

THE COLE COLLECTION

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THE COLE COLLECTION

Journals, Letters, Lectures,

Documents, Photographs, and Artifacts

of

Royal M. Cole and Lizzie C. Cole

American Missionaries in Armenian and

Kurdistan Turkey in the years 1868-1908

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Note: we have adopted the approach throughout this catalogue of referring to place names, administrative divisions, titles of rank or honor, etc., following Rev. Cole's spellings, while occasionally providing variant spellings to be found in Rev. Cole or the British Blue-books. Where we felt the allusion might not be immediately clear, we have given the name in brackets in a modern orthography. Thus we have written, for example, 'Moush' rather than 'Mus,' 'Isbkentsor' instead of 'Akçassir,' 'Ghelieguzan' rather than 'Geligüzan,' 'agha' instead of 'aga,' etc.

I. DR. ROYAL COLE'S JOURNALS

(a) *Bound copy-book journals*

There are nine copy-book journals of Rev. Cole, measuring 21.5cm x 27cm, each of roughly 500 pages (*recto* and *verso*), dating from February 1869 through November 1905. The journals contain text copied by means of pressing handwritten letters and reports of Royal Cole (in his hand, or occasionally in the hand of Mrs. Cole) between treated Japanese copy-paper. Numerous personal diary entries have been written directly into the journals. The journals are for the most part in good to fair condition, with the exception of some fifty pages in each of journals 1- 3, and a good one-third each of journals 4, 8 and 9, where fading or water damage has made reading less easy, although the script is still quite legible. The entry dates of the journals, and the locations whence they were written are as follows:

1. Feb., 1869 - Nov., 1877 (written at Erzeroum) [FOLDER #1]

Extensive records of missionary work at Erzeroum; the beginnings of famine relief work by the Coles; correspondence with numerous Western missionaries and Armenian clergy.

2. May, 1877 - July, 1878 'Erzroom [sic] Diary, War Times' (written at Erzeroum) [FOLDER #2]

Daily entries chronicling the events of the Russo-Turkish War, including the siege of Erzeroum; lengthy descriptions of living conditions at Erzeroum, and records of the Coles' continuing relief work; numerous narratives of Rev. Cole's interviews with the Russian General, Loris-Melikoff; details of the 1877-78 typhus epidemic in Asia Minor.

3. Aug., 1877 - Sept., 1880 (written at Erzeroum) [FOLDER #3]

Records and letters chronicling the Coles' continuing relief work for thousands of the needy and starving at Erzeroum, Kars, and elsewhere; the Russo-Turkish War (many chronicles and analyses); narratives of Dr. Cole's founding of a Christian Evangelical Church in the Ararat region; extensive correspondence with missionaries and clergy; beginnings of an extended analysis of the 'Armenian question'; chronicles of Kurdish life and social organization; antagonistic relations with the Gregorian Church.

4. Oct., 1878 - Nov., 1881 (written at Erzeroum) [FOLDER #4]

Continuing relief work; the building of schools and orphanages at Erzeroum; retrospective analyses of the Russo-Turkish War; Armenian chronicles; Armenian emigration; Kurdish activities.

5. March, 1884 - Sept., 1891 (written at Bitlis) [FOLDER #5]

Records, letters and reports concerning the widespread relief work of the Coles in Bitlis province; records of Rev. Cole's work in various other capacities (as director of schools, orphanages, etc.); records of the establishment by Rev. Cole of a large Christian Evangelical church at Bitlis; life at Bitlis; relations with the Gregorian church; relations of Armenians and Kurds; taxation; general oppression of Armenians; Armenian political organization; the Moussa Bey case, and the question of the prosecution of Kurdish lawlessness; American foreign policy.

6. Oct., 1891 - June, 1896 (written at Bitlis, Sassoun, Semal, and Moush) [FOLDER #6]

Narratives and descriptions of the circumstances leading up to the widespread massacres of Armenians at a number of locations (Sassoun, Talori, Gbeliegunan, Psank province, Van, Akblat, Bitlis, Moush); analyses of the political and religious motivations behind the killings; reports (over one hundred pages) giving detailed accounts of the situation in the greater Sassoun region in the years 1891 to 1894, and meticulous chronicles of the 1894 Sassoun events; orders from the Porte to destroy evidence of the killings, and efforts on the part of the local government to arrest, remove, and kill Armenian eyewitnesses; Bitlis prison and the torture of Armenian Notables; the Hallward case and the question of Western incitement of Armenians; evaluations of the Sassoun Commission of Inquiry; charts and maps of the locations

of the massacres and lists naming some of the dead (at Sassoun, Moush, Gbelieguzan, Semal, Shenik in 1894; in the Garigjan region in the summer of 1896); letters and reports of Rev. Cole's to the U.S. Minister to the Porte and to the U.S. Consul; letters to British consuls and the British Ambassador, Sir P. Currie; letters to associates (Barton; Peet); evaluations of the policies and practices of Sultan Abdülhamid II, and questions concerning the implication of the Central Government in the massacres; the strategies, representations, and actions of the Bitlis vali, Tabsin Pasha.

7. **March, 1892 - Nov., 1896 (written at Bitlis, Moush, Sassoun, and Semal) [FOLDER #7]**

Reports and chronicles of church work, relief work; extended analyses of governmental policies and strategies; narratives of the plights of Armenian individuals and families; letters and reports providing further narratives and descriptions of the massacres of Armenians, the destruction of villages and crops, and the theft of livestock; Kurdish theft of relief funds; lengthy analyses of the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Commission of Inquiry investigating the killings which occurred in the Moush, Guendj [Genç], and Bitlis Central sancaks in the summer of 1894 (the 'Sassoun Massacres'), an evaluation and sustained criticism of the Commission's methods and findings; the organization of anti-Christian societies at Bitlis and Moush; lengthy accounts of the October 1895 Bitlis massacre; the Moush events of November 1895; the George P. Knapp, Jr. affair, and the efforts of the Porte to implicate the missionary in anti-government organizations; Bitlis vali Tabsin Pasa, and his despotic governorship;

8. *****April, 1896 - July, 1899 (written at Bitlis) (many pages typewritten, but many pages also written by hand, and in rather poor condition, though still quite legible) [FOLDER #8]**

Reports chronicling the condition of the poor; the imprisonment of Armenians, the torture of political prisoners in an effort to gain false statements implicating innocent Armenians and Westerners in supposedly seditious activities and organization; the continuing massacres of Armenians throughout the Bitlis vilayet; Kurdish activities; persistent anti-Christian organization and activities; missionary work, and relief throughout the Bitlis province; analyses of the ideology and actions of Armenian political organizations; 'revolutionists' and their agendas.

9. **March, 1899 - July, 1903 (written at Bitlis) (1/2 typewritten) [FOLDER #9]**

Further analyses and reports of the conflicts between Armenian 'revolutionists' and governmental troops (regular Turkish soldiers and Kurdish irregulars); Royal Cole's letters and reports to representatives of relief organizations in the West; retrospective analyses of the Armenian massacres of the 1890s; analyses of the burgeoning 'Young Turks' movement; details of the continuing massacres throughout Bitlis vilayet, and reports by Dr. Cole following a number of tours of 'the ill-fated regions' (particularly at Sassoun, in 1900, 1901, and 1902).

The following list provides only a *selection* of the general subjects to be found in the extensive and detailed reports, entries, and letters of the copy-book journals:

- examples of Dr. Cole's work as a pastor: there are copies of over fifty of his sermons, and over two hundred draft pages and notes for sermons (many of which are dated; all in his hand, in English or Armenian), including sermons on the subject of *Numbers 8:25; Rom. 8:14; Ps. 121:1-2* (a long sermon, some seventeen pages in length, measuring 20cm x 24cm - this sermon was delivered at Erzeroum in June of 1885); *Luke 2:7; Luke 2:11-12; Luke 24:29; Luke 24:35; Mark 10:44-45; Mat. 3:16; Peter 2:1-2; Prov. 14:12; Jonah 1:3; Isa. 58:4-7; 1 Cor. 5:7; Luke 6:38* (a sermon some eight pages in length, in Armenian, in Royal Cole's hand, 'Give, and it shall be given unto you'); *Mark 10:22; Mat. 19:16*; sermons on the subject of faith; prayer; Christian duty as service to fellow man and forgetfulness of self; redeeming time; reading the Word of God (a long series of references in a number of sermons: *Isa. 34:16, Jer. 26:8, Jer. 36:15, Mat. 24:15, Luke 4:16, Rev. 1:3, 1 Tim. 4:13, Jer. 9:13, Acts 17:11, Ps. 119:32, Acts 8:30*); thanksgiving to God; arguments and admonishments against intemperance;
- narratives of Dr. Cole's 1872 ascent of Mr. Ararat; characteristics of the mountain and the region (numerous extended entries, and entire essays devoted to the subject, e.g., an essay from 1877, '*Mt. Ararat and Bayazid*' in which Rev. Cole discusses at length the Jalal Kurdish tribe of the region); reflections on the history of the Ararat region;

- descriptions of missionary life at Erzeroum; details of the city; notes on the history of Erzeroum;
- detailed and broad accounts of the progress of relations between the American missionaries and the Gregorian Armenian church, including a lengthy letter from March 1893 exploring eighteen questions of Church reform and Church practice, and a letter from April 1893 chronicling twenty-five years of tensions and conflicts between the Gregorian church and the American Mission; long and involved accounts of missionary work extending over many years, particularly at Bitlis; chronicles of the improvement in relations between the American missionaries and the Armenian community, from the initial hostility of a large portion of the Armenian community towards the missionaries to the favorable turn of Armenian sympathies in the late 1880s (included is a lengthy and detailed account of an episode of the storming of the American Mission at Bitlis by a mob of angry Armenians, from early 1885); Gregorian political organization in the late 1880s and early 1890s;
- accounts of various aspects of the Russo-Turkish War (including chronicles of the siege of Erzeroum): many accounts of great length (in addition to the seventy-seven pages of drafts and notes for a projected volume on the subject, and the drafts of a smaller-sized War Journal, for which, see *infra*, this catalogue); far-reaching famine relief work by Rev. and Mrs. Cole at Erzeroum; relief work following the war in the northeastern corner of Turkey, particularly at Kars); narratives describing war-time behavior on both sides; further, there are discussions of life under Russian rule after the war: many journal entries and several long essays comparing life in Turkey under Russian rule to life under Turkish rule, including a long essay from 1878 entitled "*Kars Under Russian Rule*," in which Rev. Cole describes, among other topics, Ottoman efforts to prevent Armenian emigration to Russia following the Russo-Turkish war (primarily through the selling of highly-priced special travel permits or road papers to already impoverished peasants); the building of roads and bridges by the Russians, and the Turkish indifference, indeed hostility, towards such examples of progress; analyses and chronicles of Russian influence on Ottoman Armenian society extending over forty years, including lengthy meditations on questions of ideology, political influence, 'nihilistic' influence, etc.; the Russian intervention on behalf of Ottoman Armenians, and subsequent abandonment; Russian persecution of Armenians);
- descriptions of Bitlis, and sketches of daily life in the city and neighboring regions (including a number of detailed examinations of the Mödki Zaza Kurdish tribes northwest of Bitlis); surveys of the architecture at Bitlis, and descriptions of the trees and gardens of Bitlis; lengthy descriptions of cities, towns, and the landscape of the Bitlis province, including Moush, the Moush plain, Sassoun, Psank province, the Ghelieguzan valley, Talori [Dalvorig], and Kurdish Sassoun; long and detailed accounts of the history of the city and region; analyses of the etymology of the city name 'Bitlis';
- accounts of the recruitment, organization and activities of anti-Christian groups; narratives of the establishment of Kurdish *Hamidié* cavalry, and analyses of the role of these troops in the Ottoman agenda; further descriptions of Kurdish *Aghas* (chieftains) and tribal groups, the role of Halil Agha, and other Sasun chieftains, in the Sasun massacres, the Bitlis massacre, and continuing irregularities throughout the region (e.g., at Akhlat, Boulanik, on the plain of Moush); the role of the Sheikh of Zeilan in the organization of anti-Christian actions; reflections on nomadic Kurds and their role in the conflicts in Bitlis *vilayet* (particularly in the area of Sassoun); reports, letters, and diary entries on the subject of the general harassment and persecution of Armenians; pillaging of Armenian villages; robbery of Armenians by Kurdish outlaws; the frequent rape of Armenian women by Kurds and Ottoman regular soldiers; strategies adopted to instill fear in the Armenian people;
- the desultory and exorbitant taxation of Armenians (particularly of merchants and farmers) by the Ottoman government (highly detailed analyses of great subtlety and insight); tithe-gathering, and the abuses of *zaptiehs*; military-exemption taxation; the practice of *hafir* tribute, and the lawlessness of Kurdish exactions;
- the responsibilities, conduct, and authority of Ottoman police in the eastern provinces; the phenomenon of espionage and blackmail in the Ottoman Empire, and analyses of various instances of bribery;

- analyses of the principle of the *kishlak* (the ‘right to quarter’): long narratives chronicling the daily desperation of already impoverished Armenian villagers, forcibly compelled to feed and house passing Kurds, *zaptiehs*, and *Hamidié* soldiers without recompense;
- the various means, direct and indirect, used by the Ottoman government in an attempt to exterminate Armenians; the government's efforts to obstruct relief work on the part of American and British missionaries and humanitarians; the power of the Ottoman governmental seal in helping or hindering relief work; analyses of the responsibilities of district governors-general in the massacres, and in the general persecution and torture of Armenians;
- analyses of the workings of the Porte; numerous extended meditations on the person of Sultan Abdülhamid II, and his interests and strategies;
- chronicles of the government's forced displacement of Armenian families (especially financially successful ones) from Constantinople to the interior cities and towns, and the impossibility for those families to earn even a simple living in their new situations, due to prejudice against them and a lack of demand for the professional skills of their various *métiers*; conversely, the enforcement of administrative measures to prevent survivors of the massacres in the Bitlis *vilayet* and Van *vilayet* from leaving their ruined villages to seek assistance or work in more favored localities;
- the selling at exorbitant prices of ‘travel permits’ by government agents to homeless refugee Armenians following the Sasun massacres, and again following the Van and Garjigan [Kariçkan] massacres of the summer of 1896;
- the widespread massacres of Armenians and the extensive destruction of their villages throughout the Mus *sancak* in August, 1894 (the ‘Sassoun Massacres’); the rebuilding of the Sassoun region (the homes of over 5,000 victims) by Royal Cole and his associates; the humanitarian work of several British relief agencies in 1895-1896; governmental obstructions to the rebuilding of houses in the Sassoun region (many lengthy and highly-detailed analyses); the roles of Tahsin Pasha, Zeki Pasha, Sultan Abdülhamid II, Kurdish Aghas, the Sheikh of Zeilan, and others in the Sassoun massacres of 1894: arguments, justifications and considerations; Ottoman governmental actions to erase traces of the massacres; threats against missionaries and their servants, associates, and friends; the interception and destruction of missionary mail with references to Sassoun; orders from Constantinople to the provincial government to eradicate the very name of Sassoun from maps of the region;
- the massacres at Bitlis on 25 October 1895; the affair of George Knapp, Jr. (the Porte's attempts to charge him with instigating supposed Armenian insurgency, and inciting the events at Bitlis); the Hallward case, and the question of Western encouragement of would-be Armenian sedition;
- the events at Van and the surrounding areas in the summer of 1896; the massacres in the Garjigan region south of Lake Van in the summer of 1896, and their aftermath (extremely detailed reports, charts, lists, and letters); the massacres in the Boulanik and Akhlat regions to the north and northwest of Lake Van in the autumn months of 1896; further analyses and considerations of taxation and the gathering of tithes in Akhlat region;
- the lives of Armenian orphans at Bitlis (with many notes describing their individual fates in the general massacres over the years); the building of orphanages and schools to house and educate Armenian refugees; the education of Armenian orphans (boys and girls), the curricula of the schools;
- the implicit connivance of the European signatory Powers of the Berlin Treaty in the massacres through their failure to assume their responsibilities to protect Ottoman Armenians; extensive and involved reflections on America's ineffectual foreign policy towards Turkey over a number of years; the critical part played by British consuls and representatives in protecting various Armenian communities; the ‘mere presence of English consuls’ preventing massacres on a broader scale in a number of locations (there are many reports on this subject in the journals, in addition to several lengthy retrospective analyses in the draft of Rev. Cole's *Reminiscences*);

- descriptions of Turkish prisons and the general condition of prisoners; the false imprisonment of Armenians on ‘trumped-up charges’ (Cole); the extreme torture of Armenians, the means used to coerce them into publicly renouncing their faith; actions undertaken by local Ottoman governmental officers and their agents to force Armenians into signing papers naming Armenian Notables in crimes, political activities, conspiracy, etc., and denouncing American missionaries and British consuls; blackmail and the practice of bribery in securing releases; a portrait of a prison chaplain at Bitlis;
- the life of women in Turkish and Armenian culture (including a lengthy essay, *Turkish Woman from Cradle to Grave*); the favoring of boys over girls for education in Turkish and Armenian society; the relation of priesthood to reading and writing in the prejudice and opinion of the common man; the power of reading and writing in questions of commerce; schoolgirls of the American mission reading and writing letters for the adult men of their districts;
- the shift in the forty years from 1868 to 1908 from Armenian priest to teacher as target of violence and official surveillance; the public hanging of an Armenian priest at Bitlis;
- education in schools of the Gregorian church; the Gregorian building of schools;
- lengthy biographical essays and addresses on numerous Armenian clergy and their life work;
- extended and detailed descriptions of various cities, towns and villages; districts and provinces, e.g., Trebizond, Erzeroum, Bayazid [Bayezit], Bitlis, Sert [Siirt], Moush, Semal, Shenik, Mt. Antok, Sassoun, Talori, Ghelieguzan, Psank province, Kurdish Sassoun, Modeki [Mödki], Van, the Garjgan region, Boulanik province, Norshen, the Huntsorkeen plain, etc.;
- chronicles of the lives of Royal Cole's family, the trials of life for the Coles in Turkey, spanning forty years; the death of five of their children there;
- copies of correspondence (many hundreds of letters) with other missionaries, and with various workers in the field, including W.W. Peet, G.C. Raynolds, James Barton, *et al.*; lengthy exchanges with notable figures in European/Ottoman diplomacy, e.g., Sir Philip Currie, or important consular officers, for example, H.S. Shipley; correspondence with Judge A.W. Terrell, American Minister to the Porte in the years 1895-1897, and lengthy and involved considerations of his responsibilities and actions;
- narratives of frequent travels undertaken throughout Armenian and Kurdistan Turkey, Persia, Syria, Arabia, and Egypt;
- lengthy descriptions of churches, monasteries, and mosques;
- a number of highly detailed, extended descriptions of various caravansaries (including an exceptionally interesting Seljuk inn at Van);
- descriptions of ancient castles, forts and fortifications (e.g., at Van, Bitlis, Kars);
- descriptions of wedding ceremonies and marriage customs (Armenian, Turkish, and Kurdish); accounts of bridal trains (caravans) and festivities;
- many varied and detailed deliberations on Ottoman criminal law and its enactment; lengthy analyses of Ottoman civil and commercial law; examinations of the influence of the *Code Napoléon* in Turkey, and considerations of the Ottoman Muslim law, the *Mejella* (and shorter analyses of the *Sheri* or *Sheriat*, the Muslim Sacred Law, and its history); descriptions of the Commercial Court, and the Mixed Court division engaged in settling disputes between Ottoman subjects and foreigners; a number of observations on the role and power of judges in the enactment of Ottoman law; considerations of the land court and the registration of titles in Ottoman law (many lengthy and detailed meditations on the question of the Title

- Deed, and the difficulties involved in the foreign ownership of property: schools, churches, orphanages, and residences);
- accounts of various Turkish and Armenian superstitions and folk beliefs;
 - meticulous and extended accounts of the progress made to reduce illiteracy in the years 1868 to 1906 in Armenian and Kurdistan Turkey;
 - descriptions of eating habits in Turkish, Kurdish and Armenian culture; accounts and analyses of temperance in Turkey (and considerations of Muslim observance; for example, in northeastern Turkey under Russian rule);
 - articles, essays, and journal entries on the improvement of postal and telegraphic services in the eastern provinces in the years 1868 to 1906;
 - essays and entries on the building of roads and bridges ('more for military purposes than to accommodate the public'), and descriptions of various means of transport in Turkey in the last quarter of the 19th century;
 - extensive geographical information, *e.g.*, descriptions of landscapes, including a number of mountains and mountain ranges; characteristics of the vast Kurdistan plains (*e.g.*, the Moush plain), and the eastern steppes; descriptions of numerous lakes, rivers and streams; mineral analyses of hot-water springs and drinking-water cold springs; lengthy and detailed examination of aspects of the large Nimrüd volcanic crater and Nimrüd cold lake to the northeast of Bitlis;
 - the great earthquake of 1895 at Bitlis, and the subsequent relief work and rebuilding of houses; the earthquake of 1907 at Bitlis, and further relief work;
 - scientific observations and records, *e.g.*, a seismograph strip recording of an aftershock, dated 31 March 1907, of what was considered the worst earthquake in Turkey in over fifty years, centered at Bitlis, occurring on 29 March 1907. The strip is accompanied by a short note by one Henry Riggs, member of a research team investigating earthquakes in the volcanic regions of Turkey, asking for confirmation of the rumor that Bitlis has been especially hard hit; several detailed accounts of a great meteor seen throughout the Bitlis region on 25 August 1894;
 - accounts of archaeological evidence (cuneiform writing on old stone fragments; ancient writings on tombstones; traces of ancient sites of feudal battles; etc.)

(b) Smaller journals

(1) a journal measuring 13.5cm x 19.4cm, dating from 1877-78, one hundred and twelve pages in length, entitled 'Erzroom [Erzerum] Journal: War Times'. Although a draft for his 'Siege of Erzeroum' manuscript, and covering events discussed in his bound copy-book journal #2, this diary contains much original and interesting information (there are, in particular, many personal entries concerning Russian strategies, and a number of meditations on the Russian Armenian generals Loris-Melikoff and Laziroff). In this journal, Dr. Cole chronicles with meticulous detail and in daily entries, the events of the Russo-Turkish War (skirmishes, battles, and sieges, including the siege of Erzerum). **[FOLDER #10]**

(2) a journal/diary dating from 1882, of 120 pages, mostly reflections upon extensive travels throughout Syria and Egypt in that year; lengthy descriptions of many scenes, and meditations upon the cultures and peoples encountered; nascent analyses of the 'Armenian Question'; accounts of the work of American missionaries at Constantinople, Erzeroum, Trebizond, and elsewhere. **[FOLDER #11]**

(3) A small leather-bound diary/journal (measuring 5cm x 10.5cm) of 122 pages (61 pages *recto* and *verso*), dating from 1896, in excellent condition, written in sepia ink and pencil, in the hand of Royal Cole. The diary was written at Bitlis, and deals almost exclusively with Ottoman-Armenian relations: accounts of massacres of

Armenians by Kurds, Ottoman police, and Ottoman regular troops in the city of Van, widespread massacres in the mountainous region of Garjigan just south of Lake Van, and in many other places throughout the Bitlis *vilayet*. Narratives of the obstacles presented by various governmental representatives to missionary aid for the refugees are presented; and the harassment of American missionaries (in particular George Knapp, Jr., Rev. Baird, and Royal Cole) by regional government officials, and Ottoman police is described. This diary, without having the length or showing the element of detail of the large copy-book journals, offers many keen observations, and narrates in a vivid and urgent manner the plight of the Armenians in 1896, particularly at Bitlis. Armenian distress over rumors of more violence on the part of Kurdish and Ottoman troops at Van and Constantinople is described, and the fate of many in the outbreaks of violence at Bitlis, Van, Moush, and elsewhere is recounted. As the violence continues, boys from Rev. Cole's schools are killed, despite missionary efforts to protect them. The diary gives numerous accounts of governmental imprisonments and assassinations of Armenians in several regions. Those surviving Armenians speaking the truth about the killings are themselves threatened with arrest, or death. The diary also gives a keen sense of the precariousness of the missionaries' position; in particular, the affair of Rev. Cole's close associate, George Knapp, Jr. is presented. His arrest at Bitlis is described, and charges by the Porte that he incited Gregorians at Bitlis to fire upon praying Muslims within the Great Mosque of Bitlis on 25 October 1895 are examined. Also chronicled is the deportation of another of Rev. Cole's associates, Rev. John Baird, following his interviews with Armenian survivors of massacres in the Garjigan region in late summer, 1896. The police and governmental harassment of Rev. Cole himself is alluded to frequently: on two occasions a warrant for his arrest ('surely a mistake,' says Ömer Bey, governor-general of Bitlis, when Dr. Cole visits him for a clarification of the situation) is issued, but by favor of the vali Pasha, he is able to escape imprisonment, deportation, or worse. The situation of the government in the divided position of wishing to be rid of the missionaries, and yet obliged to protect them, is also presented. The difficulties of continuing relief work are examined, from two perspectives: first, the dangers and threats of imprisonment for those approaching the missionaries for help are narrated; secondly, the subtle and strategic interdictions of the Pasha are recounted (no 'charity' as such is to be carried out; only work along 'mercantile lines' will be permitted), whose intent at creating an impossible situation for both the refugees and missionaries is all too obvious beneath his impression of 'cordiality' and seeming concern; further, distribution of food and money to the poor will only be allowed by the Pasha's Commission, and for those whom the government names. Rev. Cole frequently alludes to his frustration and feelings of hopelessness as he and his associates await the necessary government authorization to continue their relief work, while thousands of refugees in great need appeal to them for help. In addition, the coercion with the intent of pressing Armenians into publicly renouncing their Christian faith, and the role of the government and its representatives in this coercion, is presented. The efforts to force Armenians to sign papers denouncing the missionaries, and stating that their presence represents a seditious influence in the community, is also chronicled. As the summer of 1896 arrives with further outbreaks of violence against the Armenians, Rev. Cole widens his perspective in the journal, and compares the massacres at Bitlis to the horrific reports by trusted friends and associates in other regions. A number of entries in June, 1896 refer to the massacres at Van and elsewhere. Soon afterwards, accounts of the refugees and massacre survivors streaming into Bitlis from a number of regions in the Van province are given. Rev. Cole's servants (and those of other missionaries) are arrested on trumped-up charges. Dr. Cole narrates the difficulties of sending and receiving telegrams due to these arrests, and writes repeatedly of the difficulties of getting any news from the outside, whether from other parts of Turkey, or the West. The massacres at Van are followed by widespread killings in the Garjigan region just south of Van, and terror reigns at Bitlis. By July, violence against Armenians has broken out again at Moush. In August, a Christian Armenian shoots and kills another, a "traitor." In the closing months of 1896, the affair of Rev. Baird is chronicled, and the general persecution of missionaries detailed. **[FOLDER #12]**

II. LOOSE SHEETS FROM ROYAL COLE'S JOURNALS

(a) *Handwritten* **[FOLDER #13]**

There are over five hundred loose copy-book journal pages in which various events from 1877 through 1905 are provided in great detail. In addition, there is a large number of handwritten copies of letters and drafts of reports (for the most part, in the hand of Royal Cole; rarely, in Mrs. Cole's script). Most of these are from the years 1895 and 1896, cut or torn out of the journals, we may surmise, for reasons of privacy or security. There is an occasional reference in the letter or report itself to methods and strategies of avoiding governmental interception of the mails. Some of the pages were sent covertly to Constantinople by trusted

courier, rather than through the mail, and thence to the United States. A number of the pages have 'Personal' penciled into a margin in the hand of Rev. Cole, and bear the words 'Hold for Papa' in the hand of Nellie, Alice, or Mary Cole (Rev. Cole's daughters); some pages have the penciled words 'May be sent to Frank' (Frank Cole, one of Royal Cole's sons, living in the U.S.). It is likely that some of these pages were sent along with Mrs. Cole and the Cole family on their trip to the United States in May of 1896. Without exception, these loose sheet journal pages, copies of letters, and essays deal with extremely sensitive subjects. The items include, among other things, detailed and lengthy accounts of numerous massacres of Armenians throughout Bitlis province in the years 1894-1905; analyses of the political, religious and economic motivations behind the massacres; discussions of the responsibility of the Porte, and the role of local, provincial governmental agents and representatives (e.g., the regional governors-general) in the killings; judgments on the lack of intervention of the European signatory Powers to the Berlin Treaty following the massacres. The following items provide a mere *sample* of the material:

- Six loose pages, cut from Journal #7, dated "Bitlis, Jan. 1895," with the word "Personal" penciled at the bottom of page 6 in the hand of Royal Cole, on the subject of the massacres at Sassoun. The report is extremely detailed in its descriptions of the brutality of the massacres (the methods of torturing and killing priests, for example, or the gruesome ways in which pregnant women and children were killed are described in dismal detail). The report offers a keen analysis of the role of various governmental figures (particularly Tahsin Pasha and various Kurdish Notables) in the planning and carrying-out of the killings; the part played by the recently-formed Kurdish army reserves; the role of the Mūshir Zekki Pasha, Commander of the 4th Army Corps; the failure to assume adequate responsibility in the affair by various European signatory Powers to the Berlin Treaty. Exact and lengthy descriptions of a number of massacres, spanning a period from the last eight days of August 1894 through the first week of September 1895, are given. Rev. Cole describes an incident occurring in late August 1894, in which forty or fifty Armenian men were set to dig a long trench, then bayoneted by government troops and pitched into the pit, many still alive, and covered with rocks and earth. (This event was testified to in the testimony of Tavo of Semal before the Sassoun Commission of Inquiry in early 1895, and the eyewitness testimony of Ovak of Semal, and became the object of an intense investigation by the consular Delegates attached to the Commission. Their inspection of several pits or trenches at Ghelieguzan in early May of 1895 confirmed the claims of the eyewitness that a number of men died in this way. It may be noted that in several reports dating from late August, September, and October, 1895, Rev. Cole describes this incident in full detail, following a visit to the site in August 1895. In a handwritten list of photographic prints he took on a Moush district tour in August 1895, Rev. Cole identifies the site as being behind the house of Bedo of Ghelieguzan. In several of his narratives dating from September 1895, Rev. Cole describes having personally stood upon the ground covering the burial trench or 'death pit' -- compare the description of the item two entries below in this catalogue.) Further, Rev. Cole describes the actions of Armenians at the Antok-Dag ('no more than twenty or so well-armed and desperate men,' acting in 'self-defense' against 'most ungodly treatment at the hands of Kurds and Turks'). He goes on to define the initial opposition on the part of Kurds to the killing of Armenians, among other things, out of consideration for the loss of the tribute (*'hajir'*) exacted of Armenians by various *Aghas* (chieftains) and their agents. Rev. Cole further describes the position of the Kurds, threatened with death (the 'cannon's mouth') by Ottoman officers, were they not to 'slay all [Armenians] pitilessly';
- Two reports from August, 1895: (1) a six-page report (written in red pen in the hand of Royal Cole) to the British Sassounian Relief Committee, dated 20 August 1895, in which Rev. Cole discusses his extensive tour with British Vice-Consul Hampson of the Dalvorig [Talori] region (in particular, Ailantaik village; the site of the Khor battle at the head of the Ghelieguzan valley), where he saw destroyed villages, and interviewed survivors of the massacres of the previous year; a number of episodes of the massacres are related, including the fighting of Armenian mothers and elderly women against the Kurds (one woman which Dr. Cole personally examines shows him the scar of a bad saber wound); the report ends with a description of various characteristics of the Ghelieguzan valley, and a brief history of the region; (2) A two-page report (undated, but written in red pen, which in the entirety of the Cole Collection is found exclusively in documents dating from August and September 1895), in the hand of Royal Cole, to the British Sassounian Relief Committee. The report deals almost solely with the efforts of Rev. Cole and Dr. Raynolds in rebuilding destroyed villages throughout the Sasun region;

- Three lengthy reports (one sixteen handwritten pages in length, dating from 1895, in the hand of Royal Cole), concerning conditions in Sassoun, the Dalvorig [Talori] valley, and Psank province, in the aftermath of the 1894 massacres; lengthy accounts of particular villages (Tuvalnik, Pourkh, Hätk), and a narrative of Rev. Cole's eighteen day August 1895 tour of the massacre region, accompanied by British Vice-Consul Charles Hampson. (The three reports are variants of each other, with slight differences in emphasis and detail.) We are given accounts of massacres occurring throughout Sasun, and descriptions, following their itinerary, of Semal, Ailantsik, the Khor battlefield, Ghelieguzan village, the Ghelieguzan valley, Gheliesan, Dzovanig, Dalvorig [Talori] and Dalvorig gorge, Duvalnik village, Pourkh village, Hätk, and a number of villages and wards of the Psank *sancak*, Mt. Sovasor [Tsovasor], Hitink, and a number of villages in the Shatakh district. Rev. Cole also offers an extended description of events occurring at Mt. Andok, and a narrative of the hiding of Armenian women and children there during the 1894 massacres. Examples of the torture of defenseless old Armenian women are provided: one, Shammeh, tortured to death; another, Hafseh, who survived, and whose scars were inspected by Dr. Cole personally). Rev. Cole provides details of what he argues in some detail was 'an Armenian self-defense,' [while] 'staggering blows were dealt the miscreants [Kurds] who for long years have been so desolating and dominating the Armenians, though the only weapon of the latter was the old flintlock, while the attacking party has all the paraphernalia of the Turk's modern warfare -- repeating rifles, etc. But backed up as the Kurds were by soldiers & the Govt all the Armenians did was to try to keep the aggressors at bay, realizing only too well what must be the fate of their wives and daughters, not to speak of themselves, if once they fell into the enemy's hands.' The atrocities against unarmed Armenians at the church of Ghelieguzan village are narrated, and Rev. Cole describes his standing on the much debated death pit or burial trench where the Priest Der-Hohannes of Semal was tortured to death, and in which over forty men were buried, many alive. (For the ultimate British evaluation of Armenian claims concerning these events, see H.S. Shipley's final Memorandum, dated 12 October 1895, on the subject of the findings of the Sassoun Commission of Inquiry, British Parliamentary Papers, Turkey No. 2, 1895.) Details of several interviews by Rev. Cole with Tavo of Semal, a critical eyewitness before the Sassoun Commission, are given. (This Sassoun villager was one of Rev. Cole and Vice-Consul Hampson's guides for most if not all of their tour, a critical fact which Hampson left out of his report dated 18 August 1895, FO 424/183, pp. 437-440, No. 320/2; Turkey No. 1, 1895, Part I, pp. 200-203, No. 266/2, 266/3; British Documents on Ottoman Armenians, vol. IV, 1895, ed. B. Simsir, pp. 215-221, Inclosure 2 in No. 158.) As Rev. Cole narrates his entering Gheliesan ('dog-valley'), he states that this is where the greatest number of Armenians perished in the general 'Sassoun massacres' (an extremely important reference in that the European Delegates attached to the Sassoun Commission, by their own admission, were prevented from traveling to this site -- first by government obstructions in February, 1895, then by a snow cover at the mountain pass leading to it in early May, although they did inspect several sites at the town of Ghelieguzan proper). Additional details concerning events occurring at Mt. Antok, Shenik and Semal in 1894 are given. Dr. Cole writes of the many human bones to be found along the mountain road at the head of the Ghelieguzan valley, and offers descriptions of the evidence of the massacre of large numbers of Armenian villagers throughout this area. Rev. Cole continues the narration of his tour along the road to Ishkentsor [Akçassir], and describes the burned ruins of former houses, and the utter destruction of Ishkentsor village, and numerous of its dependencies. A major attack of Ottoman troops upon unarmed Armenians at Dzovanig is narrated at great length, and in much detail. (Any allusion to these events is missing from the Sassoun Commission Delegates' Joint Report, and indeed from Hampson's own report concerning this tour.) Dr. Cole's continuing journey, through Pourkh and on to Hätk, is described: 'We make round over the west end of *Furfurcar* [the murmuring stone] within the cave of which is the east end facing the Geli river [where] both Damadian and Murad passed away an anxious hour -- the former composing a national air there of a dirge at the dire fate of his people [*si*]. Murad was brought out to an arrest from this inaccessible place through the cruel betrayal of a compatriot who was tortured into revealing the lodging place of him they sought.' Further attacks by Ottoman soldiers, Kurdish soldiers, and Kurdish tribesmen upon Armenians are narrated, and Rev. Cole offers descriptions of the pillaging and destruction of Armenian villages by fire. Rev. Cole states that British Vice-Consul Hampson is prevailed upon to visit the Psank province, 'owing to the great irregularities the people thence have come to report to us.' Again the significant detail is provided, which contradicts a number of historical accounts, including the Armenian Patriarch's *Report Respecting the Sassoun Massacre* (FO 424/181, p. 197, No. 229/1), that Zekki pasha, commander-in-chief of the 4^e Corps d'Armée, arrived at Sassoun from Erzinghian 'to put a stop to further bloodshed.' (Cole) (This corresponds to the account offered in Graves' memorandum of 27 December 1894, Turkey No. 1, 1895, Part I, p. 71, No. 139/2.);

- a four-page report dating from 1895, in the hand of Royal Cole, entitled '*Plunder & Oppression in the Akhlat regions,*' which examines in meticulous detail the governmental gathering of tithes from Armenian farmers and villagers in the Akhlat region to the northeast of Bitlis city (*Van vilayet*). Rev. Cole describes various aspects of tax-gathering from the years 1891 to 1894, in particular, at the villages of Dsughag, Norshen, and Shuniram. Besides offering an extensive analysis of the tithe system in these years (the essay was written, it would seem, before the enactment of reforms in the law were introduced on 15 October 1895), the actual practices of the gathering or collection of taxes is chronicled, and a general consideration of the system of 'farming' the tithes is explored. Rev. Cole describes the exorbitant and unlawful demands of government tax-gatherers (more or less in imitation of the Kurdish insistence upon the *kizhblak*) to themselves be put up in the houses of Armenian villagers for periods of up to three months, and during that time to be fed three times daily, paying nothing for either shelter or food, or for having their horses fed and cared for, etc.). Further, Rev. Cole writes of the frequent occurrence of a tax-gatherer arranging for tithes of wheat already paid to the government to be stolen at night, while Armenian villagers are asleep, and then accusing the Armenians of non-payment, in order to demand more wheat of them. The extremely violent treatment of Armenians by government agents is narrated in great detail, with names of Armenians killed or injured being provided, and the villages where these incidents occurred being named. Rev. Cole states that at Dsughag village alone, tax-gatherers take roughly £300 more in tithes each year than is their legal right. Rev. Cole emphasizes the important point that a common practice by 1895 is to level the charge of collusion with 'nationalists' against innocent Armenian villagers, and then exact heavy sums from those so charged, in a form of blackmail. Dr. Cole describes the desolation of parts of Alzivas and Boulanik by Kurdish Hamidié irregular cavalry on their return from massacres at Sasun, and quotes a letter from Sultan Abdülhamid II to the leader of the irregular troops, Hessein [Hussein] pasha, promising him and his troops 'recompense of reward,' and 'prompt payment of salaries,' for their actions. Dr. Cole goes on to chronicle the actions of Hamidié soldiers in the Aljivas villages, especially at Norshen, where they 'beat people, plundered houses; stole sheep, etc., and inaugurated such a pandemonium of lust and anarchy as pen would blush [*sic*] to relate!';
- a four-page letter to W.W. Peet, dated 21 October 1902, on the subject of Rev. Cole's recent tour of areas near Moush. Extensive and highly-detailed accounts of a number of episodes of ill-treatment and intimidation of Americans by Turkish *zaptiehs* are presented (the incidents include the waylaying of Rev. Cole, and the theft from his person of a private letter for which he was acting as messenger, by a Circassian *zaptiehb*, on the road from Moush to Bitlis). Numerous incidents of assault and aggravated acts against Western missionaries are presented. Continuing outrages by governmental agents and representatives (who are named in the letter) are further elaborated. Also included is a lengthy meditation on the failures of American diplomacy to protect U.S. subjects in Turkey;
- a four-page report, dating from July, 1904, in the hand of Royal Cole, concerning Boulanik province and Shekliaghoub village. The report is extremely detailed in its narration of events of murder and destruction in this area in the years from 1894 to 1904, and further provides a lengthy and exhaustive description of the Armenian village of Shekliaghoub in Boulanik province, with numbers and names of those killed, and the role of Ottoman soldiers, Kurdish reserves, and marauding tribesmen in the killings.

(b) *Typed*

There are over four hundred typed pages (originals and carbon-copies) of various letters and reports from the years 1901 through 1912. Of the thousands of subjects discussed and events chronicled, the following *samples* give only a rough idea of the detail and breadth of analysis characteristic of these items:

- a one-page, single-spaced letter addressed 'Our dear Friends' and signed 'Watchman' (Royal Cole frequently resorted to this *nom de plume* when writing letters and articles containing sensitive information), dated 20 February 1903, in which he discusses, among other things, continuing feuds among Kurds, 'with many murders the result'; the frequent killings and looting by Kurdish *Hamidié* reserve troops of Armenian settlements and villages in the area just east of Malazgird; the episode of a Ottoman army commander positioning himself as a shield between Kurdish troops and an Armenian man whose grandfather, father, and uncle they had already killed, and who was now their next target is narrated -- both the officer and Armenian were promptly killed, according to Rev. Cole's account; the oppressive conditions under which

many immigrant Circassians from the north lived at Bitlis; the plan of the Vali, expressed to Rev. Cole personally, "to let Circassians come into possession of all property left by absent Armenians be they dead or sojourning, if relatives are not in charge"; the tour of Rev. Cole and Mary Ely of nine villages at the west end of Van Lake, and the greater difficulty of this tour than others in the past, due to the presence of Ottoman police bodyguards (assigned to them by the Bitlis Vali), who were hated and looked upon with intense suspicion by the Armenian villagers ;

- a one-page, single-spaced letter, addressed 'Our dear Friends' and signed 'Watchman, R.M.', dated 20 October 1903, in which, among other topics, Rev. Cole discusses: the outbreak of typhus in the area of Mus, and the September medical aid tour of the region by Dr. Herbert L. Underwood and Mary Ely; the fighting in the northeastern province between Ottoman troops and Kurdish reserves, with serious loss of life on both sides; the contingent of *Hamidié* at Sasun "that may need no little watching to prevent another disaster" (this is a reference not only to the Sasun events of 1894, but to massacres in the Sasun region in 1900 and 1902; let us note that massacres far more widespread than those of 1894 occurred in a number of locations throughout the Bitlis *vilayet* in 1904); the fear and excitement in Bitlis city due to numerous recent murders of Armenians there. In addition, episodes involving *Hamidié* troops are narrated, and the supposed disarming of Kurdish cavalry examined, following yet another call for reforms: "The reserves (Hamidieh) we saw being disarmed in Malasgerd [Malazgird] recently by a splendid official up temporarily from Mardin, are now being hastily re-armed by the new official, as if to be sent away. Alas for such changes result in revenge for restitution of former plunder! Already we hear of one whole [Armenian] family swept from the board in that region, even the infant in the cradle being mangled to death!";
- a nine-page, double-spaced article by Dr. Cole entitled, 'Glimpses of Mount Ararat Region and Asiatic Turkey,' in which, in a running narrative of excursions taken through various regions, Rev. Cole discusses his ascent of Mt. Ararat, and describes characteristics of the mountain; gives lengthy descriptions of the *Khanous* plain, the Palantokun mountain, Bongol mountain, the *Muräd Chai* (eastern branch of the Euphrates river), Nimrüd crater and environs, and Tadwan village in the Bitlis *vilayet*; provides detailed mineral analyses of the waters of various lakes and springs; gives a detailed description of *Kbullüt* [*Akeblüt*] village; elaborates on further characteristics of the Taurus Mountains, and offers still more analyses of various mineral springs and waters;
- a four-page, double-space typed report by Dr. Cole, entitled 'Turkish Survey Outlines for Bitlis and Region' (references at the end of the paper to the 'recent events of 1915' date the paper as a late retrospective compilation of data). In this paper, he discusses (the arrangement of topics is Rev. Cole's): (1) education (a) governmental, (b) religious, (c) foreign; (2) sanitation ; (3) financial structure of the society and Turkish currency; (4) transportation; (5) irrigation and water power; (6) industrial and agricultural characteristics; (a) common food products, (b) fibers and cloth, (c) forestry; (7) the raising of livestock, and fertilizers; (8) mineral products, (a) mining, (b) oil; (9) fishing; (10) manufacturing (textiles, metals, etc.); (11) special industries (a) rug weaving; (12) geographical considerations (boundaries and areas of vilayets and regions); (13) historical, political, and racial considerations.

III. DRAFTS AND NOTES OF TWO PROJECTED WORKS BY ROYAL COLE

(a) *Memoirs draft* [BOX #3]

There are forty pages of a late-stage draft (in a fairly finished style, with only a few penciled-in corrections, cross-outs, etc.) of a projected autobiography, entitled '*Interior Turkey Reminiscences, Forty Years in Koordistan (Armenia)*,' by Royal Cole, written in 1909-1910 (that is, one year after his return to the United States). The sole final-edit, full manuscript of this work was apparently lost in the mail en route to Dr. Cole's son in 1911. The draft includes:

- a long and extremely-detailed essay portraying the common Turkish soldier;
- a detailed narrative of many of the battles and skirmishes of the Russo-Turkish War; the Coles' medical work during the war in their two hospitals at Erzerum; famine relief work before, during, and after the war;
- general descriptions of Armenian society in Anatolia;
- accounts of the goals and practice of education among Armenians;
- descriptions of the *métiers* of Armenians;
- examples of the resourcefulness and industry of Armenians;
- an account of Armenian Gregorians at Bayazid in the 1870s, and their anti-Western fanaticism;
- descriptions of life at Erzeroum; missionary and educational work there; famine relief work;
- an account of the history of the city of Bitlis, and the building of the ancient castle and ramparts; descriptions of everyday life at Bitlis; the establishment of schools, churches, and orphanages in the region; analyses of the various inhabitants of Bitlis; continuing relief work (involving the distribution of food, cloth, livestock, and agricultural tools);
- the narrative of the building of a small church in the Van region;
- an account of the general massacre of Armenians in the Sassoun *caza* (Moush *sancak*) in 1894;
- a description of Royal Cole's extensive work in the summer of 1895 of rebuilding the houses of over five thousand victims of the Sassoun region massacres of the previous summer; the positive role of the British Consul in the rebuilding of homes there; additional relief work for survivors of the massacres;
- details concerning the case of George Knapp, Jr., arrested and deported in late 1895 on trumped-up charges of sedition, following the massacre in October of that year at Bitlis; details of the government's persecution of Rev. John Baird, and Rev. Cole;
- an exposition of the difficult relations between missionaries and Ottoman Government officials, questions concerning the freedom with which missionaries were able to provide continuing relief work for Armenians;

- an account of the Bitlis massacre of October 1895; the destruction of Christian Armenian markets at Bitlis; the killing of a Christian Armenian high school teacher;
- an account of the widespread massacres of 1895-1896 throughout the *vilayets* of Bitlis and Van, carried out, in Rev. Cole's words, "by direction from Constantinople";
- reference to the great earthquake of 1895, and the extensive relief work that followed (particularly at Bitlis);
- descriptions of attempts on the part of Ottoman officials to coerce missionaries into signing papers falsely implicating various Armenians in supposedly insurgent acts;
- a subtle and thorough exposition of the test of wills and cleverness in negotiations with Ottoman officials, e.g., various *Vali* (regional governors-general), Inspectors of Education, etc.; strategies and counter-strategies in dealings with these officials;
- an analysis of the power of the Governmental seal in impeding or hastening missionary relief work;
- descriptions of the efforts to rebuild one Armenian Protestant village near Van following massacres and pillaging there in the late summer of 1896;
- descriptions of a caravansary at the large volcanic crater lake of Nimrud;
- details of travel from Van to Mus, and a reminiscence of travel on Van lake before steamships were introduced there;
- an exhaustive inventory of rivers, streams, and mineral springs of the Bitlis gorge, and analyses of the waters.

(b) Notes for 'The Siege of Erzeroum' [FOLDER #10]

Included in the Cole Collection are drafts and notes for a projected volume entitled '*The Siege of Erzeroum*' (seventy-seven pages measuring 17cm x 30cm, in pencil, in the hand of Royal Cole). These include general notes on the Russo-Turkish War, in entries spanning the years 1877- 1911, including Royal Cole's assessment of the motives and strategies behind various campaigns, his analysis of the Russian interest, the 'bad faith' of the Russians, and their exploitation of Armenians under the guise of aiding them in their aspirations to greater freedom, independence and safety; and the abandonment by the Russians of the Armenian people in the Ottoman Empire, and the ultimate worsening of the Armenian position there due to Russian intervention.

IV. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES BY ROYAL COLE; MISCELLANEOUS

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS IN ENGLISH [BOX #5]

There are over three hundred newspaper clippings (most are in good to exceptional condition) of articles and reports written by Royal Cole between the years 1884 and 1911, on a variety of subjects. Included are many considerations of the Armenian Question, and analyses of the position of Armenians in Ottoman society; descriptions of a number of Armenian massacres; accounts of the role of American missionaries in Asiatic Turkey, and details of massacre, famine, and earthquake relief work; extremely detailed narratives of journeys taken throughout Turkey, and descriptions of cities (in particular, Erzeroum and Bitlis), landscapes, mountains (notably, Mt. Ararat), lakes (Lake Van, and others), etc.; general articles on Armenian and Kurdistan Turkey, and the history of the regions, etc. The items vary in length from one newspaper column to several pages (most are at least two full-page columns long). They include:

- Articles by Rev. Cole for the *London Times*, notably, on the subject of the massacres of Armenians in the Moush region in 1901, and the recent massacre of over 1,500 men, women and children at Diyarbakir. (In September of 1901, Dr. Cole defied the local government, and made a tour of the Sasun region where recent massacres had taken place. His reports on the killings may be read in a number of newspaper articles for the *Times*.)
- A number of *présis* by Rev. Cole of the lives of Armenian and American clergy in Asiatic Turkey, and obituaries by Dr. Cole of various clergy, including: the Rev. Simeon Tavitian (ordained by Dwight, Hamlin, and Riggs), whose lifelong work for Armenians at Mus, Bitlis, and Havadorik is narrated in great detail, in an article for *The Christian* in 1895; Rev. George C. Knapp, Sr., founding father of the American Mission at Bitlis, whose life and work in Turkey is chronicled at great length in an article written by Dr. Cole for *The Christian* of June 1893.
- Articles for the *New York Sun* (in particular, on the history of Kurdistan Turkey).
- Articles for the *Vermont Chronicle* (on missionary work in Turkey; general descriptions of the Armenian people).
- Articles for *The Standard Union*; *The Oriental Advertiser* (on relief and missionary work).
- Articles for the *Christian Herald*, on the subject of the 1895 and 1907 earthquakes at Bitlis (articles of some length).
- A number of longer articles and essays on Armenian affairs for periodicals such as *Near East Relief*; *The Bible Society Record*; *The American Missionary*.
- Over two hundred newspaper clippings by various other authors (for the most part missionaries in the field), on a variety of subjects, including: American aid to Armenians; missionary relief work; work at several orphanages in Turkey; and more general articles on Turkish and Armenian life (many of these are from *The Missionary Herald*, and *The Advance*).

V. LECTURES, ESSAYS, AND LETTERS
 BY MRS. COLE (LIZZIE COBLEIGH COLE) [FOLDERS 15, 16, 17]

(a) Lectures

There are copies of three different lectures given by Mrs. Cole in the United States in 1897, written in her hand. Of Mrs. Cole's lectures, the longest, which bears no title, was delivered in a number of forums, in various locations in Ohio and Minnesota, notably at the Ladies' Missionary Society of Bethlehem Congregational Church at Cleveland, Ohio; the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Women's Missionary Union Toledo Conference, held at the First Congregational Church at Lima, Ohio on May 19th and 20th, 1897, and at the Medina Conference of Congregational Churches, on October 20, 1897. The lecture is in the form of a chronological narrative, beginning with the Coles' arrival in 1868, and ending with an account of the 1894-96 massacres of Armenians.

In this extended address (taking up some seventy-five pages, *recto* and *verso*, in a notebook measuring 17cm x 21cm, written in sepia ink, in her hand), Mrs. Cole discusses, at length, and in meticulous detail:

- the Coles' arrival at Trebizond on the Black Sea; the history of the city;
- the absence of roads in the hundred and seventy-one miles between Erzeroum and Trebizond at the time of the Coles' arrival in Turkey, and the difficulties of traveling on bridle paths; the subsequent building of the first macadamized roads; carriage travel in Turkey;
- characteristics of the Anti-Taurus mountains;
- the city of Erzeroum and neighboring landscapes;
- the beginnings of widespread relief work at Erzeroum in 1874, and in the northeastern regions of Asiatic Turkey in 1878;
- details concerning the Russo-Turkish War, and particularly, the six-week siege of Erzeroum; the Coles' involvement in the conversion of an old caravansary and an abandoned military school into makeshift hospitals for wounded soldiers on both the Turkish and Russian sides; narratives of Dr. and Mrs. Cole's work in gathering the wounded and needy, at the war front and in the city of Erzeroum;
- the epidemic of typhus at Erzeroum in the winter of 1877-78; the death from typhus of three of the Cole children;
- continuing relief work at Erzeroum, and the great need of the people there: in an effort to assure the future security and self-sufficiency of the needy, the shift of emphasis in the relief programs is made from food distribution to vocational education and the supply of tools and raw materials;
- Dr. Cole's meetings with the Commander of the Russian forces, General M.T. Loris-Melikoff; Dr. Cole's fear that the Russians might construe his relief effort as aid to the Turkish army in the war, and his surprise when the General praises him for his feeding of the poor and tending to the wounded; descriptions of the scene of the Russian General speaking before the French, Greek and Armenian clergy, and choosing Rev. Cole as an exemplary model for the others; General Loris-Melikoff's commitment of Russian wheat to help in the Coles' relief work;
- Rev. Cole's establishment of the first Evangelical Christian church of the Ararat region, at Samaghar, close to Etchmiadzin;
- the ecclesiastical order of the Armenian church; Bishops and vartabeds;

- the translation into Armenian of Biblical texts and religious tracts; the publication and sales of these books to the Armenian community and to (Gregorian) Armenian clergy;
- the interdiction of religious expression in Czarist Russia;
- intemperance in Turkey; the drunken abuse of women by their husbands in Turkish society; Mrs. Cole's argument about the importance of the Bible in teaching the wrongs of such mistreatment, and in helping women learn self-respect and honor;
- Mrs. Cole's work in teaching Armenian and Turkish women to read and write; an account of some of the older women's reasons for never having learned to read;
- travel from Erzeroum to Bitlis: the roads, the absence of bridges over most of the rivers;
- the city of Bitlis, and its inhabitants; a history of the city;
- the superstitions of Muslims at Bitlis; their fanaticism and hostility against the Christian community;
- the first sewing machine seen in the city of Bitlis;
- the work of Rev. George C. Knapp in founding the American Mission at Bitlis;
- the hostility of Gregorians at Bitlis towards Protestant missionaries;
- the Boys' School at Bitlis; the Girls' School at Bitlis; Rev. Knapp and Rev. Cole urging fathers to allow their daughters to attend school; the work of education; the speed with which the girls learn to read and write;
- descriptions of the landscape of the Sassoun region; Moush and the Moush plain; the Taurus mountains;
- the first massacres at Sassoun in 1894;
- details of various forms of torture of Armenians at the hands of Kurds and Turks; the brutality of the massacres;
- Rev. Cole's enormous project of organizing the rebuilding of the ruined, burned homes of more than five thousand villagers in the Sassoun region in the summer and autumn of 1895;
- the shock and bewilderment of the Armenians that neighbors and acquaintances since childhood could rise up against them;
- the threats of violence at Bitlis, and the first massacres there (25 October 1895); the number of those killed in the weeks following;
- the American and Armenian interviews with the vali Pasha [Ömer Bey] at Bitlis in the days before the massacres, and his reassuring response to the fear of the Armenians;
- the foreknowledge of the massacres by non-Armenians; the early closing of non-Armenian shops and market stalls on the days of the massacres; the systematic nature of the massacres;
- a long narrative of the barricading against mobs of Kurds and Turks, by the American women missionaries and teachers, of the American Mission compound at Bitlis, as the massacres began (Rev. Cole was engaged in the rebuilding of the Sassoun region at the time); the hiding of Armenian orphans within the American Compound, and the massacres in the streets seen by the Americans from the Mission; the five-week forced confinement of the Americans and orphans, and the continuing massacres around them;

- Rev. Cole securing from the Sultan a guarantee of safety for his family and those in hiding within the American Mission;
- Mrs. Cole's concern for the safety of those in the Girls' Seminary; a description of the general lack of civility on the part of Turkish men towards women and girls;
- the peril for those willing to carry out telegrams and letters for the Americans during the massacres;
- more accounts of the position of women in Turkish society; rape, and the physical abuse of women;
- torture and other actions undertaken by Turks and Kurds trying to force Armenians into renouncing their religious beliefs; the summary killing of those refusing to embrace Islam;
- Rev. Cole's return to Bitlis, and his account to Mrs. Cole of what he saw upon re-entering the city;
- the shift in emphasis in the Coles' relief work from food and money distribution to industrial and vocational training; the continuing efforts to help Armenian women and children towards independence through vocational education and the supply of tools and raw materials;

A number of notes updating the situation in the year since Mrs. Cole's departure from Bitlis form a postscript to the lecture. With information reported in her husband's letters, Mrs. Cole discusses the continuing oppression and persecution of the Armenian people, the Kurdish and Turkish violence against them, and the renewal of massacres throughout the land. Mrs. Cole appeals for international recognition of the situation, and ends with an observation, and a rallying cry: "When the next massacre takes place, it shall be so thorough that not even a babe shall be left in the cradle!! When will Christian nations unite and make such wrongs impossible!?"

(b) Essays and journal entries

There are a number of loose-sheet essays and copy-book journal entries by Mrs. Cole, in her hand, including:

- an eight-page essay (there are two copies: one written in the hand of Mrs. Cole, copy-book journal #6, pp. 210ff); the other, typewritten) entitled 'Around the Kourdish Fireside,' dating from July 1894, in which Mrs. Cole portrays many aspects of Kurdish life; describes the Kurdish language; defines characteristics of Kurdish dwelling structures; discusses Kurdish techniques of animal husbandry; and gives an account of child-rearing in Kurdish society. She analyzes at some length the attitude of Kurds towards Westerners. Further, she describes a typical work day of homemaking for a Kurdish peasant woman. Religious beliefs of the Kurds are examined, and the distinction between Sunnites and Shiites elaborated upon. A consideration of the historical aspect of many Kurdish beliefs is offered, and compared with those of Armenians, and similarities of their languages noted. An interesting section on the prejudice of Kurds against the common Turkish soldier is elaborated. Further remarks on the characteristics of the Kurdish language are offered. Finally, Mrs. Cole gives a long narrative account of an evening spent sitting around a fireplace, speaking with a group of Kurdish women about their history (to Mrs. Cole's surprise, they are unable to accurately go back any further than a few generations). **[FOLDER 19]**

(c) Letters by Mrs. Cole

There are a number of copies of letters by Mrs. Cole inserted in the copy-book journals of Rev. Cole, including:

- A three page letter by Mrs. Cole, written as an article for The (Springfield, Mass.) *Republican*, with the datemark, 'Bitlis, Turkey, 12 February 1895,' which explores a number of important subjects, including:

- (a) The Sassoun Commission of Inquiry, its initial organization, and the limits of its procedure; strong criticisms of the lack of initiative on the part of the European Delegates, for example, in their not insisting on bringing an Armenian dragoman; questions as to why a tour of the Sassoun region has not been attempted by the Delegates, as weather has permitted;
 - (b) The Turkish Commissioners of the Sassoun inquiries; the conduct of Ömar bey, one of the original members of the Commission, who assumed the post of Bitlis Vali in early February, 1895;
 - (c) The removal of Tahsin Pasha as Bitlis vali following the Sassoun massacres;
 - (d) Governmental obstructions to the Delegates' investigations; the cordon of soldiers surrounding the Delegates' residence at Moush, preventing eyewitnesses from speaking with them;
 - (e) The case of British Vice-Consul Hallward at Van;
 - (f) Bitlis prison, the imprisonment of Armenians; the torture of Armenians (including one 'Murad Effendi') to force them to sign papers implicating Hallward and American missionaries in 'inciting' the 'rebellion' at Sassoun; further chronicles of Murad at Bitlis prison;
 - (g) Responsibility for the Sassoun events;
 - (h) The torture to the death of Armenian women in the Sassoun massacres;
 - (i) Kurdish plunder at Sassoun;
 - (j) Interception of missionary mail, and governmental tampering with the mail of British consular officers;
 - (k) Government troop removal of evidence of killings from Sassoun; the government order that 'the name of the destroyed villages [be] erased from the official books and maps';
 - (l) Constant Muslim threats of a general massacre at Bitlis.
- a letter dated 27 April 1894, addressed to Childs, (R.M. Cole, copy-book journal #7, 193ff), in which Mrs. Cole writes at length of the social position of women in Turkish, Kurdish, and Armenian societies. Mrs. Cole goes on to discuss the 'recent terribly stringent and irregular times [which] have brought [the Armenian woman] under the lash of soldiers for taxes.' Mrs. Cole briefly examines the question of imprisonment of women in Turkey for serious crimes. Further points in Mrs. Cole's letters include, the phenomenon of Turkish Muslim women being punished by their husbands by sending them to so-called 'holy monasteries,' really nothing more than prisons to hold women; the 'rigid, patriarchal structure of the family' in Turkish society; the frequent lack of love in marriages in Turkish society; boys' courtships of marriage prospects carried out through proxy by mothers and grandmothers; and the rape of Christian women by Kurds and Turks. Mrs. Cole concludes with the lengthy narration of several young Armenian girls at one of the Protestant schools being abducted, and forced into marriage, ending up in 'a life of abject slavery.'

VI. MASSACRES IN THE BITLIS AND VAN
PROVINCES, 1894 - 1896: SASSOUN, GHELIEGUZAN,
MOUSH; GARJGAN *SANCAK*:
CHARTS, LISTS, MAPS

There are a number of charts, lists, and maps which corroborate (and extend) narratives and information in Rev. Cole's copy-book journal entries and letters concerning the massacres of Armenians in the years 1894-1896. The following is a *sample* of the items:

- A chart (measuring 42cm x 56cm), written in sepia ink and pencil on two joined loose-leaf copy-book sheets, in the hand of Revs. John Baird and Royal Cole, in English and Armenian. The document is dated 28 July 1896, and was written at Bitlis. The chart shows the numbers of those Armenians killed and houses plundered in twenty-seven villages in the Garjgan [Garahigan; Gariçkan] region on one day, June 19, 1896. The killings began simultaneously at 8:00 a.m. in each of the villages, this detail indicating the degree of planning and coordination involved in the massacres. There are three anonymous eyewitness estimates of the numbers of those killed, the first (accounting for 16 villages) has the total number at 450; the second (accounting for 22 villages) at 459; and the third (accounting for 27 villages) has the dead at 553. In each of the separate eyewitness accounts (taken independently of one another), there is a striking closeness of the exact numbers of people killed and houses plundered, as they are broken down into columns village by village (named in both Armenian and English). The chart also gives the number of original inhabitants of each village, and indicates whether the houses were wholly or partially plundered. At the bottom of the chart, the following has been written by Rev. Baird: *'People killed are almost wholly male adults -- the bread winners -- leaving a large number of widows and orphans. Massacres almost simultaneous -- 8 A.M. June 19th. Fields left without last irrigation -- often to be invaded by cattle. Livestock mainly carried off. Houses seemingly not destroyed. Up to present govt has interposed no hindrance to Garjgan people coming here or against going there though it is in Van vilayet but nearer to Bitlis than to Van. Probably relief can be given here better than at Van. Probably a large sum will be needed as the inhabitants to be cared for largely exceed those cared for in Sassoun. People scattered in terror -- petty pillaging still going on. We are cutting off as rapidly as possible other regions & have funds for this planning to secure cloth for coming winter's needs [sic]. Bitlis July 28, 1896. J.B. [John Baird]'*

(Rev. John Baird of Rumelia arrived at Bitlis on 16 July 1896 to help Rev. Cole with relief work. His passport was confiscated by Ottoman governmental representatives within a week of his interviews with Armenian eyewitnesses. He was expelled from the country in late 1896, although he continued to write articles drawing attention to the Armenian question in various publications for at least the next ten years, a number of which are included in the Cole Collection.)

- A full copy-book page list, undated, in sepia ink in the hand of Royal Cole, of the names of sixty-five Armenians (men, women and children), who have died of starvation, exposure, etc., following the 1894 massacres in the Sasun region, focusing on several villages in the Dalvorig [Talori] and Geliguzan areas. In a letter accompanying the list, Royal Cole gives a detailed account of the governmental strategy of forcibly keeping starving peasants in the mountains of the Sasun region with nothing to eat, and no means of obtaining food, and points out that his list names only a portion of those who have died in this way, while many others, it is known, have perished under similar circumstances.
- A full copy-book page list and report, in sepia ink in the hand of Rev. John Baird, dated 4 August 1896, naming nine areas in the Garjgan and Van regions calling for urgent relief as a result of massacres of Armenians. The number of villages demanding relief totals one hundred and forty three, involving over eighteen thousand inhabitants. An appeal for relief funds forms part of Rev. Baird's report, and he states in a tone of no little urgency that many of the villages have been without adequate food or clothing for months, as resources at Van and Bitlis are already overextended.
- A two-page list, entitled '*Sassoun Photographs*', written in blue ink, in the hand of Royal Cole, identifying a series of photographs taken by him, and intended, according to another loose-item note of Rev. Cole's, for publication in his projected '*Reminiscences*.' Most of the photographs taken by Rev. Cole date from his August 1895 tour of the Mus *sancak* with British Vice-Consul Hampson, with the obvious exception of No. 14 ('before the massacre'), and the possible exception of Nos. 3, 13, 37, and 42 (all taken at Hitink,

perhaps at the same time as the photograph of Mt. Savasor [Gsovasar], although Rev. Cole did visit this massacre site during his August 1895 tour with C. Hampson, and again in September of that year, during his second long tour of Sasun). The list gives descriptions of thirty-two photographs (if we take into account the fact that the numbering is at times out of sequence, and that there are several repetitions and omissions in the sequence). Of these thirty-two original photographs, eleven prints have survived (see the *Addendum* to Section VIII: *Photographs* of this Catalogue). The following is a transcription of Rev. Cole's written list (bracketed words in italics are ours):

- No. 2 Consul Hampson's tents at Moush.
- No. 3. Group of Sasn [*sic*] refugees at Bitlis.
- No. 4 Hagop of Geliguzan of 12 wounds.
- No. 6 Kegliashen women & children.
- No. 7 Semal, distant view of missionaries [*sic*] camp.
- No. 8 Semal women wailing for their dead at graves.
- No. 10 Mt. Gepin beyond Mt. Andoke.
- No. 12 Galiguzan women bring rations from Semal 6 miles away.
- No. 13 Upper & lower Hitink (Pastor Simon's village)
- No. 14 Gzovasar (Mt. of the lake) (before the massacre. [*sic, open parenthesis*])
- No. 15 Bedo's house Geliguzan wealthy man [*sic*]
- No. 16 Death pit -- see close [*this entry has been written in pencil rather than blue ink*]
- No. 17 Semal - chief men & priests - Moush prelate at center.
- No. 24 Geliguzan opposite the church for the base hospital etc. [*sic*]
- No. 29 Semal church. Headquarters of Commissn oven [*sic*]
[unnumbered] looking towards Moush, half built houses.
- No. 22 Aitantsik, the brave woman-gun-loader, etc.
- No. 30 Geliguzan from below the church.
- No. 32 Geliguzan and ruins booths [*sic*] in the rear.
- No. 34 Near mouth of "Mourad Ef's" cave. [*Murad Effendi: Dr. Hamparsum Boyadjian*]
- No. 35 Part of Geliguzan from Bedo's house.
- No. 37 Hitink. Bad [*Badvelley: Rev.*] Simon's village.
- No. 38 Mt. Andoke cliff site of Shakheh fatal leap to escape Kourds.
- No. 39 Part of Shenik -- buildings under construction.
- No. 41 Hospital Booths at Shenik
- No. 42 Hitink - hemp patch at left pastor S's birthplace
- No. 43 Dalvorig. Uspaghank.
- No. 44 Part of Pourk - Furfur (murmuring) rock.
- No. 45 Iskhuntsor
- No. 46 Dalvorig. Pourk church.
- No. 47 Arakelots [?] (Apostles) monastery
- No. 16 Chief pit where 40 mangled & pitched in. [*this entry has been written in pencil, and is a variant of No. 16 above*]

- An extremely detailed, hand-drawn map (measuring 27cm x 42cm), in the hand of Royal Cole, in brown ink on Japanese copy paper, of the Sassoun region, Psank province, [Khian] Khyan province, and other areas west, with meticulous indications of Armenian and Kurdish villages and settlements, rivers, mountain ranges, gorges and valleys (blue ink lines delineate the itinerary of Rev. R.M. Cole and British Vice-Consul Charles Hampson on their August 1895 tour of a wide area in which the 'Sassoun massacres' occurred in late summer 1894). This sketch-map is reprinted in Great Britain, Sessional Papers, Turkey No. 1 (1896), Inclosure 3 in No. 266. In a Memorandum dated 12 October 1895, H.S. Shipley, the British consular Delegate attached to the Sassoun Commission of Inquiry emphasized the critical importance of Hampson's Report of 18 August 1895 concerning this tour, in deciding upon the 1894 events, particularly concerning the events occurring in the villages and wards of the Dalvorig [Talori] region (in Koulp *caza*, Guendj [Genç] *sancak*; or more properly, the *kanar* of Dalvorig villages of Guendj), in the southernmost part of the massacre region, in Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1895, XIC, c. 7894, Turkey No. 1, pt. 1, Inclosure in No 267.

- Various records of food distribution; medical care; money, clothing, and livestock distribution; *e.g.*, an 8-page report (on journal copy-book paper, in the hand of Royal Cole) of relief offered throughout the Moush and Sassoun regions in the summer of 1895, following the widespread massacres and pillaging there in the previous year.

VII. LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS IN ARMENIAN [FOLDERS 26, 27]

(a) Loose sheet letters

There are over fifty loose-sheet letters in Armenian, dating from 1892 through 1908. These include:

- a letter from an Armenian Pastor Khachig, dated 22 February 1904, addressed to Dr. Cole, in which the Pastor discusses his ordination, and argues for Dr. Cole's position as 'the officer ordained for the Armenian Evangelical pulpit of Bitlis';
- numerous letters of thanks for help given by the Coles to various refugee families and individuals;
- several prison letters addressed to Rev. Cole from Armenians arrested on spurious charges, including one from a son of an Armenian priest, dated 22 September 1906, giving a detailed description of conditions at the notorious Bitlis prison, where the author of the letter has been incarcerated for over eight and a half years: the man requests a small amount of money so as to be able to pay debts of tribute to Kurdish prisoners, and asks whether Dr. Cole might in any way be able to help him avoid dying in such distress. The man thanks Rev. Cole for his frequent help to his family in the past, and asks whether his children might be taken into one of Dr. Cole's schools and orphanages;
- letters describing the poverty and desperation of Armenians in a number of villages, over many years; appeals to Dr. Cole for financial assistance, food, clothing, and other necessities (in one village in the Khanous region, over twelve hundred people are without food, clothing, or wood for their fires; many have already died of starvation or exposure, and the writer predicts a terrible winter);
- a letter from 1897 from a Protestant Armenian teacher (and former student at the Boys' School at Bitlis), who lost his wife in the massacres, subsequently fled the Bitlis region, and has now settled at Etchmiadzin. He announces his intentions of becoming a *vartabed*. (The letter has an added short note in Royal Cole's hand and signed by him, in which he regrets that it is his duty to inform the teacher of the death of his infant child, who was by necessity of circumstances left with relatives at Bitlis at the time of the teacher's flight.);
- a three-page text, in Armenian, of a eulogy speech and words of a hymn sung in praise of Dr. Cole by students and their teachers in various schools in the Bitlis *vilayet*, at New Years', 1899.

(b) Copy-book letters and journal entries by Rev. Cole in Armenian

There are over two hundred journal entries and letters by Rev. Cole, in Armenian, on a wide variety of subjects: Sassoun massacre relief work in 1895; relief work in 1896 throughout the Bitlis *vilayet*, and the Van *vilayet* (e.g., a lengthy and itemized account to an Armenian Prelate, dated 25 January 1896); death notices, etc., spanning the years 1868 to 1908.

Addendum:

An Orphan's Testimony [FOLDER #28]

This item is a two-page document, dating from 1905, written in violet-colored ink on ruled paper measuring 20cm x 24 cm, in the hand of Royal Cole, in Armenian and English. The document appears to be

an official orphanage record (it bears the Armenian stamp of the Mission), and contains the transcription of a testimony by an eleven year old orphan at Moush of the killings in the 1904 massacres of his parents in the Sassoun region, and a narrative by Rev. Cole of the circumstances that brought the boy to the American Mission. (In the following account by Rev. Cole, we have added several explanatory notes, extended abbreviations into full words, and taken the liberty of filling in a word or phrase here and there, where his exposition is particularly elliptical, always in brackets.) Dr. Cole begins:

'Moush [Mus] June 5/05 Samson Vartanian 11 years was in mother's arms as she fled with the babe in '94 [i.e., during the general massacres at Sassoun] but last Apr. father & mother both killed -- gun put by solds [soldiers] on mother's back & on father's side shoulders [sic], smashed head with gun stock & pitched bodies down mt. [mountain] side. Pasha brought Samson who was about to be killed when fell at feet of soldier who plead[ed] for him [and was thence taken to] Moush where [he] remained 1½ month[s] when govt sent people back & he found & gathered up parents' bones & buried [them] in hay. His sister Yeghso (whose husband Reshid [was] also killed) brought to us her brother in Moush this day. Samson is of Geliguzan village. Moush June 5/05.'

Dr. Cole's translation of the boy's stark testimony, written in Armenian, is as follows, *verbatim et literatim*:

'In the event of 1904, at the surrender, my father & mother came to the soldiers. The soldiers unsparingly destroyed all who surrendered and I witnessed the terrible death of my father & mother with my own eyes, the soldiers killing them. In the terrible fear & shock that seized me, or from what I know not -- perhaps being influenced by my fear or taking compassion on my years -- a soldier freed me from the other soldiers' hands & protected me during five days from every danger & then brought me to Moush. For 1½ months so unfortunate and with my fellow miserable orphans [did I remain there,] following which by order of Govt we returned to our place where everything [was] in ruins. Remaining friendless & helpless & uncared for lonely orphan by name of Samson, father's name Vartan & mother Rarshé. Being a helpless, uncared-for orphan, I am now after over a year received among the orphans at Moush. I pray for the happiness of the benefactors who now put an end to that which causes horror in the relating of it to anyone. Moush, June 5/05'

A second, attached page has a longer description by Rev. Cole, in Armenian and English, in his hand, and several shorter notes, in English:

New orphan Samson Vartanian 11 years & of Geliguzan where parents killed in April of 1904. His sister Yeghso (whose husband Reshid also killed) brought Samson. While many orphans are still afloat outside the gate of the orphanage, here is one of the few new ones taking up anew at Moush that has a terribly sad history. His name is Samson Vartanian & of some 11 years native of Geliguzan the largest & central village of Sassoun, and where terrible fighting took place in the event of April, last year (1904). Samson had heard from his mother how she fleeing with him the innocent little babe [sic] & so saved him & herself in the first massacre of 1894, while the father Vartan made his escape in another direction. But this time fatality befell both the parents. Under pledges of safety if they would surrender the parents with him & many other neighbors came to the soldiers but only to the terrible sacrifice of all their lives. That mother who could save Samson ten years before this time has the muzzle of the gun put near her back while the cruel bullet does its work, they then smashed her head flat with the butt of the gun, while another [bullet] finds its way through from shoulder to shoulder of the father, and he too is prostrate in death all in front of the terrified, wailing Samson, who seemed only awaiting his turn. But partly from his tender years & partly it may be from his cries & entreaties as he fell at a soldier's feet, the soldier saved him from the other soldiers. Said soldier protected Samson for a month & half when he brings him along to Moush. After some weeks by order of Govt, again the people are returned to their place to see everything in ruins. After a little over a year his sister Yeghso (whose husband Reshid also killed) brought him [to our orphanage]. Royal Cole, June 5/05.'

The testimony of Samson Vartanian is only one of a number of such documents in the Cole Collection, e.g., R.M. Cole, copy-book journal #8, pp. 450ff, where an entire family's fate is examined.

VIII. PHOTOGRAPHS [N.B., see attached sheets]

There are over twelve hundred photographic prints, and an additional four hundred negatives (roughly forty of the negatives correspond to extant prints), some loose, others mounted in six cloth-bound photo albums of fair volume.

Most of the prints are in good or fine condition, one hundred or so bearing small tears, creases, or stains, while another hundred or so are in poor condition (water stains, faded, etc.). The prints range in size from small (measuring 6cm x 8.5cm) to quite large (measuring 19cm x 23cm).

Of the photographs, some were taken by Royal Cole, others by his daughters, Nellie and Mary Cole, with the exception of (a) approximately thirty prints, signed by several professional studio photographers, or stamped on the back with their names, e.g., M.G. Papazian at Erzerum, and (b) another dozen prints of Bitlis and environs, in fine condition, taken by the British Vice-Consul at Bitlis, W.J. Heathcote, in 1904, presented in a bound album to Rev. Cole at Christmas of that year.

With the exception of a very small tin-type portrait of Royal Cole from the 1860s, the earliest of the photographs date from the mid-1870s (gold-toned, collodion wet-plate process on albumenized paper). The latest photographs date from 1906 or 1907. There are several blue-tint cyanotypes, two stereographs, and a number of calotypes. All but approximately forty of the photographic prints bear a description of the scene pictured, either written on the back of the photograph or on the page of the photo-album in which it is mounted, in the hand of Royal Cole, Nellie Cole, or Mary Cole.

(a) Photographic prints

- **PHOTOGRAPHS IDENTIFIED WITH WRITING ON THE BACK OF THE PRINT [FOLDER 14]**

Prints include:

- two small (5.5cm x 8.5cm) gold-toned, collodion process prints of a view of the city of Kars. (The prints are duplicates.) The photograph shows the old Armenian Church of the Holy Apostles, clearly visible in detail in the very foreground, and the ruined mediaeval ramparts and castle on the hill in the background. The weathered exterior black walls of the church, referred to twice in H.F.B. Lynch's *Armenia, Travels & Studies* (London, 1901) vol. I, at pp. 405 and 407, are quite apparent. The Armenian church was erected by the monarch of the Bagratid dynasty, Abas, in 930 A.D. Lynch, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 407, expresses his regret at not having a photograph to reproduce of this remarkable church, and goes on to give a lengthy description of its highly interesting features. Lynch further states, *ibid.*, that, 'the form of this church is one I have not seen elsewhere.' Kars was under Russian rule at the time of Lynch's travels, and he was forbidden, as was Lord Warkworth in his visit to Kars at approximately the same time, to take photographs of the city. (The photograph of the citadel, excluding any view of the church, which is reproduced in the chapter on Kars in Lynch's work, was taken by F.C. Conybeare.) From this, and the absence of any photograph to be found in other illustrated books on Asiatic Turkey from the time, it would appear that this is the sole extant photograph, dating from the 19th century, of the Church of the Holy Apostles. The photograph was taken by Royal Cole during his six-month medical and relief tour of the Kars area in 1878;
- other views of Kars, including scenes of the ancient castle and fortifications (these prints also date from 1878);
- views of Erzeroum (extensive series showing numerous aspects of the city, including the thirteenth-century Seljuk tower in the northeastern part of the city; the thirteenth-century Seljuk theological medrese, *Çifte Minare Medrese* (including a close-shot showing its façade: a stalactite doorway with elaborate traceries and the spectacular, fluted brickwork twin minarets);
- a studio portrait of General Laziroff, leader of the final Russian campaign of the Russo-Turkish war (capturing Kars); a studio portrait of Mukhta Pasha, commander-in-chief of the Turkish forces at Kars and Erzeroum in the Russo-Turkish war;

- a close portrait of a Turkish soldier (studio photograph of M.G. Papazian at Erzeroum);
- views of Bitlis (extensive series of photos from the early 1890s through 1906): the Alexandrian fort and castle; the city and various architectures; governmental quarters; the *Avel Meidan* quarter (in which the American Mission was situated); the *Avekb* ward (the section of Bitlis stretching just eastwards of the *Avel Meiden*); the Hassen Kurdish ward; individual bazaars in the Bitlis marketplace, and more general views of the town marketplace; the early twelfth-century *Ulu Cami* great Mosque of Bitlis (in particular, a close-shot showing the exquisitely carved doorway); the British Consulate at Bitlis (a number of prints); the famous Tunnel of Semiramis, on the road to Sert [Siirt] (now destroyed);
- views of Trabzon: various houses, structures (the ruins of the Byzantine fortifications of the house of Comneni), and scenes (including the Greek cemetery); views of the Pontic coast, including the great table-rock at Trabzon that juts out over the sea, and for which Trabzon [Trebizond, from 'Trapezus,' table] is named;
- views of Urfa;
- views of Baibourt (including photographs of the ancient fort and ramparts);
- views of Moush [Mus] (a number of scenes; several of the larger prints are in exceptional condition);
- views of Harpoot;
- views of Samsun (including the Tchiftlik Woods);
- views of numerous small Armenian villages or settlements, notably in Akhlat province: Melek, Peniam, Arpia, Alexan, Mogouunk, Dzughag [Dzghah], Oghunk;
- views of many small villages and scenes of peasant life of the Kurdish Modeki [Mödki; Mutki] tribe, west/northwest of Bitlis: Müzüük, Kinzo, Eglük, Dolek; several views of Mt. Kalems and Mt. Philin (these prints all date from 1902);
- views of the Huntsorkeen plain;
- views of the Diyarbakir plain;
- views of the Moush plain and views of areas of Sassoun (e.g., the Shenik gorge);
- views of the city of Mardin (particularly the ancient fort and ramparts); an extensive and varied series of views of the life in the Mardin region (showing a number of villages and towns; various rural farming and agricultural scenes); scenes of missionary work at Mardin, including views of the Mardin mission compound;
- Van and Van lake (numerous views); Van Kalesi, the ancient Uratian castle and citadel at Van;
- Views of Constantinople;
- Churhor village between Bitlis and Van;
- views of Malazgird (numerous views: a long series, including scenes of Armenian villages plundered in 1904); views of an ancient, ruined castle; a number of agricultural scenes;
- various mosques, for example, the thirteenth-century mosque of St. Sophia (the *Aya Sofya*) at Trebizond (a number of large prints in exceptional condition); the Hagia Sophia at Constantinople; views of mosque

courtyards; views of a *hamman* (mosque ablution basin), views of an *ivan* (the vaulted-ceiling open porch leading to the prayer hall); close-shots of details: a *mibrab*; mosque doors, etc.;

- numerous churches, including a small Purkhous [Pourkh] church in the Talori [Dalvorig] valley; the remains of a destroyed Armenian church near Malazgird;
- a number of monasteries, notably, the impressive Soumela Monastery and aqueduct southeast of Trebizond, built some distance up a high, plunging precipice in a wooded area (the sanctuary was founded early in the 6th century, but the standing architecture in the photographs dates from the early 14th century); the Huntigadar monastery; the Lousavorchagan monastery near Erzeroum (this monastery was the Cole family's refuge at several threatening moments of the Russo-Turkish war, and the location where one of the young Cole sons died of typhus in the winter of 1877-1878); a Greek Monastery east of Trabzon; the splendid Gregorian Armenian cloister Surb Garabet (John the Baptist), located on the northern border range above the Mus plain (on the site where, in the 3rd century, Gregory the Illuminator, minister to the Armenian King Tiridates, established the first Armenian Christian church.) Note: all of the photographs of monasteries are in fine condition and, with only or two exceptions, are quite large prints;
- various mausolea (mostly in the Bitlis region);
- a large portrait of the Armenian Patriarch Khurimian; portraits of a number of Armenian priests;
- schools and orphanages (including those built or directed by Royal Cole: e.g., the Boys' School at Bitlis, the Bitlis School for Girls); orphaned refugee students; Armenian and American teachers (an extensive series);
- American, British, and German missionaries and their families (many prints in a number of series); missionary quarters and houses (including prints of the house of Rev. and Mrs. Knapp in which the American Mission group, and others, remained hidden during the October 1895 massacre at Bitlis);
- Royal Cole and his family; Rev. Cole engaged in various activities: holding services, carrying on relief work at refugee camps, meeting with doctors and teachers, etc.;
- British consuls and vice-consuls (including H.S. Shipley, consular Delegate to the Commission of Inquiry investigating the 1894 events at Sassoun, W.J. Heathcote, British Vice-Consul at Bitlis);
- a series of eight studio-portrait photographs of Armenians (alone or in twos), by the Erzerum photographer, M.G. Papazian;
- an extensive series of photographs of Armenians in various styles of dress (some of the photographs are studio portraits, others are of groups posing in natural settings, or involved in various types of work; on the back of a number of these prints are handwritten notes describing the fates in various massacres of those pictured);
- a series of photographs concerning the 1894 massacres in the Sasun region, showing various scenes at Shenik, Ghelieguzan, Gzovazat, Kegliashen, Moush, Semal, Pourkh, Mt. Tsovasor (hospitals, refugee camps, victims of the massacres, massacre sites). Note: for a more detailed description of these items, refer to the Addendum to this section, *infra*;
- portrait of a Muslim judge;
- a series of views of cavalry units of the *Hamidié* (Kurdish irregular troops), at Malazgird; portraits of *Hamidié* officers (*Tenekelis' has been penciled as a caption in the photo album*); Turkish military barracks at Bitlis;
- a studio portrait of three heavily-armed mountaineer Kurdish bodyguards to a Kurdish chieftain (*Agha*) (a large print, measuring 19.2cm x 23.5cm, in exceptional condition);

- two studio stereograph portraits of a Kurdish man smoking a *chibouk* (long pipe): the photos are duplicates of one another, but one is sepia-tinted;
- a whirling dervish;
- Armenians, Turks, Kurds, Lazes, and Circassians in traditional dress (examples of various articles of clothing, including a *tcharchaf*, *yashmak*, *chalwar*, *abas*, *kusak*, *djubbah*, *dolman*, *entari*; fezes, various turban styles and assorted headgear (*bashlik*), caftans, scarfs, boots and shoes);
- Kurdish camps, and bands of Kurdish nomads or semi-nomadic tribesmen near Sassoun and on the Moush plain; Kurds from the Nestorian mountains;
- numerous scenes showing the destruction caused by the great earthquakes of 1895 and 1907 at Bitlis, and scenes of the subsequent relief work and reconstruction of the city;
- views of various caravans; means of travel: moffas (a covered, passenger pannier); a fourgon, a takhtrovan; carriages (Russian and Turkish); macadamized roads, bridle paths;
- views of ancient caravansaries (road-inns) (*khan*), for example, at Papshen, at Van, near Bitlis on the road to Sert, etc.;
- scenes of the building of roads in Turkey (city and rural scenes); views of the ballasting of roads; scenes of the official ceremonies surrounding the opening of new roads;
- views of a number of provincial architectural building structures, and detail shots of agricultural and forestry tools (e.g., a large 'oriental sawmill');
- views of various mountains (among others, Mt. Kalem, Mt. Thilin, Mt. Bilejan, Mt. Zivanah, Mt. Sepan; mountains of the Taurus and anti-Taurus ranges);
- views of a number of valleys and gorges (e.g., the Gumish Khaneh valley, the Bitlis gorge, etc.)
- extensive series of views of Nimrüd crater cold-lake (the dates of the photographs span quite a number of years), including a panoramic view (composite of five photographs; the prints are in poor condition); views of the Nimrüd volcanic crater wall; a small pyramid near Nimrüd hot springs;
- views of numerous rivers and streams in Armenian and Kurdistan Turkey: among others, the Abi Bitlis, the Bitlis Chai (Bitlis river), the Khanous river, the Euphrates, etc.; streams: the Hamba, Aveklon, and Khosrovan;
- views of diverse styles of bridges over the Euphrates, and other rivers; several views of a ruined ancient stone castle-bridge (*Kal'i kyoprusa*), near Malazgird ;
- festivities of National Turkish Amusement Day at Bitlis;
- scenes of breadmaking (bakers working around an indoor sunken toneer, or taudir, an oriental floor-oven), yarn spinning, shoe-making;
- photographs of a stone relief; sculpted stone lion's head; tapestry; and large earthen vase, all from Boghazkoï (these prints are in very fine condition);
- wildlife (e.g., storks near Boghazkoï; geese at Malazgird; camels on the Diyarbakir plain); animals of transport, agricultural animals (camels, goats, oxen; a buffalo being shoed).

(b) Photographic negatives [Box I: 1 & 2]

Of the over three hundred photographic negatives (most measuring 8.5cm x 9cm) all but thirty or so are in good, indeed, excellent condition. The negatives show, among other subjects:

- views of Bitlis;
- views of Erzeroum;
- caravansaries in the Bitlis and Van regions;
- portraits of Armenian priests;
- portraits of Armenian teachers;
- portraits of Armenian orphans;
- portraits of Kurds and Lazes;
- numerous cemetery scenes;
- a series of scenes of relief and medical work (particularly at Malazgird);
- caravans of missionaries;
- views of schools and orphanages (in various cities);
- numerous scenes of work and travel in heavy snows: e.g., snow-brigade workers clearing deep snow at Bitlis; a series of photographs of large, double-runner, hand-pulled snowsled-carriages;
- farming and harvest scenes;
- extensive series of portraits of Armenians in various dress and activities (over fifty views in the series);
- other work scenes at Bitlis: men gathering large building stones, etc.; general work of reconstruction after an earthquake.

Addendum. [BOXES 1 & 2]

1895 Sasun tour photographic print series:
Ghelieguzan burial trench (death pit); ruined
Ghelieguzan village; surviving victims; refugee
camps at Shenik and Semal; relief work

Item #4 of Section VI *supra* is a handwritten list of Dr. Cole's, "Sassoun [Sasun] Photographs," photographs intended to be reproduced in his projected 'Reminiscences.' Of the thirty-two listed photographs, eleven ivory-tint photographs, each measuring 9cm x 12.5cm, on beige pasteboard backing (13cm x 15.6cm) have survived. Of these eleven prints, nine are in fair to poor condition. The photographs were taken by Dr. Cole in August 1895, during an extended eleven day tour of the Moush district with British Vice-Consul C. Hampson. Hampson's Report to Consul Graves at Erzerum, dated 18 August 1895 can be read in Great

Britain, Sessional Papers, Turkey No. 1, pt. 1, 1895, XIC, c. 7894, *Events at Sassoun and Commission of Inquiry at Moush*, Inclosure 2 in No. 266. The importance of Hampson's Report in supplementing the Delegates' Joint Report of 20 July 1895 was underscored by the British Delegate to the Commission of Inquiry into the events in the Sasun region, H.S. Shipley in a Memorandum dated 12 October 1895 (*ibid.*, Inclosure in No. 267). The remainder of the photographs referred to in Royal Cole's list, along with the final-edit manuscript of his memoirs, and presumably all negatives, were lost in the mail in 1910 or 1911.

In the following list of the extant photographs, the first description in inverted commas is that of Rev. Cole, penciled, in his hand, on the bottom border of each of the prints; the second reference has been copied from Dr. Cole's handwritten list (with the exception of item 'c,' where there is no description matching the photograph to be found in the list). Following the references by Dr. Cole, we have provided a brief description of the scene pictured, and, where applicable, a reference to the event or site as related in the copy-book journal entries or letters of Rev. Cole:

(a) #2, '*Consul (Hampson's) tents (Moush)*'; '*Consul Hampson's tents at Moush*'. The photograph shows two large tents pitched at the edge of a small woodland area, with several unidentified men standing close by. This photograph was taken within a few days of August 19, 1895 (the date of Vice-Consul Hampson and Rev. Cole's return to Moush from a lengthy tour of Sassoun). Four days later, Rev. Cole was at Shenik, administering relief assistance. (Hampson to Graves, 26 August 1895, FO 424/183, p. 451, No. 339/2 includes a post-script reference to the Vice-Consul's camp.)

(b) #4, '*Hagop of Galiguzan with 12 Wounds*'; '*Hagop of Geliguzon of [sic] 12 wounds*'. (Note: the print is seriously damaged, torn from the bottom midway up the photograph, and with a number of other tears along its bottom border; in addition, the edges of the photograph are curling up from the backing.) The photograph shows a mustached man sitting in profile. He bears clearly visible knife wounds and gashes on his chest, right side, and right leg. (Geliguzan was the site of some of the most serious massacres of late summer 1894, and the object of some of the most vigorous investigations by the consular Delegates attached to the Sasun Commission of Inquiry.)

(c) #6, '*Kegliashen Armenian refugee women and children, dressed in rags*'. The photograph shows thirteen women and seventeen children (some of them infants) standing in front of a large, crude stone hut, with grass and mud flat roof. All of the women, and nearly half of the children are at least partially veiling their faces, either with a cloth headdress or their hands. (Kegliashen was one of the villages of the Shatak region almost completely destroyed by Ottoman troops in August, 1894. Only an occasional reference to these events can be found in the Blue Book consular communications, or in the Sassoun Commission Delegate Reports.)

(d) #7, '*Semal*'; '*Semal, distant view of missionaries' camp*'. (Note: the print is in very good condition.) View of a mountain encampment, several dozen men, women, and children standing before large tents and two very large brick and stone buildings. (Semal was to the southwest of Moush, at the northern end of the Ghelieguzan gorge. The village was utterly ruined in the pillaging and general destruction carried out by Ottoman regular and irregular troops as the village population retired to their strongholds on the Antok mountain. Semal was one of only three sites visited by the Sassoun Commission of Inquiry Delegates, as described in their Joint Report of July 20, 1895, Turkey No. 1, 1895, Part I, pp. 134-146, No. 252/1; F.O. 424/183, pp. 203-216, No. 190/1; the missionary camp served as a makeshift hospital in the continuing relief work undertaken by Dr. Cole, and Dr. Raynolds of Van, commented upon in an August 5th, 1895 dispatch from Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury, Turkey No. 1, 1895, Part I, p. 132, No. 250; F.O. 424/183, p. 154, No. 150.)

(e) #10, '*Mt. Gepin*'; '*Mt. Gepin beyond Mt. Andoke*'. (Note: the photograph is somewhat faded.) The print shows a low-angle view of a mountain scene. (Mt. Gepin and Mt. Antok are sister peaks to the southwest of Moush; Mt. Antok was the site of intense fighting between Kurdish aggressors, backed up by a large force of Ottoman soldiers, and defending Armenian mountain villagers from 13 to 24 August 1894, and the hiding-place of thousands of Armenian women and children following the assault upon the villages of Shenik, Semal, and the Alian ward of Ghelieguzan. The events in these mountainous areas were the prelude to the general and widespread massacres and destruction of villages throughout the Moush, Guendj, and Bitlis Central districts of Bitlis province in late August and early September, 1894.)

(f) #14 [16], '*Chief Pit, Where Thrust in at Point of Bayonet*'; '*Chief pit where 40 mangled & pitched in*'; '*Death pit -- see close*'. (The print is in good condition.) Although "#14" is penciled on the back of the photograph, it is obvious from comparison with the description given in Rev. Cole's list, that it is photograph #16: "Chief death pit where 40 mangled and pitched in": the photograph shows an Armenian man (most likely Tavo of Semal, Rev. Cole's guide for his August 1895 tour of the Moush and Guendj *sancaks*), standing with his horse next to a large area of relatively recently-turned earth and stone on a barren hillside (the outline of the pit or trench is somewhat faint; we should note Rev. Cole's wording in the loose-sheet list of the 'Sassoun photographs,' no. 16, 'Death pit -- see close,' that is, 'look closely.'). That this print is indeed a view of the chief death trench or pit at Ghelieguzan is further confirmed by the fact that #15 of the series (the print has not survived) is described in Rev. Cole's list of the photographs as 'Bedo's house Geliguzan wealthy man' [*sic*], and print #35 of Rev. Cole's list is described by him as being 'Part of Geliguzan from Bedo's house.'

Allegations of a massacre of forty or so unarmed men and boys at the soldiers' camp at Ghelieguzan were made by a number of Armenian witnesses before the Sassoun Commission, and the event was the object of intense inquiry at the Commission sittings. It was the testimony of Tavo of Semal which alerted the Delegates to the existence of a number of trenches or 'death pits' wherein those killed had been buried, as can be read in Tavo of Semal's *procès-verbal* in the Commission sessions, published in the British Blue Books. Ghelieguzan was inspected on May 8, 1895 by the consular Delegates attached to the Sassoun Commission, in the presence of the Turkish Commissioners themselves. It was in an area behind the former house of Bedo of Ghelieguzan that the European consular Delegates attached to the Sassoun Commission of Inquiry confirmed the existence of the first of at least three trenches, all of which they personally examined. Referring to the depositions of three Christian muleteers who attended to the Imperial troops and their horses, taken in early June 1895 by the consular Delegates independently of the Sassoun Commission, properly speaking, we find the corroborating testimony placing the event of this massacre in the early morning hours of the sixth day of the soldiers' encampment at Ghelieguzan, that is, August 30, 1894, between 2:00 a.m. and 2:30 a.m. According to several of Rev. Cole's reports, notably his Bitlis Station Report dated 26 January 1895, a number of the men who had been bayoneted by Ottoman soldiers were buried while still alive in the chief trench at the encampment site, as their groans were heard the following day issuing from the thin cover of earth, according to the statements of a soldier who was present there. (From indications in letters and reports of Rev. Cole, this information most probably came to him through British Vice-Consul C.M. Hallward, who was a guest of the Coles at Bitlis near the end of October, 1895, and with whom Rev. Cole had met at Moush earlier in the month. Hallward's information was almost exclusively derived from the statements of Imperial soldiers at Moush, whom he interviewed during their common cholera quarantine in the third week of October, 1895. That Hallward derived so much of his information from Ottoman regular soldiers (details of which he presented in two long reports, the first from early October, and the second from early November), is a fact which has not been commented upon in the literature. Hallward's points were substantially confirmed in further inquiries by the consular Delegates, and others, in the examination of Armenian witnesses. To draw attention to Hallward's sources is at once to provide further evidence of the veracity of Armenian allegations, and to provide the basis for a clear consideration of the arguments set forth by the Ottoman Central Government at the time, which have been taken up by a number of contemporary Turkish apologists for the Porte (e.g., S. and E. Shaw, and K. Gürün). A clarification of the Porte's various positions would begin with an analysis of the Bitlis Vali Tahsin Pasha's published reports in Constantinople newspapers in November, 1894, in which the governor-general claimed full responsibility for having put down a dangerous Armenian insurrection. One would then need to examine the varied and contradictory unofficial claims made by 'Abd ül-Hamit and Saïd Pasha to Sir Currie, in order to finally offer an evaluation of what was to become the Porte's official version of the events, *viz.*, that Armenian brigands had attacked and killed Kurdish semi-nomads in the summer of 1894, which led to the retaliatory massacre of Armenian villagers by various Kurdish tribes, after which Ottoman troops were called in to restore order.

Detailed descriptions of the Ghelieguzan camp massacre, and the barbarous torture of the priest Der-Hohannes of Semal, are to be found in a number of Royal Cole's journal entries, in two of his official reports (the longer and more detailed one being his *Report of the Bitlis Station* dated 26 January 1895), in many letters dating from late 1894 and early 1895, and in the handwritten draft of his '*Reminiscences*,' written in 1916 or 1917.

(g) #24, '*Opposite Galiguzan [sic] Church*'; '*Geliguzan opposite the church for the base hospital etc*' [*sic*]. (Note: the print is quite faded.) The photograph shows a long, winding ravine, flanked on one side by rough, barren hills, and on the other, by terraced, worked grassland slopes, with little gardens, shrubs, and leveled plats of grass with arboreal enframements. The second-hand testimony of a number of Armenians before the Commission of Inquiry, that a wholesale butchery of unarmed women and children who had gathered in the Armenian church

at Ghelieguzan had been undertaken by Ottoman regular troops, was one of the most controversial subjects of inquiry at the Sassoun Commission sittings. The British Consular Delegate, H.S. Shipley, in his Memorandum of 12 October 1895, rejected the claims of Armenians, following an argument the logic and underlying assumptions of which are seriously flawed.

(h) #32, '*Galiguzan [sic] Ruins and Booths in Rear*'; '*Geliguzan and ruins [sic] booths in the rear*'. View of a group of Armenian refugees, in tattered clothing, standing before a ruined stone structure. The group consists of eight women (five of whom are partially covering their faces with cloth veils), six men, and twelve young children.

(i) #39, '*Part of Shenik Buildings Under construction*'; '*Part of Shenik-buildings under construction*'. View of forty or so men and women standing together, looking towards the camera, in a grassy stretch of level land; nearby can be seen three areas where construction of crude stone and mud walls has begun. (Shenik was located to the west of Semal, to the southwest of Moush city, and was one of the first villages destroyed by an attacking force of a large group of the Kurdish Bekranli tribe and an unknown number of two infantry companies of Ottoman regular troops, on either July 30 or July 31, 1894.

(j) #41, '*Hospital Booths at Shenik*'; '*Hospital Booths at Shenik*'. A scene of men standing in front of several crude, straw, mud and unfinished brushwood huts or booths. At the right of the scene, a number of women and children can be seen standing before a much larger booth, watching the picture-taking. A long, angular stone wall of medium height can be made out in the background, with built-up pilasters here and there. (This was one of at least three relief camps and medical centers established in the Sassoun region by Rev. Cole and Dr. Reynolds of Van beginning in the final week of July, 1895, first at Semal, then at Shenik, and finally at Talori. As Dr. Cole describes in a number of copy-book journal reports, energetic governmental efforts prevented him from providing assistance to refugees, and establishing such relief camps, for nearly a year. A long description of this work occurs in the British Blue Books, in a report dated 5 August 1895, Hampson to Graves, Turkey No. 1, 1895, Part I, p. 198, No. 265/2; FO 424/183, pp. 419-420, No. 286/2; British Documents on Ottoman Armenians, Volume IV, 1895, ed. B. Simsir, pp. 184-185, Inclosure 2 in No. 122.)

(k) #46, '*Poorkeb Church. Dalvorig*'; '*Dalvorig - Pourkeb church*'. (Note: this print is badly faded, and the edges have curled up from the pasteboard backing, although the scene is still quite visible.) View of a small, very crude flat-roofed stone building, perched high on a densely-wooded mountain slope, with a narrow and quite irregularly-cut oval doorway (the Pourkish ward of Talori was some distance from Moush, in the southernmost area of the massacre region, located in the *sancak* of Guendj).

IX. MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS AND ITEMS:
 INVITATIONS TO STATE FUNCTIONS, TELEGRAMS, CONTRACTS,
 PASSPORTS AND TRAVELING PERMITS;
 GRAMMAR BOOKS,
 PRIMERS, BUSINESS CARDS [BOX #5]

There are over six hundred miscellaneous items and documents (all in good to exceptional condition) in Turkish, Armenian, Kurdish, English, and French. Of the documents, over one hundred are in Armenian. They include:

- a sixty-four page Turkish book of grammar dating from 1877: long sections have been translated into Armenian, the script in the hand of Royal Cole, with the penciled words "Royal Cole. Erzroom." on the inside front and back covers;
- a crudely-bound, thirteen-page handwritten text of two chapters from the Gospel According to St. Matthew, in Arabo-Kurdish, with the words (in the hand of Rev. Cole) penned on the cover: 'Arabo-Kurdish of Gospel of Mat' [*siz*];
- a thirty-two page bound school primer in Armenian (giving the vocabulary and grammar of a Biblical passage), dating from 1894;
- a sixteen-page bound children's story book with silhouette illustrations, in Armenian;
- forty-two small hand-out cards (measuring 5cm x 8cm) imprinted with various Biblical verses in Armenian;
- invitations to a number of state celebrations (e.g., of the accession to the throne of the Sultan), etc.;
- business cards in Armenian and Turkish: the Armenian Abbot at Bitlis; Tahsin pasha, the *vali* (governor-general) of Bitlis from 1892-1894, whose misrepresentations to the Porte concerning Armenian activities in the Moush *sancak* in the summer of 1894 brought the order or Imperial edict from Constantinople to mobilize troops into the Sassoun area);
- telegrams (mostly in Turkish) from various diplomatic officials, and from other missionaries in the field;
- passports; travel permits or road papers, *yo tézkiye*;
- a number of legal contracts (in Turkish and Armenian);
- over fifty different brochures, all in exceptional condition, dating from 1874 to 1913, dealing with a number of topics, including everyday life in Kurdistan Turkey; education (particularly for women); the Armenian Question; medical and famine relief work, etc. A good number of the brochures feature photographs of various scenes of Armenian life, including the weaving of *abas* (goat-hair jackets), Armenian meal-time, Armenian women beating and bruising wheat, rug-making, quilt-making, etc.;
- six Turkish newspapers, the "Sabah" of Constantinople, dating from 1903 and 1905, in good to exceptional condition;
- the full front and back pages of a Christian newspaper published in Armenian at Constantinople, dating from 1877, in exceptional condition.

X. ARTIFACTS [BOX #7]

- a white, roughly-cut cotton truce flag, with the word 'Americans' broadly printed in blue pencil;

- a Turkish wedding headdress of pewter and colored glass beads, with the Turkish national symbol crescent moon as a hanging pewter ornament;
- a small Armenian *cochnag*: a thin, semi-circular wooden plank, with strings to suspend the instrument, and two carved wooden mallets (there is Armenian script penciled on both sides of the plank stating that the *cochnag* is struck with the mallets to call together a congregation);
- two spinning distaffs and a spindle;
- a small wooden comb;
- a wooden spoon.

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BOUND PHOTO ALBUMS

#1: bound photographic album, photos taken by Heathcote, H.B.M. vice-consul at Bitlis. Eleven prints.

- 1) Bitlis and environs
- 2) Avehk ward
- 3) ?
- 4) Bitlis castle
- 5) Bitlis city
- 6) Bitlis city
- 7) American Mission Compound
- 8) Tunnel of Semiramis
- 9) Same, closer
- 10) road to Siirt
- 11) Bitlis marketplace, Armenan merchants

#2: 1899-1902

43 prints identified by writing in margins, including Hamideye troops at Malazgird; Sasunli Kurds; a number of Modeki tribe and region

#3: 31 prints, all identified in the album: Cole and students; Nimrud crater; Sultan accession day; Bitlis; Lake Van (some prints water damaged)

#4: 49 prints -- all identified in the album: Van, Huntsorkeen plain; Churor village; Lake Van; Nimrud pyramid; glimpses of Bitlis

#5:

- 1) Cole and orphans
- 2) Khurimian the Patriarch
- 3) facade Chrsitain school at Erzerum
- 4) Mus
- 5) Bitlis
- 6) orphan shoemakers
- 7) Upper Erzerum
- 8) marketplace Constantinople
- 9) Bitlis market ward
- 10) view of Urfa
- 11) Baiburt
- 12) Gibraltar montage
- 13) Malta
- 14) Malta
- 15) Algiers
- 16) Trabzon house
- 17) Malta studio portraits
- 18) Lousavorchaghan monastery

Armenian family photographs and photos of Armenian clergy	A
orphans and students	B
city views	C
miscellaneous	D
Cole family	E

N.B. The numbering of photographs refers to envelopes.

A

- 1) Pastor Hagop Kaprulian
- 2) An Armenian from Khinis
- 3) The Hovivian family of Erzincan
- 4) Armenian priest (studio portrait) at Erzerum
- 5) Deacon (1902)
- 6) Unidentified Armenian family studio portrait (Erzerum)
- 7) Studio portrait of two Armenian women identified as 'Mariam' and 'Adeh' (Erzerum)
- 8) Studio portrait dated Sept. 16, 1875: "Shushon and her brother, a woman assistant in house work in Erzroom."
- 9) Portrait of Sahag Arakelian of Heranik Khanous and his two sisters (Erzerum studio portrait from the 1870s)

B

- 1) Rev. Krikorev with orphan at Moush
- 2) Rev. Cole with Bitlis orphans
- 3) Bitlis Armenian High School graduates 1905 with Pastor of Bitlis Protestant church
- 4) duplicate of #3
- 5) Orphan boys (all named in writing on the back of the print)
- 6) Bitlis orphans
- 7) Four Armenian orphans (all named on back of print)
- 8) Group of Moush orphan boys
- 9) Unidentified young Armenian orphans
- 10) A group of ten orphan girls and missionary children
- 11) Unidentified group of girl orphans
- 12) Unidentified group of girl orphans
- 13) Blind orphan boy reading brail (Moush)
- 14) Outdoor portrait: 'Misag and Sarkis'
- 15) Senior class of Mardian Armenian girl students
- 16) An out of doors portrait of three Armenian young women and a girl (long description in Armenian written on the back of the print)

C

- 1) view of Bitlis looking north; Bitlis castle in the background
- 2) Caravansary outside Bitlis
- 3) Bitlis Protestant chapel
- 4) Bitlis: Hassen Kurdish ward
- 5) Bitlis: Armenian church
- 6) 3 prints: near Nimrud crater
- 7) Panorama of Smyrna
- 8) Protestant High School at Erzerum (and chapel)
- 9) Erzerum (small print) (damaged)
- 10) Bitlis Girls' School (1902)
- 11) House at Shekhaghoub in Bulanik province
- 12) West end of the old Bitlis castle

- 13) Erzerum
- 14) Bitlis marketplace showing Bitlis castle
- 15) Bitlis from British consulate roof
- 16) Zivenali
- 17) Kars Armenian church and castle
- 18) Duplicate of #17
- 19) Zivanah (Mt.)
- 20) Old Cominini fortress walls at Trabson
- 21) Bitlis looking north (showing the old citadel). In the extreme distance, two-story Turkish soldiers' barracks
- 22) Bitlis view; old castle; paper-mill
- 23) Aya Sofia at Constantinople
- 24) Lake Geneva
- 25) the eastern shore of Nimrud
- 26) Papshen bridge
- 27) Large mounted print of Erzerum (taken by G. Papasian), slightly damaged, with several corners of the pasteboard torn
- 28) Erzerum looking north

D

- 1) Circassian with repeating rifle
- 2) Sasun massacre refugees with two Turkish zaptiehs
- 3) Anti-Taurus mountains
- 4) Missionary encampment on the road to Siirt (print slightly water damaged)
- 5) Close view of Kurdish encampment; British vice-consul Heathcote in foreground
- 6) Long view: orphan boys at Bitlis, showing Protestant Church and American Mission compound
- 7) Handsled (tahenz) at Bitlis
- 8) Erzerum; obverse side: unknown rural scene
- 9) Bitlis boys at play in the Mission Compound
- 10) Bitlis orphanage weaving factory
- 11) Two orphans at Bilits (one Alexan of Sasun)
- 12) Nimrud crater
- 13) A Turkish mosque hamman
- 14) Snow brigade at Bitlis; German girls' orphanage (1905)
- 15) Turkish soldiers at Mardin
- 16) Personnel house of ACAME Samsoun family
- 17) A moffa caravan
- 18) Missionary children
- 19) Bitlis Boys' School; girls' High School
- 20) Dervish Bey's gateway at Bitlis (April 1903)
- 21) Stereograph of Hoicrd Kurd smoking
- 22) Duplicate of #21
- 23) Mardin mission compound
- 24) Distribution of money at Malasgerd (print torn and water damaged)
- 25) A country Armenian woman in rags
- 26) Bitlis missionaries and pupils at summer encampment
- 27) Turkish Caimakam and body-guard (studio portrait)
- 28) Nimrud crater and cold lake
- 29) Turkish soldiers (studio portrait)
- 30) Consul Hampson and Rev. Cole's tents at relief distribution camps at Malasgird (torn corner)
- 31) Road from Bitlis leading towards Siirt
- 32) long shot: Armenian orphans and teachers near Nimrud mineral springs
- 33) unidentified family portrait (out of doors)
- 34) Nimrud crater lake
- 35) Mardin summering locale
- 36) Bitlis grain market and post office (1904)

- 37) Unidentifiable group shot of men
- 38) Harpoot [Harput] Mission Compound
- 39) An Armenian girl herdess with her geese in the Boulanik plain
- 40) Charlott Ely (pioneer Bitlis ABCFM missionary) and HBM vice-consul Heathcote
- 41) large group portrait of Armenian orphans
- 42) Studio portrait of a Laz in full costume
- 43) Studio portrait of another Laz -- a gardener living betwen Trabson and Erzerum
- 44) Lion gate at Boghaskeoy
- 45) Jalas party at Boghaskeoy
- 46) Ancient vase at Boghaskeoy
- 47) Boghaskeoy bas relief
- 48) View of the house of Oghigian family at Bitlis showing earthquake damage
- 49) Salonica street
- 50) Unidentified house (upper right corner torn and water damage)
- 51) Portrait (most likely dating from 1906) of Rev. and Mrs. Cole, Nellie Cole (daughter), and H.S. Shipley, HBM vice-consul at Erzerum, and British Delegate to the Sasun Comission of Inquiry of 1895.
- 51a) crowd scene at Addas
- 52) Four unidentified Western travelers on a road
- 53) Very large print of Kurdish bey's bodyguards with weapons (studio)
- 54) An Armenian what-thresher and his oxen
- 55) Boys' school at Bitlis, with a large group of orphans standing in front of it

- 52a) Faris Agha (Kurd) on his horse, taken at the Sindian gorge Sept. 7, 1902
- 53a) Cole party in a carriage on a bridge at the Euphrates below Erzerum (shows bridge construction detail)
- 54a) scene showing the Ely sisters on horses tended by Armenian servants. (Caspar being one of them: this man was imprisoned at Bitlis in 1896, and spent many years there as a political prisoner.)
- 55a) Pastor Khachig Vartanian of Bitlis with four Bitlis teachers
- 56) Rev. Cole with a largr group of refugees at Karkaloo (near Shighakoub)
- 56a) Bitlis Boys' School
- 57) A bridge over the Eastern branch of the Euphrates (Murad Chai)
- 58) A scene of Armenian peasants and oxen threshing (treading) wheat

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- 1) Lizzie Cobleigh Cole (Mrs. Cole) (young)
- 2) Cole family at Koupru Khanous (1902)
- 3) Alice Cole with servants
- 4) Rev. Cole (at age 52)
- 5) Cole family with carriage
- 6) Cole residence (interior)
- 7) Rev. and Mrs. Cole; Alice Cole (daughter)
- 8) Revl Cole at winter mountain pass
- 9) Rev. And Mrs. Cole among other missionary families
- 10) Rev. Cole portrait
- 11) Rev. and Mrs. Cole; Nellie Cole (daughter)
- 12) Rev. Cole standing before Bitlis mission compound
- 13) Nellie Cole (waer damage)
- 14) Rev. and Mrs. Cole; Nellie Cole, before a caravanasary