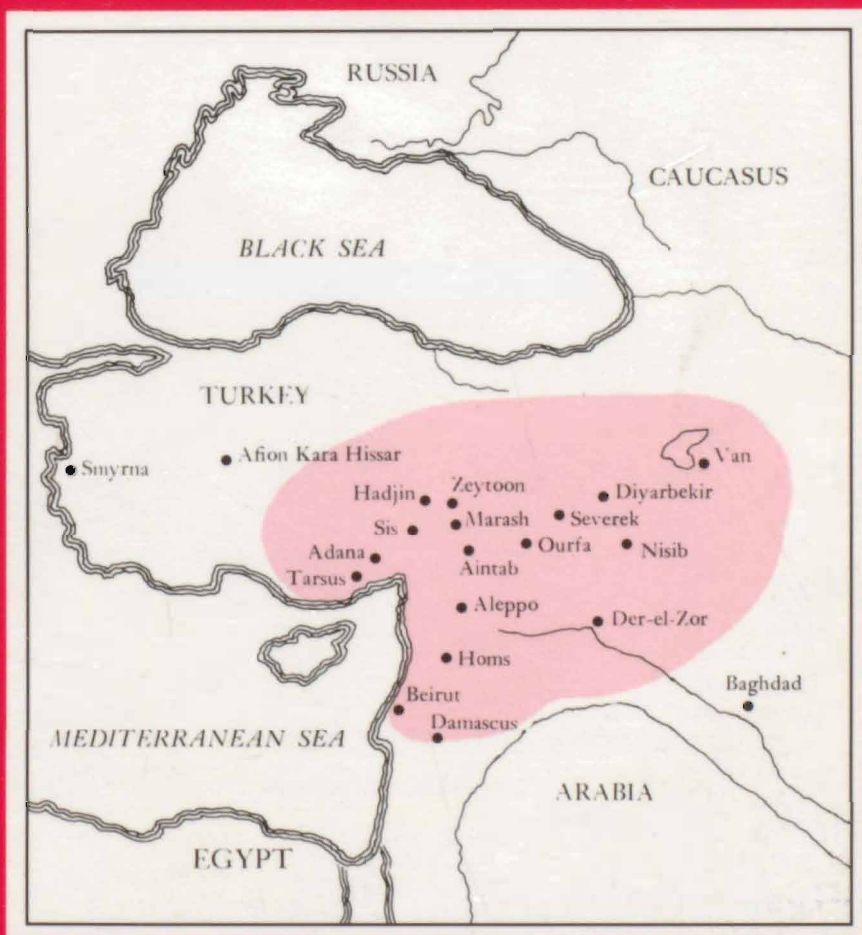


THIRD EDITION

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An Odyssey of Faith

NEITHER TO LAUGH NOR TO WEEP

A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide
BY ABRAHAM H. HARTUNIAN
Translated by Vartan Hartunian



New Foreword by Rabbi Earl A. Grollman
Preface by Henry Morgenthau, Sr.
Introduction by Marjorie Housepian Dobkin

*Neither To Laugh
nor To Weep*

**I HAVE DETERMINED NEITHER TO
LAUGH NOR TO WEEP OVER THE
ACTIONS OF MEN, BUT MERELY TO
UNDERSTAND THEM.**

—Spinoza

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nor To Weep*

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original Armenian manuscripts
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Armenian Heritage Press
National Association for Armenian Studies and Research
Belmont, Massachusetts

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

BECAUSE my autobiography is tied up with Turkey, the Turks, and Moslems, and a number of European powers, it is natural that I have borne down heavily upon them. But I desire people to know that in my heart there is neither hate nor revenge. I have not written to dishonor anyone. And especially, I have no wish to poison minds against the Turks. I trust that the present Turk is ashamed of what the old Turk did. I trust that the so-called Christian powers of Europe regret the wrongs they heaped upon the Armenians. And I believe that finally, in this world, God's power will prevail, and justice will conquer might.

—ABRAHAM H. HARTUNIAN

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

IN 1938, my father, feeling that perhaps the story of his life might be of assistance and encouragement to people in what was too often an unjust world, asked me to translate his memoirs into English. Shortly after the task was completed, my father died and the translation remained as the Armenian original—a family treasure.

National and world events since then have indicated to me that my father's account of his life in Armenia should be publicly told.

I was further encouraged in this feeling by my wife Grace and by a fellow clergyman, Rabbi Earl A. Grollman of the Beth El Temple Center in Belmont.

In the publication of the document, I echo the sentiments of my father as expressed in the preceding Author's Note.

Many people have been of help, but in particular I wish to express my appreciation to the Reverend Dr. Dicran Y. Kassouny for his checking of the translation; to Mr. Harold R. Battersby for his transliterations and translations of certain Turkish phrases; and to Mrs. Armine Mardiguan and Miss Susan Haroian for their typing.

—VARTAN HARTUNIAN

June 19, 1968

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

(to the First Edition)

THIS DOCUMENT is the memoir of an Armenian Protestant pastor and community leader who miraculously survived the massacres and deportations of the Armenians in Turkey from 1895 to 1922.

Escaping with his family to the United States, the author wrote this account of the long troubled period. He reveals a human being grappling with evil and malign powers almost too great to be borne or understood; and throughout there emerges the agony and frustration of an entire nation facing obliteration.

The translation was made by the author's son, who was himself a victim of this great tragedy.

In its dedication to the responsible exploration of the human condition through books, Beacon Press finds this document to have peculiar power and reality as well as particular meaning and relevance for the world today.

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

by Rabbi Earl A. Grollman

page ix

PREFACE

by Henry Morgenthau, Sr.

page xiii

INTRODUCTION

by Marjorie Housepian Dobkin

page xvii

PART ONE

1872-1914

pages 1 to 47

PART TWO

1914-1918

pages 49 to 117

PART THREE

1919-1922

pages 119 to 206

Why is a rabbi writing a foreword for a book dealing with the Armenian Genocide? The usual Jewish response to a question is another question: "Why not?"

Perhaps it was *besherd*, the Yiddish word for "divine providence." Perhaps it was coincidence. But this is how the memoir of an Armenian Protestant pastor came into book form.

Several decades ago, I read a blurb in the newspaper about the fiftieth anniversary of the Armenian Genocide. In truth, I knew little about this event, even though I had been a history major in college. I don't even recall a discussion about this tragedy. At best, this inhuman chapter was but a footnote in the world's chronicles. As a Jew whose destiny was inextricably linked with the Holocaust, I was especially interested in the first genocide of the twentieth century that had taken the lives of one and one-half million Armenians and scattered the remnants throughout the world.

For a briefing I went to visit my dear friend and colleague, the Reverend Vartan Hartunian, pastor of the First Armenian Church in Belmont, Massachusetts. He eloquently described the agonizing episodes in his own personal life and that of his family. Just as I was leaving, he said: "You might wish to look at a memoir of my father that I have translated."

I read it that night. I didn't sleep. I was at his church early the next morning. "Vartan, it must be published," I said. "It will help to

sensitize the conscience of the civilized world, not only about your past but the potential for genocide that is still lurking on the dark side of humanity."

I was intrigued to learn that a Jewish United States Ambassador to Turkey, Henry Morgenthau, Sr., had cabled the Secretary of State in Washington on July 16, 1915, that "a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion." Yet the world was silent.

Was not the Armenian Genocide the harbinger of the Jewish Holocaust during which six million of my brethren were slaughtered? The Holocaust is overwhelming in its scope and shattering in its fury. The death camps were minutely planned and executed over a twelve-year period with the compliance of thousands of German citizens, to the deafening silence of the world. The names of the Jews were carefully chosen, listed, tabulated, and stamped. The Nazis went to incredible lengths to find even a single missing Jew. Unique in all human history, the Holocaust was evil for evil's sake. So was the Armenian Genocide.

Now I understand that Hitler, when he launched his invasion of Poland in 1939, assured his generals that their destructive enterprise, however brutal, would gain the laurels which history reserves for winners. "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?" Hitler is reported to have asked. One demonic precedent ignored by the community of nations set the stage for another.

One day, Reverend Hartunian excitedly called with the good news. A major university press would publish the memoirs. Then months passed. I called him to find out what had happened. He told me that ten Middle Eastern scholars had refused to write an introduction for fear of reprisal from Turkey against possible future research. Even our own State Department urged that it not be published. I thought of the words of Robert Cohen, who wrote in the *Washington Post*: "The process of killing the truth is the last phase of any genocide, and that's what the Turks are doing."

So I contacted my publisher, Beacon Press. This courageous press was the first to publish the Pentagon Papers. The memoirs were enthusiastically accepted. That's how *Neither to Laugh nor To Weep* was born in 1968.

I am writing this foreword because only the truth can set us free. The book of Kohelith, *Ecclesiastes*, provides the following wisdom:

One generation passeth away,
another generation cometh,
yet the earth remaineth the same.

I think of these words as I consider the Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust. The first genocide of the twentieth century took place in 1915. The world was silent. One generation later, the Holocaust took place. The world was silent. Revisionists arose. History was rewritten. Turkish authorities said: "Sure, a few thousand Armenians died of natural causes, but to the contrary, it was the Armenians who massacred the Turks!" And now we read of other historians who claim that for the Jews there was no Holocaust! The crematoria were erected to bake bread for the soldiers. "One generation passeth away."

In 1985, Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of Defense, disdained a resolution to designate a National Day of Remembrance with reference to the Armenian Genocide on the grounds that it would encourage Armenian terrorists. And so the Turks need never acknowledge their guilt.

And need I go into the details of former President Ronald Reagan's tiptoeing through the pages of history? Reagan's reasons for ignoring the Holocaust and the meaning of the Allied victory in World War II were expressed in a press conference in feckless psychobabble:

And I felt that since the German people – and very few alive that remember even the war, and certainly none of them who were adults and participating in any way – and they have a feeling and a guilt feeling that's been imposed upon them, and I just think it's unnecessary.

That statement is remarkable. "A guilt feeling that's been imposed upon them." By what? The Nuremberg trials? Hitler's unhappy childhood? Or by themselves and by the facts of history? And to visit a military cemetery in Bitberg which contains the last resting place for members of Hitler's elite guard, the SS. "One generation passeth away."

I am writing this foreword because non-Armenians, even some of my Jewish co-religionists, consider championing the Armenian Genocide

as inconvenient and unwise because of our (America's and Israel's) relationship with Turkey. Remember Ambassador Henry Morgenthau's valiant efforts to save the Armenians during his service in Constantinople. He would have offered his own life, if necessary, on behalf of Christian Armenians. He wrote that as a Jew he could not imagine a nobler cause for which to sacrifice himself.

A Jewish professor of Armenian Studies at Harvard University, James R. Russell, recalls a terrifying picture of a small child in the Warsaw Ghetto with a caption by the Anti-Defamation League: "If the Holocaust never happened, where are the 6,000,000 Jews of Europe?" Dr. Russell appropriately adds: "Where are the millions of Armenians of Sivas, Kayseri, Aintab, Van, Malatia, Urfa, Erzurum?" Whenever one denies reality or camouflages the truth, one should recall the words of Elie Wiesel: "Just as memory preserved the past, so does it ensure the future and our dedication to both."

I am writing this foreword because of the shared experience of Armenians and Jews. We share a history of tears. We must never let the world forget. We must become its conscience. We must never again become silent in the face of persecution and annihilation. As we read this moving book, let us vow not to give Hitler and Talaat a posthumous victory. For we are all survivors. There but for the grace of God we might have been the victims.

While remembering the Armenian and Jewish dead,
And other innocents who were brutally slaughtered,
Let us act for the living.
Let us build upon the foundations of truth.
Grant, O Lord, a life of dignity and understanding
Among all the peoples of the earth,
And inspire us with courage to do what has to be done
To keep alive the memories of the past.

Our task is one . . .
All humankind is one!

Rabbi Earl A. Grollman, DD, DHL
Belmont, Massachusetts

The successful revolution of the Young Turks in 1908, which resulted in the deposition of Sultan Abdul Hamid, was hailed by all the world as the dawn of a new era for Turkey. Everyone was delighted at the substitution of a modern, progressive government in place of the much detested, tyrannous rule of Abdul Hamid. The greatest rejoicings were amongst the Armenians. They promptly offered their assistance to the new Party, which promised equal rights to all citizens under a constitutional government. I have not the space here to elaborate on the fact that the performance of the Government was a terrible disappointment after everyone's expectations had been so great. The massacres at Adana in 1909, and the rapid development of the domineering and chauvinistic attitude of the Young Turks soon dispelled all the illusions of the Armenians and convinced them that the old relations of conquering and conquered races would continue. The long-hoped-for equality and liberty failed to materialize. The treatment of the Armenians became so intolerable in 1913 that they appealed to the European Governments for relief. After months of negotiation an arrangement was consummated whereby the Sublime Porte permitted of two European Inspectors who were to have supervisory powers in the six Armenian vilayets. Messrs. Hoff and Westeneng, the former a Swede and the latter a Hollander, were appointed. They came to Constantinople for instructions and had not yet been fully installed when the European War broke out and the Turkish Government promptly revoked their authority and asked them to leave the country.

The months of August, September, and October 1914, while Turkey was still neutral, proved to be a time which marked great turning-points in the history of Turkey. The Turks promptly mobilized, abrogated the capitulatory rights of the foreign subjects, abolished all foreign post-offices, increased their customs duties, and in every other way took advantage of the fact that the Great Powers were at war with each other. Their success in preventing the Allies from piercing the Dardanelles made them feel like conquerors and awakened in them the hope that they would again become a world power.

The conditions of the War gave to the Turkish Government its longed-for opportunity to lay hold of the Armenians. At the very beginning they sent for some of the Armenian leaders and notified them that, if any Armenians should render the slightest assistance to the Russians when they invaded Turkey, they would not stop to investigate but would punish the entire race for it. During the spring of 1914 they evolved their plan to destroy the Armenian race. They criticized their ancestors for neglecting to destroy or convert the Christian races to Mohammedanism at the time when they first subjugated them. Now, as four of the Great Powers were at war with them and the two others were their allies, they thought the time opportune to make good the oversight of their ancestors in the fifteenth century. They concluded that, once they had carried out their plan, the Great Powers would find themselves before an accomplished fact and that their crime would be condoned, as was done in the case of the massacres of 1895-96, when the Great Powers did not even reprimand the Sultan.

They had drafted the able-bodied Armenians into the army without, however, giving them arms; they used them simply to build roads or do similar menial work. Then, under pretext of searching the houses for arms, they pillaged the belongings of the villagers. They requisitioned for the use of their army all that they could get from the Armenians, without paying for it. They asked them to make exorbitant contributions for the benefit of the National Defense Committee.

The final and worst measure used against the Armenians was the wholesale deportation of the entire population from their homes and their exile to the desert, with all the accompanying horrors on the way. No means were provided for their transportation or nourish-

ment. The victims, who included educated men and women of standing, had to walk on foot, exposed to the attacks of bands of criminals especially organized for that purpose. Homes were literally uprooted; families were separated; men killed, women and girls violated daily on the way or taken to harems. Children were thrown into the rivers or sold to strangers by their mothers to save them from starvation. *The facts contained in the reports received at the Embassy from absolutely trustworthy eye-witnesses surpass the most beastly and diabolical cruelties ever before perpetrated or imagined in the history of the world.* The Turkish authorities had stopped all communication between the provinces and the capital in the naive belief that they could consummate this crime of ages before the outside world could hear of it. But the information filtered through the Consuls, missionaries, foreign travellers, and even Turks. We soon learned that orders had been issued to the governors of the provinces to send into exile the entire Armenian population in their jurisdiction, irrespective of age and sex. The local officers, with a few exceptions, carried out literally those instructions. All the able-bodied men had either been drafted into the army or disarmed. The remaining people, old men, women and children, were subjected to the most cruel and outrageous treatment.

I took occasion, in order that the facts might be accurately recorded, to have careful records kept of the statements which were made to me by eye-witnesses of the massacres. These statements included the reports of refugees of all sorts, of Christian missionaries, and of other witnesses. Taken together, they form an account of certain phases of the great massacre which cannot be questioned and which condemns the brutal assassins of this race before all the world. Much of the material which I collected has already been published in the excellent volume of documentary material collected by Viscount Bryce.

Henry Morgenthau, Sr.
American Ambassador to Turkey,
1913-1916

From *The Tragedy of Armenia*
(London, 1918)

At first reading, the Reverend Hartunian's memoir is a compelling and moving drama. I myself read it in one sitting, through an afternoon and far into the night. It has all the gripping quality of a man-hunt, and indeed during the first fifty years of his life the author on several occasions narrowly escaped death. But beyond the dramatic impact of the story, there emerges from this book a sense of cumulative suffering: of survival through repeated cycles of helplessness, torment, and betrayal. In this sense the book reflects the tragic history of the Armenian people.

Studies of their origin are as yet incomplete, for while certain facts have been established others remain shrouded in myth and speculation. According to legend the Armenians were descended from one of Noah's sons after the landing of the Ark on Mount Ararat. Some specialists believe that the "Arimoi" mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad* may have been among the remote forebears of the Armenians.¹

It is generally accepted that in the second millenium B.C. Anatolia was settled by people speaking Indo-European languages who migrated eastward from central or south central Europe, mingled with the assorted indigenous peoples of the area—among the most prominent of these were the Urartians, whose kingdom flourished in the first millenium B.C.—and dominated the cultural hierarchy of the re-

¹In recent studies the distinguished Armenian academician Gevorg B. Djahukian has found evidence indicating that the early Armenian language was closely related to proto-Greek.

sulting group to the extent that the Indo-European elements in their language prevailed. Evidence for these facts comes from, among other sources, inscriptions left by King Darius in the early sixth century B.C. which show "Armenia" in the Persian language and "Urartu" in Babylonian, indicating the connection of the two groups by that time. Herodotus, in the fifth century B.C., writes of Armenia in his *Histories*. And, according to Tacitus, by 190 B.C., under their King, Artaxias, the Armenians had united all local groups and achieved cultural unity, with Armenian as the dominant language.

At its height the Armenian kingdom comprised an empire including what is now a large part of northeastern Turkey, the southern U.S.S.R., and northwestern Iran. After 301 A.D., when Gregory the Illuminator converted the Armenian king to Christianity, the Armenian national church—sometimes called "Gregorian" but claiming Apostolic foundations—preserved the cultural identity of the Armenians in the face of successive invasions by Greeks, Romans, Persians, Arabs, Seljuks, Mongols, Tartars, and lastly the Ottoman Turks.

Dominated by the empires of Rome and Persia and, after the thirteenth century, by the Ottomans, the Armenians were at almost every stage of their history beset by tragic alternatives: they could convert and assimilate with the dominant group, or retain their religious and cultural identity at considerable peril.

From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries the Ottoman rulers gave cultural and religious autonomy to subject Christians and Jews ("People of the Book") who constituted the farmers, craftsmen, and the chief taxpayers of the Empire. Forbidden to bear arms, these subjects were exempt from military service but had no means of protecting themselves against their Moslem neighbors, and under Moslem law could seek no redress in court. After the sixteenth century, when the Empire began its long decline, corruption seeped down the ranks from the Sultans' viziers to the lowliest governmental officials in the provinces. Bribery and illegal taxes proliferated, and the central government moved increasingly unruly Moslem tribes (who by now constituted a vast, unemployed army) into the predominantly Armenian provinces where they could harass, pillage, rape, and kidnap the unarmed Christians with impunity. The result was the dispersion of Armenians throughout the Empire and, for the more fortunate, to other

nations. But the condition of those left behind became correspondingly more precarious.

At its height the Ottoman Empire stretched to the gates of Vienna in the West and North Africa and the Persian Gulf in the South and East. But after the Greeks fought for and gained their independence (with the assistance of England and France) in the early nineteenth century and other restive European subjects in the Balkans rebelled and followed suit, Eastern Anatolia (where the Armenians were concentrated), without commercial resources, held little interest for the European Powers.

By 1914 approximately 1,700,000 Armenians lived in the Russian Caucasus and controlled much of the wealth of Tiflis and Baku. Others had become established in the great cities of the West as well as in India and the Far East. From their safe havens, diaspora Armenians often exhorted their Turkish-Armenian kinsmen to rebellion, with no success. Armenian groups did form political parties in the last decades of the nineteenth century, but their primary aim was the establishment of reforms in the Ottoman Constitution and a measure of autonomy and safety in the northeastern provinces, where intolerable conditions and periodic massacre had become endemic. But England, while bemoaning the treatment of the Armenians, was virtually in control of the dissolute Empire and discouraged political reforms which might have lessened that control. And wealthy European merchants, established for generations in Constantinople and Smyrna, were exempt from all taxes and held diplomatic immunity from Ottoman law. They found the *status quo* ideal, for it was the very lack of reforms in the Empire's treatment of its Christian subjects that provided the justification for exceptional privileges (called "capitulations") given to foreign residents.

The Crimean War (1851-56) and the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78) had resulted from Russia's endeavors to penetrate Turkey by acting as protector of the Armenians, whose plight was merely worsened when England and France refused to allow Russia that privilege. Indeed, the Armenians had enormous problems in Turkey, but the so-called "Armenian problem" (alternately referred to as "the Armenian Question") was both created and exacerbated by the European Powers.

Economically defunct and in need of a scapegoat, the Turkish gov-

ernment would turn on the Armenians. Among the Powers there would be a great deal of talk and shaking of heads on all sides; the talk would enrage, and the lack of action would encourage further massacre. By the end of the nineteenth century nearly half a million Turkish-Armenians had been slaughtered, 300,000 of them in 1895-96 by order of Abdul Hamid II, aptly called "the bloody Sultan."

Beginning in 1820, hundreds of Protestant missionaries were meanwhile arriving in Turkey from America. They set up and staffed schools on the American model—by 1915 there were well over 500. The Armenians welcomed what they perceived as foreign interest and therefore protection. They were moreover excited by the Western education brought by the missionaries, and made up a large proportion of the students in these schools. The explosion of American-style religion as well as educational opportunities into the remotest areas of Turkey also encouraged some Armenians, such as the Reverend Har-tunian, to espouse the more Evangelical Christianity of the missionaries. During the First World War and until the United States entered against Germany and diplomatic relations with Turkey were broken, many missionaries stayed in Turkey and were eyewitness to the Genocide of the Armenians in 1915-16, as their predecessors had been to the earlier massacres.

The outbreak of the Russian Revolution proved yet another disaster for the Armenians. In 1917 Russia made a separate peace at Brest-Litovsk and returned to Turkey the bordering provinces to which tens of thousands of Armenians had fled over the frontier during the Genocide. Under the terms of the treaty which was concluded, the Armenians were allowed a small, independent state. They had already set one up after the area was abandoned by the Russians, and it had almost immediately been invaded by the Turks, who now, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk notwithstanding, attacked with even greater ferocity while the Armenians fought back with equal ferocity.²

The armistice in 1918 brought no relief to the Armenians; the Allied leaders meeting in Paris had other priorities, namely a settlement with Germany. In 1920, under the Treaty of Sevres, they were promised a

²It was during this time that Armenians in this region killed Turks, including innocent civilian Turks, and not, as Turkish historians now claim, during the Genocide of 1915-16.

much larger state with boundaries drawn up by President Wilson himself, who counted on an American mandate over the area. But the Sevres treaty, never ratified by any of the Allied Powers, was outdated even before its terms were revealed. Political realities had swiftly overtaken the promises made to the Armenians and others in wartime, and none of the provisions of the treaty were ever adhered to. The net result of the treaty was simply to outrage the Turks into rallying behind the insurgent leadership of Mustapha Kemal (Ataturk). In truth, after 1919, the Allies had swiftly reversed their earlier edicts and begun courting Kemal's emergent leadership, each behind the others' backs. Their chief aim: to gain the exploitation rights and attendant commercial advantages to the oil of the Mosul, until then the greatest oil find in history. (It belonged to Turkey until 1927—thereafter it became Iraq.) The new technology was proving its thirst for this commodity; as Henry Berenger wrote to French Premier Clemenceau on December 12, 1919: "He who owns the oil will rule the world." The Armenian lands held no such precious resource, and as Admiral Mark Bristol wrote to a fellow admiral from his post as American High Commissioner in Constantinople, "We would be taking the lemon" [in accepting a Mandate over Armenia].³ After the proposal for a Mandate was defeated by the United States Senate, the only choice remaining to the starving and beleaguered Armenians in the Caucasus was to have their sole remaining province of Yerevan fall into Turkish hands or to cede it to an approaching Soviet army. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that they chose the latter. In the Armenian SSR (the smallest of the Soviet republics) over three million Armenians now live with a surprising degree of religious and cultural autonomy, while the few Armenians remaining in Turkey are finding it increasingly expedient to assimilate.⁴

Readers of the Reverend Hartunian's memoirs will note the extent to which he relates the story of the treatment of the Armenians in Turkey between 1895 and 1922. Having lived through no less than seven separate massacres, including the Genocide of 1915 and the coda—the burning of Smyrna in 1922—the Reverend Hartunian embodies the

³Letter, Admiral Bristol to Admiral W.S. Benson, June 3, 1919, Bristol Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴The best available estimate places the number of Armenians living in Turkey at the present time at 65,000. See the survey by Armenag Voskanian in *Lraper*, social sciences monthly published by the Academy of Sciences of Armenia, September, 1985.

Armenian experience of those years. Although a case history does not in itself constitute historical proof, each segment of his adventures has been corroborated by hundreds of other escapees and by eyewitnesses (chiefly American and German) whose testimonies are on record. Evidence rests in the archives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Greece, the U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, and Germany, among others. (And it is worth emphasizing that Turkey was Germany's ally during World War I.) The very fact that this is a true story is vitally important to bear in mind in a day when the present Turkish government is orchestrating—at great expense and effort—a denial of this history so frenetic as to make even the uninformed question why this folk “doth protest too much.”

No amount of money and propaganda disguised as scholarship will succeed in changing the historical record. Still, books such as this are essential because the public perception must reflect historical facts. Balanced as we are on the precipice of omnicide, the terror of our predicament lies in our inability to distinguish good from evil and in the very real possibility that the next cataclysm will result from evil disguised, or even intended, as good. At no time in history has it been more important for recent generations to understand clearly the nature, the causes and effects, of earlier horrors and to avoid the dangers of indifference, of deception, and worse, of self-deception. It is to be hoped that the Reverend Hartunian's story will lead to further study and reflection.

There is no ambiguity in his story, yet it is in great part owing to the narrator's pervading wisdom that we cannot (and most certainly must not) forget that the human capacity to commit “crimes against humanity” lies within man's nature. So it is on this level of the book that its deepest value lies, for it raises the most fundamental questions about the nature of man and God. Beyond the question of why evil exists, of why man perversely enjoys inflicting suffering on the innocent, of why God allows this, is the question of how innocence and faith can be sustained in the face of unremitting pain. The book also raises the issues of forgiveness and justice. A true Christian, Abraham Hartunian tells us that he carries in his heart “neither hate nor revenge,” that he trusts “the present day Turk is ashamed of what the old Turk did....” and that he believes, eventually, “justice will conquer might.”

When he speaks of justice, as a man of the cloth, it is surely not of human justice, so often indistinguishable from revenge, but rather Divine justice which is not ours to dispense, which is a part of Divine Grace, and which must be preceded by repentance.

Yet surely a measure of Divine justice is in evidence when one considers that the remnants of the Armenians, decimated and scattered to the winds, have adapted to new homelands, multiplied, and prospered, while continuing to maintain their identity. Today, there are more than double the number of Armenians in the world than were living when Ottoman policy sought their extinction. This in itself is something of a miracle, and it goes far towards vindicating the Reverend Hartunian's faith.

Marjorie Housepian Dobkin
Barnard College
Columbia University

April, 1986

עצם המצב הזה... של כל מיני פחד ופחד
לפני כל מה שהוא יהיה... שום חיס' פחדים...
הוא יותר לראות... פחדים... לראות...
משהו... לפי זאת... המצב...
המזערי... לפי זאת... המצב...
עצם זה... המצב...
לפי זאת... המצב...
לפי זאת... המצב...
לפי זאת... המצב...
לפי זאת... המצב...
לפי זאת... המצב...

After this incident, one day, as I was conversing with a Turkish official, he said to me, "My friend, there is no hope. No longer can the Turk and the Armenian live together. Whenever you find the opportunity, you will annihilate us; and whenever we find the opportunity, we will annihilate you. Now the opportunity is ours and we will do everything to harm you. The wise course for you will be, when the time comes, to leave this country and never to return."

This Turk had spoken the truth. No longer could the Turk be a friend to the Armenian, or the Armenian a friend to the Turk.

PART ONE

1872-1914