under Sa'id Pasha Shocair, until 1911; appointed editor of the «Egyptian Daily Post», and Prof. of English at the Coptic & National Colleges, Cairo, 1911-1912; appointed asst. Cashier, Vacuum Oil Co., 1913; promoted to chief of the secretarial & filing depts. of Vacuum Oil Co., 1918-23; advertising manager of Soc. An. des Drogueries d 'Egypte, 1923-28; advert. manager of Chernlas dept. stores & Messrs. Egyptian & British Trading Co., '1929-39; served in British Army 1940-42; advert. manager of Eastern Co. (Matossian) 1942-48; journalist & publicity, expert since 1949; holds a share in a pharmaceutical business; secretary of the AU.B. Alumni Assoc. of Cairo for the last 22 yrs.; author of numerous articles in various magazines & newspapers in Egypt. Home: Ades Building, Elfy Bey Street, Cairo, Egypt. Telephone: 56228.
114	Terzian	Haroutyun, Giragos	BA 1907	Born in Dikyarbakir; Gregorian; Instructor at the AUB 1907-1910; Student Mechanical Engineering , 1910-1912; Deceased in Philadelphia.
115	Krikorian	Armenag, Garabed	BC 1907	Born in Damascus, 1884; Gregorian; Chief clerk of Vacuum Oil Co., 1910-1913.
116	Beshlian	Hagop, K.	MD 1908	Born in Urfa in 1881; BA 1903 from Central Turkey College; Gregorian; served at the Turkish hospital in Urfa ,1913.
117	Churajian	Melkon, Stepan	MD 1908	Born in Diyarbakir 1880; Protestant; BA 1902 from Euphrates college.

118	Hekimian	Zeroun, K.	MD 1908	Born in Kessab in 1886 to a Protestant family. He received his BA in 1903 from Central Turkey College and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1908. His last position was captain in the Turkish army, and was shot in Antioch during the First World War.
119	Hovnanian	Philip, Hagop	MD 1908	B.A. 1903, St. Paul's College, Tarsus. Was private practitioner, Khandak St., Aleppo, Syria. Deceased, Aleppo, 1936.
120	Kalustian	Vahan, M.	MD 1908	Born in Marash 1885; BA 1904 from Anatolia College; Protestant; Demonstrator of Anatomy and Prosector of Surgery at AUB, 1908-1909; Practitioner in Adana, 1911-13.
121	Khalfian	Garabed, Sarkis	MD 1908	BA 1901 from Central Turkey College; Was assistant physician at the American mission hospital, Aintab 1909; Prisoner of war in Egypt 1919-1920.
122	Mahdessian	Hovsep, H.	MD 1908	Born in Aintab 1884; Gregorian; BA 1904 from Central Turkey College; Physician in Asia Minor 1909-1913; last Address USA.
123	Demrijian	Kevork, H.	Ph.M. 1908	BA Central Turkey College; Pharmacist in Beirut.
124	Guzelimyan	Nerses, Haroutyun	Ph.M. 1908	BA from Central Turkey College; Protestant; Last Address Anglo-American Pharmacy, Cairo, Egypt.
125	Kulekjian	Melkon, G.	Ph.M. 1908	Born in Kharput 1881; Protestant; Pharmacist in Kharput, 1910-14; Last Address Philadelphia.
126	Kulunjian	Rosa, Kevork	Nursing 1908	Beirut Mission Hospital, 1909; Dr. Milton's hospital, Cairo, 1910-11; Married and went to America.
127	Maksoudian	Ossana, Assadour	Nursing 1908	Born in Marash 1887; Protestant; Served at the AUB hospital in 1909 Also served at different hospitals in Marash 1909-1923; in Hama 1923-1925 and later in Aleppo.
128	Takvorian	Roupen,	BA 1908	Dental Surgeon in 1913 ;served as Instructor at the American School in Mardin 1908-1911; contributed, «Cyprus Armenians Past & Present», Armenian Journal, Cairo, 1915, «The Dashnagist Organization», 1919; during war was in Cyprus & spent much time in Armenian journalism to help the cause of Armenian Independence & Armenian Refugees & Orphans. Address, Nicosia, Cyprus.

129	Utijdian	Hrant, Apisoghom	BA 1908	Retired government official; born in Nicosia, Cyprus, August 22, 1889; BA 1908; Protestant; married; children: Elizabeth, Aris; Lt. British Army in Constantinople, 1920-24; served with British government for 40 years as translator, censor, press officer, and army Intelligence officer.
130	Utijdian	Vahram,	BA 1908	Retired business executive; b. Nicosia, Cyprus, July 7, 1888; single; B.A. 1908, B.C. 1910; served with Socony Vacuum Co. in responsible capacities for a number of years in Constantinople and Beirut. Address: Nicosia, Cyprus.
131	Baron-Vartian	Nishan, G.	MD 1909	BA Anatolia College; Born in kerassunde in 1883; Gregorian.
132	Seraidarian	Boghos,	MD 1909	Born in Sivas; Physician in Asia Minor, 1911-1914; Last Address, Paris.
133	Topalian	Vartan, Krikor	MD 1909	Born in Al bustan; Gregorian; BA from Central Turkey College; Physician in Constantinople in 1919.
134	Vartabedian	Karekin,	MD 1909	Born in 1881; BA from the International College; asst. physician German Hosp. Marash 1911-18; chief physician German Hosp., Adana; private practitioner, Alexandretta, Syria; traveled Paris, 1919 ; address Quartier Medawar, Beirut.
135	Varvarian	Haigazun, Stepan	MD 1909	Born in Beirut; Protestant; BA Anatolia College; Physician in Asia Minor 1911-14; Pera, Constantinople, 1919.
136	Aiyvazian	Ardashes, Garabed	Ph.M. 1909	Born in Sivas; BA from Central Turkey College; Gregorian.
137	Dadourian	Mihran, Zakaria	Ph.M. 1909	Born in Marsowan; Protestant.
138	Donikian	Hrand, P.	Ph.M. 1909	Born in Gemerek; Protestant ; BA from Anatolia College; Pharmacist at the American Mission, in 1910; Pharmacist in Beirut 1912-14.

139	Najarian	Hrand, Kaloust	Ph.M. 1909	Mining Engineer; Born in Marash, Turkey, 1889; Ph.M. 1909; married; children: Arthur Kaloust, Hiram Kourken; Instructor of Pharmacy, AUB 1909-10; mining engineer, Yale University 1914; Engineer, designer and operator of Lead and Zinc Smelter and Concentrating Plants 1914; Last 30 years General Superintendent with Joseph Lead Co., Monaca, Pa., USA.; listed in «Who is Who in Engineering in USA» in 1949 edition; Published Contributions of the transactions of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, «Lead and Zinc» volumes 1949 and 1951. Address: 1055 Fourth Av;. Beaver, Pa., U.S.A.
140	Shishmanian	Yervant, H.	Ph.M. 1909	Born in Yozgat; Protestant; BA Central Turkey College; Pharmacist in Keskin, 1911.
141	Terzian	Boghos.	Ph.M, 1909	Born in Marash, Asia Minor 1881; Protestant; BA 1904, Central Turkey College; pharmacist Adana, Asia Minor, 1910-13
142	Utidjian	Dikran, A.	BA 1909	Born in Nicosia, Cyprus, 1890; B.A 1909, B.C. 1911, M.D. French University of Beirut 1921, M.R.C.S. London University 1922, L.R.C.P. London University 1922; married; children: Levon, Michael, Rosemary; practiced medicine in England, 1922-1950, until sudden death in November 1950.
143	Krikorian	Alexandre, G.	BC 1909	Born in Jerusalem; Protestant; Clerk Ministry of Public Works, Cairo 1910; Vacuum Oil Co., Beirut, 1912.
144	Abu-Hayatian	Armenak,	MD 1910	Born in Urfa, 1884; Protestant; M.D. 1910; married, 1914; children: 2 boys, 2 girls; physician at German Hospital, Urfa, Capt. Turkish Army during Great War, Capt. Kemalist Army 1919 prisoner of war by French at Aintab, 1920; President Compatriot Union of Urfa; traveled Dresden for practice on eye diseases, Heidelberg for gynecological practice; general practitioner, Aleppo, Syria;
145	Ohanian	Ohan, A.	MD 1910	Born in Baghdad, Protestant; General Practitioner in Baghdad; Deceased in Baghdad in 1928.
146	Benne-Torossian	Bedros, Toros	MD 1910	Born in Kharput, Protestant; BA Euphrates College; Last Position, physician in Pera; Hanged at the Bayazid Sqr. in 1915.
147	Chamichian	Luder, Jurji	MD 1910	BA Anatolia College; Married, 1912; 2 boys; Captain Turkish Army, 1914-20; last known add.: Kastel Hadjarin, Aleppo.

148	Gurunlian	Hagop, Avedis	MD 1910	Born in Caeserea; Gregorian; Last position British army service.
149	Kupelian	Simon, S.	MD 1910	Born in Marash ,1886;Worked at the American Armenian Orphanages in Marash in 1910-1911; Practitioner in Hajin 1919-1920
150	Terzian	Hovhannes,	MD 1910	Born in Diyarbakir in 1884 to an Armenian Apostolic family. He was one of the four members of the Central Committee of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in Lebanon. He received his Medical Degree in 1910 and served as a physician in Diyarbakir, and also took part in the Balkan Wars as captain in the Turkish army. During the First World War, he served in the Aziziye Hospital as captain in the Turkish army, and was shot on July, 1915 at the Erzinga road with his friend Dr. Lutfi Halebian. It should also be noted that he is one of the founders of the Armenian Students Union established in the Syrian Protestant College in 1908.
151	Zavzavtjian	Aram, Ohannes	MD 1910	Born in Baghdad, Iraq, Nov. 18, 1883: BA 1906, M.D. 1910; married in 1916; children: Edna, Papkin; house surgeon, Tiberias Hosp.1911 ; asst. surgeon,C.M.S. Baghdad 1911-14; member Baghdad Civil Med. Staff, 1921-23; member Med. Soc. Baghdad; joined the First World War 1914-18; Gov. service 1918, retired 1950.
152	Azhederian	Samuel,	Ph.M. 1910	Born in Marsowan; Protestant; Pharmacist in Jaffa,1910; Pharmacist in Zagazig , Egypt , 1913.
153	Baloyan	Mugerditch, Giragos	Ph.M. 1910	Born in Kharput; Protestant; BA Euphrates College; Pharmacist at the American Hospital in Van and Diyarbakir, 1910-14; Deceased 1915.
154	Sarikian	Hagop, I.	Ph.M. 1910	Born in Urfa; Protestant; Deceased during WWI.
155	Tchechikian	Anamias, Artin	Ph.M. 1910	Born in Karasund; Gregorian; Pharmacist in Karasund, Black Sea, 1911-13 ; Deceased during WWI.
156	Tchorbajian	Stepan, Ohannes	Ph.M. 1910	Born in Marash; Gregorian; BA 1907, Central Turkey College; pharmacist, Alexandretta, Syria, 1911, Severeck, Asia Minor, 1913, American Red Cross, Aleppo, 1919; last known address: Pharmacie al-Wakil, Dassuk, Egypt;
157	Terzian	Moses, Garabed	Ph.M. 1910	

158	Alajajian	Yeranouhi,	Nursing 1910	Born in Urfa; Protestant; Nurse at the Victoria nursing Home in Cairo, 1911; Married and went to America.
159	Terzian	Haroutyun, Giragos	MA 1910	
160	Kalbian	Vahan, H.	BA 1910	Cardiologist; Born in Diyarbakir, 1887; B.A. 1910, M.D. '14; married Satenig Torossian '19; children: Adom, Torkom, Vatche, Vicken; 1914: Instructor in Surgery, AUB, 1915; Assistant Surgeon to the Red Cross Unit of AUB attached to the Turkish Army; 1916. Chief Physician of the Internal Diseases Hospitals of Turkish Army in Jerusalem; 1918-1920; Physician to the English. Mission Hospital, Jerusalem; 1932-1944; Physician to the British High Commissioner in Palestine 1939-1947; Consulting Physician and Cardiologist to the Government Hospitals in Jerusalem, Nablus, Gaza; 1935-1950. Consulting physician to the Armenian Patriarch in Jerusalem. Vice-President of the Arab Medical Society in Jerusalem for many years; Member of the Editorial Board of the Journal of Palestine Arab Medical Association; Fellow of Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, London, since 1924; Member of the Rotary Club of Jerusalem; founder and life-member of the Automobile Club of Palestine; President of the Armenian General Benevolent Union, Jerusalem; Honors: Golden Cross of St. Marguerite, conferred by the Order of St. Marguerite. Address: Augusta Victoria Hospital, Jerusalem, Jordan.
161	Bairamian	Hagop, Kevork	MD 1911	Born in Kilis, Gregorian; Physician in Aleppo 1912-13.
162	Jessurian	Hagop, G.	MD 1911	BA, Central Turkey College; Born in Aziziye, Protestant.
163	Kavafian	Haroutyun, Minas	MD 1911	Born in Constantinople in 1885 to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his Medical Degree in 1911 and worked in the Baghdad Railway service, Aleppo in 1913. During the First World War, he served in the Aziziye Hospital as captain in the Turkish army, and was shot at the courtyard of the hospital in July, 1915.
164	Keshishian	Stepan, Giragos	MD 1911	BA Aintab College; Gregorian; contributed article, " climate of Basra" Times of the Mesopotamian, 1921; Worked as Private practitioner at Basra, Iraq.

165	Seropian	Kegham, Minas	MD 1911	Born in Izmir, 1887; Gregorian ; practitioner, Guemlik, 1920; physician American Relief Hospital, Izmir,1921; last known address: Pharmacie Othon, Ortakeuy, Istanbul.
166	Artinian	Haig,	Ph.M. 1911	Born in Talas, Asia Minor, 1887; Protestant; Ph.M. 1911; married; children: Tsavag, Agnes, Maida, Matilda, Haroutune, Zareh; owner of a pharmacy in Bourj Hamoud. Address: Pharmacy Haik, Bourj Hamoud, Lebanon.
167	Dayian	Yusuf, Sarkis	Ph.M. 1911	BA Aintab College; Protestant; Married in 1914, 1 Boy, 1 Girl; Pharmacie Centrale, 114 Rue Khandak, Aleppo, Syria.
168	Nazarian	Yakub, Kevork	Ph.M. 1911	Born in Aintab,Turkey, 1886; Protestant; Ph.M. 1911, B.A. 1908, Central Turkey College;Pharmacist in Alexandretta, 1911-14; m. Yester Karamanoukian, 1916; children: Lora, Elvira, Kevork, Zaven, Noubar; practicing in a private pharmacy. Office: Khandak street, Aleppo, Syria.
169	Haroutyunian	Yester,	Nursing 1911	Born in Adana; N.T.S. 1911 ; private nurse, Beirut, 1911; Municipal Hospital, 1915-16.
170	Marashlian	Gulizar,	Nursing 1911	Born in Marash; Protestant; served at the German Hospital, Adana, 1912; Deceased 1920.
171	Kemkemian	Bedros,	BA 1911	Protestant; Instructor at AUB 1912; Travelled to Egypt, 1913; Last Address LA.USA.
172	Aivazian	Haig, Roupén	MD 1912	Born in Sivas, 1887; Protestant; Municipal physician, Chibir Kichla, Sivas 1912-14.
173	Arzoyan	Hovhannes, Sarkis	MD 1912	BA from St. Paul's College ; Gregorian ; Practitioner in Konia 1912-16.
174	Babikian	Missag, B.	MD 1912	Born in Aintab, 1886; Protestant; BA1906, Central Turkey College; physician American Bible House, Istanbul, 1921; physician Near East Relief in Salonika, Greece.
175	Babikian	Movses, Hagop	MD 1912	Born in Aintab,1888; Protestant; BA 1907, Central Turkey College; practitioner in Aleppo, Syria; last known address: Khandak Street Aleppo, Syria.

176	Babikian	Najib, Babik	MD 1912	Born in Aleppo, 1887; Protestant; BA 1907, Central Turkey College; asst. physician, A.U.B. Hospital, 1912; practitioner, Alexandretta, 1914; practitioner, Aleppo, Syria: last address: Ras Kariye, Baghdad, Iraq.
177	Chyblakian	Haroutyun, Krikor	MD 1912	Born in Zileh, 1886; BA 1906 Anatolia College; married in 1913: Surgeon at the military hospital of the Turkish army in 1915; private clinic in Beirut.
178	Gulesserian	Hampartsoum, Sarkis	MD 1912	Born in Kharput, 1886; Protestant; BA 1906, Euphrates College; physician, Riggs Hospital, Mamurat al Aziz, 1912-14; last known address: jewett St.Providence. R.I., U.S.A.
179	Halajian	Dikran, V.	MD 1912	Born in Gurin in 1882 to a Protestant family. He received his BA from Euphrates College and his Medical Degree in 1912 from the Syrian Protestant College. From 1913 to 1915, he worked as physician in Gurin, and his last position was captain in the Turkish army. During the First World War, he served in the Aziziye Hospital as captain in the Turkish army, and was shot at the courtyard of the hospital in June, 1915. He was also married and had a daughter by the name of Persape, who survived the Armenian Genocide and settled in the USA.
180	Husisian	Levon, Nigoghos	MD 1912	Born in Kara-Hisar, 1887; Protestant; BA 1908, Anatolia College; physician Kara Hisar, Asia Minor, 1913-14; practitioner Kum-Kapu, Nishandji, Istanbul; last known address: Kum-Kapu, Nishandji No. 26, Istanbul; additional information lacking since 1924.
181	Ishkhanian	Nuri, Iskandar	MD 1912	Born in Aleppo, Syria, 1888; M.D. 1912; B.A. 1907, Central Turkey College; practitioner, Aleppo, Syria, 1913-23; Address 656 W. Palisadis Ave. W. N.Y., N.j., U.S.A.
182	Kassabian	Dikran, A.	MD 1912	Born in Diyarbakir, Asia Minor to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his Medical Degree in 1912, and worked as a physician at the German hospital in Urfa. His last position was captain in the Turkish army, and was murdered in Erzurum in 1915.
183	Levonian	Mihran, Hovhannes	MD 1912	Born in Aintab, 1886; Protestant; Adana, 1920.

184	Mugurditchian	Samuel, G.	MD 1912	BA 1905, Central Turkey College; Born in Kessab, Protesant.
185	Ohanian	Rupen, Hovhannes	MD 1912	Born in Yenniga,1883; Protestant; Physician in Adrianapole,1920; Last Address Greece.
186	Berberian	Garabed, Ohannes	Ph.M. 1912	Born in Trabzion,1885; Gregorian; BA 1907, Anatolia College; married in 1917; AU.B. dispenser,1913; manager Pharmacie' Moderne, Homs, 1914-15; Ist. Lt. Turkish Army during War; manager Pharmacie Moderne, Beirut 1919-22; manager Pharmacie EI-Zahra, Beirut.
187	Kevorkian	Mardiros, K.	Ph.M. 1912	Born in Asia Minor,1884; Protestant; BA 1907, Euphrates College; pharmacist, Riggs Hospital, Mamurat al Aziz, Asia Minor, 1913; last known address: Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
188	Saprichian	Garabed,	Ph.M. 1912	
189	Topushkhanian	William, Stepan	BA 1912	Born in Beirut, 1892; gregorian: BA 1912; MD 1919, Faculte de Paris; Medicin' de l'Institut Colonial de "Universite de Paris, 1919; preparateur de l'Universite d'Aix-Marseille, 1914-15; preparateur de l'Universite de Rennes, 1917-18; chef de laboratoire a l'hopital Boucicaut, Paris, 1920-21 ; laboratoire de Biologie Medicale, Bab-Idriss, Beirut, lebanon; author of several medical articles; membre de la Societe Anatomique de France, 1921
190	Altunian	Sahag, Boghos	MD 1913	BA 1908 Euphrates College; Born in Kharput,86; Protestant.
191	Nishanian	Sefonig, Khachig	MD 1913	BA 1909, St. Paul's College; Born in Constantinople; Gregorian.
192	Touzjian	Yakub, Toros	MD 1913	Born in Aintab; Protestant; Physician at the American Hospital in Konia 1913-14; Last Address,American Bible society ,Constantinople.
193	Yeghiayan	Garabed, Avedis	MD 1913	Born in Burdur,1888; Gregorian; Last Address New York, USA.

194	Khantamourian	Missag,	Ph.M. 1913	Born in Konia, Asia Minor, 1885; Protestant; B.A. Anatolia College. last known address: Pharmacie la Confiance, Cairo, Egypt.
195	Yenovkian	Levon, Hovhannes	Ph.M. 1913	Born in Marash, Turkey, 1890; m. Josephine Najarian; children: leonora, Arpine; pharmacist, A.U.B., 1913-14; pharmacist of the German Military & Civil Hospital, Marash, Turkey, 1914-19; asst. admin. commander, British occupation forces, Marash, 1919-20; private pharmacy owner, Acre, Palestine. 1922-48
196	Marabian	Azniv, Sarkis	Nursing 1913	Gregorian; Nurse at the Municipal hospital in Adana, 1916; Nurse Bellevue Hospital, New York.
197	Apikian	Maksud, Hagop	MD 1914	Born in Tokat, Asia Minor in 1888 to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his BA from Anatolia College and his Medical Degree in 1914 from the Syrian Protestant College. He worked as a physician in Anatolia College hospital in 1914, and while serving as captain in the Turkish army, he was murdered in 1915.
198	Bakkalian	Nishan, Hovsep	MD 1914	Born in Diyarbakir, Asia Minor to an Armenian Apostolic family He received his BA from Central Turkey College and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1914. While serving as captain in the Turkish army, he was murdered in 1915.
199	Elmajian	Yervant, Sarkis	MD 1914	Born in Marash, 1883; Protestant; BA Central Turkey College. Last known address Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
200	Kalbian	Vahan, H.	MD 1914	Born in 1887; Gregorian; Physician Gresham Life Assurance Co., and Navigazione Italiana, Jerusalem, Palestine; Married in 1919, 3 Boys; Sir-Tabib Infection & Disease Hospitals, Jerusalem; Treasurer of the Academy of Medicine in Jerusalem; Travelled to Egypt.
201	Keshishian	Khacher,	MD 1914	Born in 1885; Protestant; BA 1908, St. Paul's Inst., Tarsus; Married, 1918; 1 boy; Med. Off. of Health, P.H.D., Jerusalem, Palestine; last known address: Menshiah Quarter, Jerusalem.
202	Krikorian	Missag, Thomas	MD 1914	Born in Diyarbakir, Asia Minor, 1890; Gregorian.

203	Tarpinian	Haroutyun, Asadour	MD 1914	Born in Arabkir, Kharput; Practitioner, Smyrna, Asia Minor, 1914. last known address: 836 «M» St., Fresno. Cal., U.S.A.
204	Tatarian	Hovsep, Hovhannes	MD 1914	Born in Adana; Protestant; Captain in the Turkish Army, 1916; British Army, Egypt, 1917; Nassau Hosp., Nassau Country, New York. Last known address: 422, New York Ave., Union City, N.J., U.S.A.
205	Vartanian	Mesrob, Sarkis	MD 1914	Born in Zera, Asia Minor to an Armenian Apostolic family in 1888. He received his MD in 1914 and while serving as captain in the Turkish army, he was murdered in 1915
206	Chouljian	Toros, Garabed	Ph.M. 1914	Born in Asia Minor in 1885; Protestant.
207	Boghossian	Mariam,	Nursing 1914	Born in Mardin, Last Address was in Iraq.
208	Melkonian	Malakah,	Nursing 1914	Born in Jerusalem; Protestant; Last known address, Armenian Quarter Jerusalem
209	Orchanian	Osanna,	Nursing 1914	Born in Marash; Protestant; married to Setrak G. Eghian; nurse, Dr. Altunian's Hospital, Aleppo, Syria.1916.
210	Baghdassarian	Magerditch, Mukhtar	MD 1915	Born in Van,1889; Protestant; Last Known address Ras Beirut
211	Krikorian	Krikor, Solomon	MD 1915	Born in Jerusalem, Palestine, 1885; was medical officer at Ramleh Gov. Hospital, 1918-20; studied at London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine, 1923; senior bacteriologist at dept. of health, Palestine, 1924-34; senior M.O., Palestine, 1935-46.; deputy director of medical services, Palestine, 1946-48; director of hospital laboratories; author of several medical subjects; awarded the O.B.E. in 1946, conferred by King George VI.
212	Yardumyan	Krikor, J.	MD 1915	Born in 1893; Protestant; traveled on military service all over Asia minor ; married, 1917, 1 boy, 1 girl. Address: Dept. of Pathology, Montifiore Hosp., Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A.

213	Bahaderian	Haig, Bedross	DDS 1915	Dentist; Born in 1885; Protestant; B.A. 1910, St. Paul's College, Tarsus; D.D.S. 1923, College of Dental & Oral Surgery, New York; married, 1916; children: 1 boy, 1 girl; instructor, St. Paul's College, Tarsus, 1907-08; Adana, 1910-12; practiced Dentistry, Beirut, 1915-22; last known address: 901, 6th. Ave., N.Y.C., U.S.A.
214	Ishkanian	Mihran, Kevork	DDS 1915	Born in 1889; Protestant; B.A. 1911, Aintab College; Protestant; married, 1923; instructor, 1912; dentist, Beirut, 1915-17; Turkish Sanitary Officer, Zahleh, 1917-18; dentist, Aleppo, 1918-21; dentist, Cairo, Egypt; traveled Palestine, 1915, London, 1911 Austria & Germany, 1921-22; last known address: 12 Nubar Pasha St., P.O.B. 425, Cairo, Egypt.
215	Haleblian	Jamil, Haroutyun	Ph.M. 1915	Born in Aintab; Protestant; Served at the Gov. Hospital, Habrun, Palestine; Last Known address, Jerusalem, Palestine.
216	Hekimian	Louis, Adil	Ph.M 1915	Born in 1892; Protestant; 1st. Class interpreter, Australian Infantry Brigade, 1915-16; Political Officer 10 th Div. E.E.F., 1917-18; Senior Censor, Eg. State Telegrams, Alexandria, Political Officer, 1917-18; Chairman Cilician Union, Aleppo; Chief of Bureau of Inquiry, Relief & Employment, Near East Relief, Aleppo; traveled Sinai Desert with Beirut American Red Cross, 1915; wounded in Gallipoli with Australian troops, went to England, 1915-16; battle-fields, France, 1916.
217	Torian	Hovhannes, Minas	MD 1916	Born in Marash, 1886; Gregorian; Medical Officer in Nazareth Palestine; last known address: Medical officer. Haifa. Palestine.
218	Semerdjian	Sarkis, K.	DDS 1916	Dentist; Born in 1879; Protestant; B.A. Euphrates College, 1903; D.D.S 1916; married, 1906; children: 2 girls; instructor, Euphrates College, 1903-13; dentist, Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem, Palestine; Deceased, 1924.
219	Guzelian	Rahil, K.	Nursing 1916	Nurse; Born in 1889; Protestant; m. Mr. Narbeyan; Brummana Hosp. 1917-20; nurse, American Hosp., Latakya, Syria. Last known address: Hama, Syria.

220	Najjarian	Kanan, Kaloust	BA 1916	Born in Marash, 1894; Protestant: Last Address Sudan.
221	Peltekian	Panos, Sarkis	BA 1916	Clerk, Born in 1896; Protestant; interpreter, British Army, Egypt., 1918-20; asst. engineer, Beirut Municipality, 1916-18; clerk, Kings Park, N.Y., U.S.A.; traveled Smyrna, Athens, Naples, Paris, 1908, Alexandria, Cairo, New-York, Washington, Baltimore, 1920; last known address: 817 Hamilton Terrace, Baltimore Med., U.S.A.
222	Apelian	Albert, Solomon	MD 1917	Born in Kessab, Syria, 1893; Protestant; B.A. 1913, Central Turkey College, Aintab; married 1923; children: Laura, Irene, Karen; was in the Turkish Army, 1917-19/8; (Palestine Front); medical examiner, Jisr-el-Shoughour, Syria, 1919; practiced in Alexandretta, 1920; house officer, Grace Hospital, New Haven, Conn. 1921; passed the State Board Exam. in Conn. 1922, & same exam in Mass. 1923; private practitioner in Boston since 1922. Building a clinic for diagnosis etc. Wrote: 4 books in Armenian about Medicine. Four novels which were published in Armenian; several articles about Health in Armenian papers in Boston, and an Armenian, English weekly. Home Add.: 174, Common Street, Belmont, Mass. Office Add.: 489, Mt. Auburn Street, Watertown, Mass. Tel.: Belmont 5-1614.
223	Bezjian	Alexandre, Zenope	MD 1917	Born in Aintab, 1894; Protestant; BA 1911, Aintab, Central Turkey College; married, Dec. 1929; children: Nora, Hilda, Alex. Jr., Lillian; served in Turkish Army, Palestine Govt., in charge of Infectious Diseases Hospital, Aleppo, Syria, 1917-18; resident surgeon & physician, American Hospital, Aintab, 1919-1920; resident surgeon & physician, obstetrician, American Hospital, Istanbul, 1920-23; physician & chief, M.O. Near East Relief, Lebanon, 1923-25; specialized in orthopedic surgery, London & France, 1925-26; orthopaedic surgeon, general surgery & anesthesia surgery, A.U.B., 1926-32; I.P.C., Iraq K-3 & Kirkuk hospitals & Palestine, 1933-50; acting M.O., I.P.C., Beirut since 1950; wrote article on «Rheu matsid Arth ritis», 1927. Home: Imm. Chehab, Rue El-Hamra, Beirut, Lebanon. Tel.: 47-79.

224	Boghossian	Boghos, Levon	MD 1917	Gynecologist; Obstetrician; Born in Mardin, Turkey, 1887; Married to Anitta Nazarian; children: Levon, Zohrab, Nubar, Zaven, Aram, Ena; served six mths. & One yr. in Turkish & British Armies, 1917-18; surgeon at English Hosp., Damascus, 1918-19; chief surgeon «American White Star» hosp., Aleppo, 1920-22; asst. to Dr. Ward in private practice; took courses of specialization in summer of 1922, in Vienna; private practice in Rio, 1922-28; special courses in Paris, & since 1928, practice in Rio; wrote several articles in Arabic local papers. Home: Rua Jose Hygino 401, Rio de Janeiro. Clinic: Rua 7. de Setembro 207-3, Rio de Janeiro. Tel: 485476 (home), 231250 (clinic).
225	Koumrian	Moses, Hagop	MD 1917	
226	Piran	Vartan, Agop	MD 1917	Born in Gurin, Asia Minor in 1885 to a Protestant family. He received his BA from Central Turkey College and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1917. His last position was captain in the Turkish army, and was murdered in Tiberias, Palestine in 1918.
227	Arslanian	Haiganush,	Nursing 1917	Born in Sivas, Asia Minor; Protestant; Med. Dept., Near East Relief, Constantinople. Last known address: Constantinople, Turkey.
228	Mahshigian	Diruhi,	Nursing 1917	Born in Kessab, Syria; N.T.S. 1917; nurse, Red Cross, Latakya, Syria, 1919. Last known address: 343 East 24th St., New York City, U.S.A.
229	Kupelian	Moses, Ohan	MD 1918	Born in Aintab, 1895; BA. 1914, Central Turkey College; physician, Aleppo, 1919; last known address: New Britain General Hospital, Conn., U.S.A.
230	Serabian	Samuel, H.	MD 1918	Born in Kharput, Turkey, 1890; BA 1913, Euphrates College, Kharput; married, 1919; children: Hagop, Levon; captain Turkish Army, 1917-18; M.O.H. in Jerusalem & Sub-Districts, 1918-24 ; Military Med. Off., Sudan Defence Force Hosp., Khartoum, Sudan 1924-27; private practitioner in Int. diseases a Surgery. Address: Rue Emir Farouk 'No 4, Cairo, Egypt.

231	Yenikomshian	Hovsep, Aghek	MD 1918	Physician, Prof. of Medicine; Born in Kilis, 1895; BA. 1914; Central Turkey College; D.T.M. & H., 1928, London Science of Tropical Med. & Hygiene; M.R.C.P., 1934, Royal College of Physicians of London; m. Helen Krajian in 1930; children: Shushan, Margaret', Grace, Haig, Annie; intern, A.U.B.Hosp., 1918-19; Instructor & clinical asst., 1919-24; adjunct Prof., Dept. of Int. Med., 1924-29; Associate Prof. of Med., 1929-39; visiting Prof. in Sch. of Tropical Medicine & Hygiene, Tulane Medical Sch., Tulane Univ. of Louisiana, New Orleans & Louisiana, 1948-49; Prof. of Med., A.U.B. to date; member of: Lebanese Medical Soc., Fellow of Royal Soc. of Tropical Medicine & Hygiene, American Soc. of Tropical Medicine; was one of the founders & Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Armenian National Sanatorium, Azouniyeh; wrote numerous publications of Tropical Medicine & Hygiene in such countries as Syria, Lebanon & Aleppo; titles: Cer. of Merit, conferred by the A.U.B. in 1919; Gold Medal of Meritorious Service of the Republic of Lebanon, 1948. Served at the AUB till 1994.
232	Selian	Ashkhen, Dikran	Nursing 1918	Born in Talas, Asia Minor; N.T.S. 1918; m. Boghos H. Selian; nurse, Red Cross Hosp., Beirut, 1919. Last known address: Heliopolis, Egypt.
233	Selian	Shake, Sarkis	Nursing 1918	Born in Talas, Asia Minor; N:r.S. 1918; m. Bedros H. Selian; nurse, Red Cross Hosp., Beirut, 1919. Last known address: Heliopolis. Egypt.

APPENDIX II

NUMBER OF STUDENTS AT VARIOUS MISSIONARY SCHOOLS

ATTENDANCE AT AMERICAN COLLEGES IN TURKEY, 1912 - 1913.																			
COLLEGES	Total Attendance				By Nationalities														
	College Dep't	Preparatory Dep't	Other Dep'ts	Armenians	Greeks	Turks	Jews	Bulgarians	Albanians	Others	Boarders	Day scholars							
Syrian Protestant	917	218	409	60	69	2	50	11	2	272	643	274	161	29	286	182	69	4	190
Euphrates	532	154	166	75	204	67	14	63	25	22	188	344	223	15	70	90	12	4	
Robert	470	192	268	47	247	49	19		1	18	345	125	27	32	279	50	19	4	
International	381	261	120	148	173	15	2		3	34	86	295	81	97	171	16	2	8	
Anatolia	375	83	292	148	173	15	2		3	34	274	101	82	103	83	1	20	1	
Am. Coll. Inst. (Smyrna)	289	90	96	128	130	46	19	45	3	19	55	234	22	61	97	53	19	1	
Constantinople (A.C.F.C.)	253	120	133	67	54	3				10	167	86	82	103	83	3	3	2	1
Central Turkey	220	91	129	212	10	6				5	108	112	142	72	10	6			
St. Paul's Institute	207	90	117	188	10	9				3	159	48	91	100	10	9			
Central Turkey Girls'	152	71	65	139	4						28	124	95	41	3			4	
TOTALS	3796	1370	1795	1589	801	198	124	119	34	841	2053	1743	939	903	1174	412	141	36	191

a Medical, 158; Commerce, 71; Pharmacy, 35.
b Syrians, 492; Egyptians, 199; Abyssinians, 3.
c Druzes, 32; Behai, 21; Copts, 32.
d Syrians.
e Engineering.
f Russians, 33; Persian, 1.
g Kindergarten, 50.
h Russians, 3; Persians, 5; Servian, 1.

APPENDIX III

ARMENIAN POEMS TO WHICH THE STUDENTS WERE EXPOSED³¹²

“Liberty” by Mikael Nalbandian

When God, who is forever free,
Breathed life into my earthly frame, -
From that first day, by His free will
When I a living soul became,-
A babe upon my mother's breast,
Ere power of speech was given to me,
Even then I stretched my feeble arms
Forth to embrace thee, Liberty

Wrapped round with many swaddling bands,
All night I did not cease to weep,
And in the cradle, restless still,
My cries disturbed my mother's sleep.
“O mother I “in my heart I prayed,
“Unbind my arms and leave me free!”
And even from that hour I vowed
To Love thee ever, Liberty!

When first my faltering tongue was freed,
And when my parents' hearts were stirred
With thrilling joy, to hear their son
Pronounce his first clear-spoken word,
“Papa, Mamma,” as children use,
Were not the names first said by me;
The first word on my childish lips
Was thy great name, O Liberty!

" Liberty! “answered from on high
The sovereign voice of Destiny:
“Wilt thou enroll thyself henceforth
A soldier true of Liberty?
The path is thorny all the way,
And many trials wait for thee;
Too strait and narrow is this world

³¹² See Alice Stone Blackwell ed., *Armenian Poems*, (Boston, 1917).

For him who loveth Liberty."

"Freedom!" I answered, "on my head
Let fire descend and thunder burst;
Let foes against my life conspire,
Let all who hate thee do their worst:
I will be true to thee till death;
Yea, even upon the gallows tree
The last breath of a death of shame
Shall shout thy name, O Liberty!"

"Shall We Be Silent?" by Raphael Patkanian

Shall we be silent, brothers?
Shall we be silent still?
Our foe has set against our breasts
His sword, that thirsts to kill;
His ears are deaf to cries and groans.
O brothers, make avow!
What shall we do? What is our part?
Shall we keep silence now?

Our foe has seized our fatherland
By guile and treachery ;
Has blotted out the name of Haig,
And ruined utterly
The house of Thorkom, to the ground;
Has reft from us, to boot,
Our crown, our arms, our right of speech -
And shall we still be mute?

Our foe has seized our guardian swords,
Our ploughs that tilled the plain,
And from the ploughshare and the sword
Has welded us a chain.
Alas for us! For we are slaves,
And fettered hand and foot
With bonds and manacles of iron -
And shall we still be mute?

Our foeman, holding o'er our heads
His weapon fierce and strong,
Makes us devour our bitter tears,
Our protests against wrong.
So many woes are heaped on us,
To weep our sorrows' sum
We need the broad Euphrates' flood -

And shall we still be dumb?

Our foe, with overweening pride,
Treads justice under foot,
And drives us from our native soil
And shall we still be mute?
Like strangers in our fatherland,
Pursued o'er plain and hill,
O brothers, where shall we appeal?
Shall we be silent still?

Not yet content with all the ills
That he has made us bear,
His insolent and cursed hand
He stretches forth, to tear
The last bond of our nation's life
And, if he have his will,
Complete destruction waits for us;
Shall we be silent still?

Scorning the glory of our land,
Our foe, with malice deep,
Invades our church, and makes the wolf
The shepherd of the sheep.
We have no sacred altars now;
In valley or on hill
No place of prayer is left to us;
Shall we be silent still?

If we keep silence, even now,
When stones have found a voice,
Will not men say that slavery
Is our desert and choice?
The sons of brave and holy sires,
Sprung from a sacred root,
We know the deeds our fathers did
How long shall we be mute?

“Complaint to Europe” by Raphael Patkanian

My hands, my feet, the chain of slavery ties,
Yet Europe says, “Why do you not arise?
Justice' nor freedom shall your portion be;
Bear to the end the doom of slavery! ”

Six centuries, drop by drop, the tyrant drains
The last remaining life-blood from our veins;
Yet Europe says, " No strength, no power have they,"

And turns from us her scornful face away.

A needle is not left to us today,
And yet, " You ought to draw the sword ! " they say.
To powder and to shot could-we give heed,
While we sought bread our starving ones to feed?

Have you forgotten, Europe, how the dart
Of the fierce Persian pointed at your heart,
Until, on that dread field of Avarair,
Armenian blood quenched his fanatic fire ?

Have you forgot the fell and crushing blow
Prepared for you by Islam long ago ?
We would not see your desolation then,
Burning of cities, massacre of men.

Two hundred years Armenia, bathed in blood,
Withstood that great invasion's mighty flood.
Europe was safe, our living wall behind,
Until the enemy's huge strength declined.

Have you forgotten, Europe, how of yore
Your heroes in the desert hungered sore ?
What then could strength or force of arms avail
Had we not fed your hosts, with famine pate ?
Ungrateful Europe, heed our woes, we pray ;
Remember poor Armenia to-day!

“Praise to the Sultan” by Raphael Patkanian

Our thanks to you, great Sultan! You turned
Armenia to a chaos of hewn stone;
Daily by myriads you have slaughtered us;
Our thriving hamlets you have overthrown.

Glory and fame unto your Majesty!
Following the Koran's law, you have not feared
Our holy Bible's pages to defile;
With filth and mire the cross you have besmeared.

Our gratitude to you, great Padishah I
Gain from our slaughter has accrued to you;
Your intimate associates you have made
Circassians foul, and Kurds, a thievish crew.

In noisome dungeons, thousands glorify
Your Sovereign Majesty with loud acclaims.
You leave no blank in all the calendar,
But fill each space with myriad martyrs' names.

Armenia's happy ruins, glorious King,
Will ne'er forget you; on our history's page
Your wondrous deeds and your illustrious name
Shall blazoned be, to live from age to age.

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF ARMENIAN MEDICAL ALUMNI WHO DIED DURING WWI AND AFTER³¹³

Sarkis K. Azoyan	Born in Adana, Cilicia. He received his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1887. After graduating he served in Adana as General practitioner. During the First World War he was murdered near Aleppo.
Kaloust Najarian	Born in Marash in 1856. He received his BA from Central Turkey College and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1888. After 30 years of service in Marash, with his family he was murdered in 1920.
Baghdasar Barsumian	Born in Aintab, Cilicia. He received his Pharmacy Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1889. After graduating he served in Aintab as a pharmacist. During the First World War he was deceased.
Diran K. Eumurian	He received his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1899. After graduation he served in Balik Kessir, Vilayet of Sivas, and during the First World War he was deceased.
Khosrov H. Hekimian	He received his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1899. After graduation he worked as an operating surgeon in Trebizond, Black Sea. During the First World War he was deceased.
Haroutune Hagop Babikian	He received his Medical degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1902. After graduation he worked as private practitioner in Aleppo, and during the First World War he was deceased from cholera.

³¹³ Sources Include: Kaspar Garoyan, *Martyred Armenian Doctors of the Genocide* (in Armenian), (Boston: 1957); Teotig, *Monument to April 11* (in Armenian), (Constantinople: 1919); *The American University of Beirut Directory of Alumni, 1870-1952*, (Beirut: Alumni Association, 1953); American University of Beirut. *Who's Who, 1870-1923*, (Beirut: Printed at the American Press, 1924); "Accounts by alumni of their war experiences (mainly in Turkish army)," *History of SPC and AUB*, AA: 1.6.1, Box 2, File 6; *Al Kulliyah* 3, no. 2 (Dec., 1911); *Al Kulliyah* 7, no.6 (April 1921); *Al-Kulliyah* 9, no.8 (1923); *Al-Kulliyah* 12, no.5 (1926).

Khosrov Keshishian	Born in Malatia to a Protestant family. He received his Pharmacy Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1902. During the First World War he was murdered in Malatia in 1915.
Hovhannes K. Kessabian	Received his BA and MD from the Syrian Protestant College in 1903, and was deceased during the First World War.
Ovsea Kevork Hekimian	Born in Kessab in 1880. He received his BA from Central Turkey College (also Known as Aintab College) and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1903. After graduating he served in Kessab as a physician, and his last position was captain in the Ottoman army during the First World War. He was married to Miss G. Enjejikian, but in May, 1915 he was shot.
Minas Yarmayan	Born in Tokat, Asia Minor. He received his Medical Degree in 1904 from the Syrian Protestant College. During the First World War, he served in the Aziziye Hospital as captain in the Ottoman army, and was shot at the courtyard of the hospital in June, 1915.
Hagop Serovpe Eminian	Born in Rhodes in 1878 to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his BA in 1899 from Anatolia College and his Medical Degree in 1905 from the Syrian Protestant College. His last position was teacher in hygiene and general practitioner in Merzifon, Asia Minor, but during the First World War he was murdered in 1915.
Levon Karekin Sewny	Born in Sivas in 1886 to an Armenian Protestant family. He received his Medical Degree in 1905, and his last position was surgeon at the Armenian National Hospital and visiting surgeon at the governmental hospital in Sivas, Asia Minor. During the First World War he was deceased from typhus.
Vosgan K. Topalian	Born in Marash in 1878 to an Armenian Apostolic Family. He received his BA from Central Turkey College and his MD in 1905 from the Syrian Protestant College. During the war, he served as captain in the Ottoman army, and was shot with his colleagues near Erzincan in June, 1915.
Armenag G. Markarian	Born in Aintab, Cilicia. He received his Medical Degree in 1905 from the Syrian Protestant College. During the war, he served as captain in the Ottoman army, and his last position was general practitioner in Konia. In 1921 he was hanged by the Kemalists

	during the Armenian Massacres.
Kevork S. Krajian	Born in Aintab, Cilicia in 1880 to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his MD in 1906 from the Syrian Protestant College. During the First World War he was deceased.
Sarkis K. Chilingirian	Born in Banderma, Asia Minor in 1884 to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his Medical Degree in 1906 from the Syrian Protestant College. During the First World War he was deceased from Typhus, after being deported to the Deir Zor desert.
Levon D. Torkomian	Born in Sivas, to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1906. After graduation, he served in Sivas as internist, and during the First World War he was deceased.
Vahan H. Ghazarian	Born in Merzifon to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his BA from Anatolia College and his MD from the Syrian Protestant College in 1907. During the First World War he served in the 153rd division, and was murdered on the Izmir-Foza road.
Garabed K. Melikian	Born in Arapgir, Asia Minor to an Armenian Protestant family. He received his BA from Euphrates College in 1902 and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1907. During the First World War he served in the Ottoman army, and was deceased in 1915.
Armenag Seraidarian	Born in Sivas to an Armenian Protestant family. He received his Medical degree in 1907 from the Syrian Protestant College. After graduating he served in Sivas. During the First World War he served in Tokat where he was arrested and beaten up until he was killed at the age of 35.
Gulbenk Kevork Gulbenkian	Born in Talas, Asia Minor in 1883 to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his BA from Anatolia College in 1903 and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1907. He worked as practitioner in Talas from 1907 to 1913, and was deceased on the Russian front during the First World War.
Lutfi Haroutyun Halebian	Born in Aintab in 1882 to a Protestant family. He received his BA from Central Turkey College in 1902 and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1907. He worked as practitioner in

	Aintab and Malatya from 1907 to 1914, and served as captain in the Ottoman army during the war and was known as Sir Tabib Lutfi. He was shot on July, 1915 at the Erzincan road with his friend Dr. Hovhannes Terzian. From his family, only his sister and her fiancée L. Levonian survived the Armenian Genocide, and they settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, USA.
Zeroun K. Hekimian	Born in Kessab in 1886 to a Protestant family. He received his BA in 1903 from Central Turkey College and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1908. His last position was captain in the Ottoman army, and was shot in Antioch during the First World War.
Nishan G. Baron-Vartian	Born in Karasund in 1880 to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his BA from Anatolia College in 1905 and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1909. His last position was captain in the Ottoman Army, and was deceased from Typhus.
Meguiridich G. Baloyan	Born in Kharput in 1883, to an Armenian Protestant family. He received his BA from Euphrates College and his Pharmacy degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1910. After graduating he served in the American hospital in Van and Diyarbakir from 1910 to 1914, and was deceased during the First World War.
Hagop I. Sarikian	Born in Urfa in 1887 to an Armenian Protestant family. He received his Pharmacy degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1910. During the First World War he was deceased.
Aramayis Artin Tchechikian	Born in Karasund, Black Sea to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his Pharmacy degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1910. After graduating he served in Karasund as a pharmacist from 1911 to 1913. During the First World War he was deceased.
Bedross T. Benne-Torossian	Born in Kharput to an Armenian Protestant family. He received his BA from Euphrates College and his MD from the Syrian Protestant College in 1910. After graduating he moved to the United States to enrich his medical specialization. Before the outbreak of the First World War, he served in Constantinople as a physician. On June 15, 1915 he was hanged in Bayazid Sqr. with 19 Hunchak political activists.
Hovhannes Giragos	Born in Dikranagerd in 1884 to an Armenian Apostolic family. He

Terzian	was one of the four members of the Central Committee of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in Lebanon. He received his Medical Degree in 1910 and served as a physician in Diyarbakir, and also took part in the Balkan Wars as captain in the Ottoman army. During the First World War, he served in the Aziziye Hospital as captain in the Ottoman army, and was shot on July, 1915 at the Erzincan road with his friend Dr. Lutfi Halebian. It should also be noted that he is one of the founders of the Armenian Students Union established in the Syrian Protestant College in 1908.
Haroutune Minas Kavafian	Born in Constantinople in 1885 to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his Medical Degree in 1911 and worked in the Baghdad Railway service, Aleppo in 1913. During the First World War, he served in the Aziziye Hospital as captain in the Ottoman army, and was shot at the courtyard of the hospital in July, 1915.
Gulizar Marashliian	Born in Marash to an Armenian Apostolic family. She received her Nursing diploma in 1911. After graduation she worked first at the English hospital and later at the German hospital in Adana. In 1920 she was deceased.
Dikran V. Hallajian	Born in Gurin in 1882 to a Protestant family. He received his BA from Euphrates College and his Medical Degree in 1912 from the Syrian Protestant College. From 1913 to 1915, he worked as physician in Gurin, and his last position was captain in the Ottoman army. During the First World War, he served in the Aziziye Hospital as captain in the Ottoman army, and was shot on the road to Shabin Karahisar, in June, 1915. He was also married and had a daughter by the name of Persape, who survived the Armenian Genocide and settled in the USA.
Dikran A. Kassabian	Born in Diyarbakir, Asia Minor to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his Medical Degree in 1912, and worked as a physician at the German hospital in Urfa. His last position was captain in the Ottoman army, and was murdered in Erzurum in 1915.
Maksud Hagop Apikian	Born in Tokat, Asia Minor in 1888 to an Armenian Apostolic family. He received his BA from Anatolia College and his Medical Degree in 1914 from the Syrian Protestant College. He worked as a physician in Anatolia College hospital in 1914, and while serving as captain in the Ottoman army, he was murdered in 1915.

Nishan Hovsep Bakkalian	Born in Diyarbakir, Asia Minor to an Armenian Apostolic family He received his BA from Central Turkey College and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1914. While serving as captain in the Ottoman army, he was murdered in 1915.
Mesrob Sarkis Vartanian	Born in Zera, Asia Minor to an Armenian Apostolic family in 1888. He received his MD in 1914 and while serving as captain in the Ottoman army, he was murdered in 1915.
Vartan Hagop Piranian	Born in Gurin, Asia Minor in 1885 to a Protestant family. He received his BA from Central Turkey College and his Medical Degree from the Syrian Protestant College in 1917. His last position was captain in the Ottoman army, and was murdered in Tiberias, Palestine in 1918.
Marie Hovhannes Dalkranian	She received her Nursing diploma in 1920. After graduation she worked at the American Hospital, where she was deceased on May 8, 1921.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary Sources

1. *AUB Archival Sources*

- Accessions of the Jafet Library*, Vol.2, April 1901- October 1920. (Unclassified)
Annual Reports of the SPC to the Board of Managers/Trustees. (Available Online)
Bayard Dodge Collection (AA: 2.3.4)
Edward F. Nickoley Collection, 1920-1923 (AA: 2.3.3)
History of SPC and AUB (AA 1.6.1)
Howard Bliss Collection, 1902-1920 (AA: 2.3)
Memorabilia, 1866-1938 (AA 1.6.2)
Minutes of Board of Trustees 1895-1916 (AA 2.1.0)
Minutes of the Board of Managers 1864-1903 (AA 2.1.2)
Minutes of the Faculties, 1867-1940 (AA 3.4.2)
Student Manuscript Magazines, 1899-1930 (AA 4.2.1)
Students 1910's (AA: 4.3.3)

2. *Books and Documents*

Album of Armenian Graduates from the American University of Beirut 1890-1934.
Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1935. (Available at Jafet Library)

American University of Beirut. *Who's Who, 1870-1923*. Beirut: Printed at the American Press, 1924.

Anonymous. *25th Anniversary of the Armenian Students Union at the American University of Beirut* (in Armenian). Beirut, Vahakn Printing House, 1933.

Catalogue of Syrian Protestant College. Beirut: American Press, 1907.

Dodge, Bayard. "Report of the President of the American University of Beirut for the Sixty Third Year, 1928-29," in *Annual report of the Near East College Association incorporated*. New York: Near East College Association.

Freyer, E.G. "Beirut-Letter from Aintab. Closing of the Central Turkey College. Reasons. Student Riots, "March 9, 1909, Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence and Reports, 1833-1911, Syria Lebanon Mission, 1869-1910. Presbyterian Historical Society. *Archives Unbound*. Web

<http://go.galegroup.com/gdsc/i.do?&id=GALE%7CSC5104859678&v=2.1&u=aub&it=r&p=GDSC&sw=w&viewtype=fullcitation>>

Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States The Paris Peace Conference 1919. Vol XII. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.

The American University of Beirut Directory of Alumni, 1870-1952. Beirut Alumni Association, 1953.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Al-Kulliyah (Beirut)

Armenian Herald (Boston)

Evangelical Christendom, Christian Work and the News of the Churches (London)

Levant Trade Review (Constantinople)

NARD journal (Chicago)

New York Observer

Newsletter (Robert College and American University of Beirut, New York)

Our World (New York)

The Literary Digest (New York)

The Missionary Herald (Boston)

The Missionary Herald at Home and Abroad (Boston)

The Muslim World (New York)

The New Armenia (New York)

The New Armenia (New York)

The New Near East (New York)

The Outlook (New York)

The Search-Light (New York)

The Woman Citizen (New York)

The World Today (Chicago)

B. Secondary Sources

1. Books

Antakly, Waheeb George. "American Protestant Educational Missions: Their Influence on Syria and Arab Nationalism, 1820-1923." PhD. diss. American University, Washington DC, 1975.

Antonius, George. *The Arab Awakening*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1961.

- Barsoumian, Kevork. *History of Aintabs' Armenian Revolutionary Federation* (in Armenian). Aleppo: Tigris Publication, 1957.
- Barsoumian, Nazareth. *Stowaway to Heaven*. Barrington, Illinois: Armenian Information Bureau, 1960.
- Barton, James. *Human Progress through Missions*. Fleming H. Revell Company, 1912.
- Blackwell, Alice Stone. *Armenian Poems*. Boston: 1917.
- Bloxham, Donald. *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians*. Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Botsford, George Willis. *A History of the Ancient World*. Macmillan, 1911.
- Bryce, Viscount James, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-16: documents presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon, Secretary of state for foreign affairs*. HMSO, Printed by Sir Joseph Causton and Sons, 1916.
- Catalogue of Euphrates College, 1911-1912*. Boston: Trustees of Euphrates College, accessed April 27, 2015, American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/11091>
- Childs, W.J. *Across Asia Minor on Foot*. New York: William Blackwood and Sons, 1917.
- Coe, Fanny E. and Larkin Dunton, *Modern Europe*. New York: Silver, Burdett, 1892.
- Daniel, Robert. *American Philanthropy in the Near East, 1820-1969*. Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1970.
- Der Matossian, Bedross. "Ethnic Politics in Post-Revolutionary Ottoman Empire: Armenians, Arabs, and Jews in the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1909)." PhD diss., Columbia University, 2008.
- Dodge, Bayard. *The American University of Beirut: a Brief History of the University and the Lands which it serves*. Beirut: Khayat's, 1958.
- Elliott, Mabel Evelyn. *Beginning Again at Ararat*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1924.
- Garoyan, Kaspar. *Martyred Armenian Doctors of the Genocide* (in Armenian). Boston: 1957.

- General catalogue of Central Turkey College: Aintab, Turkey, Asia.* Beirut: American Press, 1906, accessed April 27, 2015, American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/11305>
- Grabill, Joseph L. *Protestant diplomacy and the Near East: missionary influence on American policy, 1810-1927.* University of Minnesota Press, 1971.
- Hazen, Charles Downer. *Europe since 1815.* H. Holt, 1910.
- Horne, John. ed. *A Companion to World War I.* John Wiley & Sons, 2011.
- Jessup, Henry Harris. *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, vol. 1. New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910.
- Kaprielian-Churchill, Isabel. *Sisters of Mercy and Survival: Armenian Nurses, 1900-1930.* Beirut: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2012.
- Kennedy, Judd W. "American Missionaries in Turkey and Northern Syria and the Development of Central Turkey and Aleppo Colleges, 1874-1967." BA, College of William and Mary, 2008.
- Kerr, Stanley Elphinstone. *The Lions of Marash: Personal Experiences with American Near East Relief, 1919-1922.* SUNY Press, 1973.
- Kevorkian, Raymond. *The Armenian Genocide: a Complete History.* IB Tauris, 2011.
- Kieser, Hans-Lukas. *A Quest for Belonging: Anatolia beyond Empire and Nation (19th 21st Centuries).* Istanbul: Isis Press, 2007.
- Lord, John. *Modern Europe; A School History.* London: 1882.
- Missions of the A.B.C.F.M. in Turkey.* Constantinople: printed by H. Mateossian, accessed April 27, 2015, American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/11281>
- Myers, Philip Van Ness. *Outlines of Ancient History, from the Earliest Times to the fall of the Western Roman Empire, A. D. 476.* Boston: Ginn & company, 1887.
- Nakashian, Avedis. *A Man Who Found a Country.* New York, Crowell, 1940.
- Nalbandian, Louise. *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: the Development of Armenian Political Parties through the Nineteenth 19th Century.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963.
- Ninety-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.* New York: 1897, 208.

- Panossian, Razmik. *The Armenians: from Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars*. Columbia University Press, 2013.
- Renouf, Vincent Adams. *Outlines of General History*. Macmillan, 1909.
- Riggs, Alice. *Shepard of Aintab*. New York: Interchurch Press, 1920.
- Robinson, James Harvey. *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe*. Boston: Ginn & company, 1902.
- Sanjian, Avedis. *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965.
- Schahgaldian, Nikola B. "The Political Integration of an Immigrant Community into a Composite Society: the Armenians in Lebanon, 1920-1974." PhD diss. Columbia University, 1979.
- Scholz, Norbert J. "Foreign education and indigenous reaction in late Ottoman Lebanon: Students and teachers at the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut." PhD diss., Georgetown University, 1997.
- Shrikian, Gorun. *Armenians under the Ottoman Empire and the American Missions' Influence*. Ottawa: Canada, 2011.
- Suny, Ronald Grigor. *Looking toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History*. Indiana University Press, 1993.
- Swinton, William. *Outlines of the World's History*. Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, and Company, 1874.
- Tanchoudian, Haroutyun. *The Meeting of Constanta and the Twenty Gallows* (in Armenian). Beirut: 1973.
- Teotig. *Monument to April 11* (in Armenian), Constantinople: 1919.
- Ter Minassian, Anahit. *Nationalism and Socialism in the Armenian Revolutionary Movement*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Zoryan Institute, 1984.
- Ussher, Clarence and Grace Higley Knapp. *An American Physician in Turkey: A Narrative of Adventures in Peace and War*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917.
- Varjabedian, Sisak. *Armenians in Lebanon* (in Armenian). Beirut: 1951.

Young J. Pamela. *“Knowledge, nation, and the curriculum: Ottoman Armenian education (1853-1915).”* PhD. diss., University of Michigan, 2001.

2. Articles and Book Chapters

Bliss, Howard. “Students and the Application of Christ’s Teachings to Modern Life: To National Life,” *Report of the Conference of the World’s Student Christian Federation, Robert College April 24 28 1914*. Printed by the World’s Student Christian Federation, 1911.

Bliss, Howard. “Sunshine in Turkey.” *The National Geographic Magazine*, 20, no.1 (Jan 1909). 66-76.

Crane, Charles. “The Row in Syria.” *Our World*, (Aug. 1922): 3-8.

Dadrian, Vahakn N. "The role of Turkish physicians in the World War I genocide of Ottoman Armenians." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 1, no. 2 (1986): 169-192.

Dodge, Bayard. “The American University of Beirut.” *Journal of World History* 10, no.4 (1967):780-797.

Doolittle, George. “With the Turkish Army in the Desert, an American Red Cross Relief Caravan Journeys across Syria toward Egypt.” *The American Red Cross magazine* 10, no. 9 (Sep 1915): 315-319.

Dorman, Harry. “Turko-Armenian Relief,” *American Red Cross Bulletin* 4, no. 4 (Oct. 1909): 8-29.

Fildis, Ayşe Tekdal. "The American Board's Vision of Protestant Anatolia and Fostering Armenian Nationalism 1810–90." *Middle Eastern Studies* 48, no.5 (2012): 735-747.

Gulbenkian, Gulbenk. “Views on the Present Peace Proposal.” *Armenian Herald* 1, Feb 1918.

Hagopian, Nerses. “The Armenian Revolutionary Federation in Aintab.” In *History of Aintab Armenians*, vol 1, edited by Kevork Sarafian, 953-984. Los Angeles: Union of the Armenians of Aintab in America, 1953.

Hovannisian, Richard. “The Armenian Question in the Ottoman Empire 1876 to 1914.” In *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times, vol. 2: Foreign Domination to Statehood: The Fifteenth Century to the Twentieth Century*, edited by Richard Hovannisian. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997.

- Kaiser, Hilmar. "The Armenians in Lebanon during the Armenian Genocide." In *Armenians of Lebanon: From Past Princesses and Refugees to Present-Day Community*, edited by Aida Boudjikianian, 31-56. Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2009.
- Khatanassian, Yervant. "History of the Zavarian Student Association (Part A – 1904 1914). http://www.zavarian.org/?page_id=7 , accessed October 2, 2014.
- Kieser, Hans-Lukas. "Mission as Factor of Change in Turkey (nineteenth to first half of twentieth century)." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13, no. 4 (2002): 391-410.
- Libaridian, Gerard. "What Was Revolutionary About Armenian Revolutionary Parties in the Ottoman Empire? In *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire*, edited by Ronald Grigor Suny, Fatma Müge Göçek, and Norman M. Naimark. 82-113. Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Merguerian, Barbara J. "Missions in Eden": Shaping an Educational and Social Program for the Armenians in Eastern Turkey (1855-1895). In *New faith in ancient lands: Western missions in the Middle East in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*, edited by Heleen Murre-van den Berg. 241-261. Brill, 2006.
- Petro, Jack. "Dr. Benne" in *Twenty Gallows* (in Armenian). Providence: Yeredasart Hayasdan, 1916.
- Porter, Harvey. "Outline of the History, Ethnology and Religious Conditions in the Turkish Empire." In *Reconstruction in Turkey: A Series of Reports Compiled for the American Committee of Armenian and Syrian Relief*, edited by William Hall, 9-28. New York: 1918.
- Starkey, Elizabeth. "A Talk with Bayard Dodge." *Saudi Aramco World* 23, no. 4 (1972): 11-17.
- Ward, Edwin St. John. "American Red Cross Work in Turkey." *Levant Trade Review* 5, no.1 (June Quarter, 1915): 3-10.
- Woodberry, Robert D. "The Social Impact of Missionary Higher Education." In *Christian Responses to Asian Challenges: A Globalization View on Christian Higher Education in East Asia*, edited by Philip Yuen Sang Leung and Peter Tze Ming Ng, 99-120. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2007.
- Zavarian, Simon. *Azadamard May 8, 1911*, in *Nshkharner Simon Zavariane* (in Armenian). Beirut: 1968.

