



BRITAIN'S ARMENIANS AT WAR 1914-1919

Roger Willoughby

With a foreword by Raymond Kévorkian



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Gomidas Institute
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Dedicated to Leo George Tevos Willoughby

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ENDNOTES

1. R Willoughby 'Armenians in British Military Service during the First World War', seminar at CAIA, London, on 3 July 2016 and available online at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xhwsWctB1dQ> (accessed 8 May 2018).
2. The film may be seen here: <http://caia.org.uk/projects/armenians-ww1/testimonies-of-war-video/>

Foreword

Raymond Kévorkian

This study by Roger Willoughby, *Britain's Armenians at War 1914–1919*, with a chapter by Michael Rettig devoted to his great-great-grandfather Thomas Mugerditchian, greatly illuminates the strategy adopted by the Great Power of the time, the British Empire, during the First World War on the Eastern Front. It highlights, in particular, the capacity of its intelligence services to recruit, from among the minorities of the Ottoman Empire, individuals likely to help implement its military objectives. Most Ottoman-Armenian subjects enlisted in the British forces based in Egypt worked within the British Intelligence Service as translators or agents. Many of them were already settled in Egypt, under British control, before the war, while others, originally from Asia Minor, joined them from the summer of 1915 onward, when the Young Turk regime began implementing its project to exterminate the Armenian population. One should also not overlook the involvement of several hundred Armenians residing in Great Britain, or volunteers from the United States and Canada, who served in the British and later American armies fighting in France.

Thomas Mugerditchian, British vice-consul in Diarbekir before the war, was among the most active after managing to reach Egypt, where he was rapidly incorporated into the intelligence service of the ANZAC Mounted Division. His still-unpublished *Personal Diary 1915* offers valuable information about his activities in Cairo, especially his contacts with British intelligence officers, his efforts to recruit Armenian agents, and above all his exchanges with Boghos Nubar, the president of the Armenian National Delegation based in Paris. His work illustrates the importance, for a great power, of having agents who master local languages and possess their own networks of solidarity. Already known for his remarkable Armenian-language testimony on the situation in

Diarbekir on the eve of the genocide, the chapter devoted to him by Michael Rettig allows us to discover another facet of the man.

The second case discussed in this study, that of John Haig Arakelian, shows another aspect of Armenians' contribution to the British war effort. Originally from Bursa but educated and trained in England as a mechanical engineer, he served in France and Flanders before being sent to Egypt, where he took part in the Palestine campaign. Thanks to a document Arakelian submitted to the Home Office in December 1925 to obtain British citizenship, Roger Willoughby was able to reconstruct the rather remarkable trajectory of John Haig Arakelian. It is particularly noteworthy that, with the agreement of his superior, General Maude, he undertook visits to villages in the newly conquered areas of Mesopotamia in the spring of 1917, enabling him to recover 380 Armenian boys and girls who had been held by local populations and to deliver them to the American orphanage established in Baghdad. His activity in Constantinople after the Armistice of Mudros, in 'the Intelligence Department at GHQ under Major Hay, on the recommendation of General Beach', provides interesting details about the monitoring of the activities of the Ottoman government in Constantinople and especially its complicity with the Kemalist forces. Charged with monitoring munitions depots, he intercepted a boat leaving the Golden Horn carrying war matériel destined for the Kemalists. The duplicity of the successive Turkish ministerial cabinets is clearly demonstrated here, foreshadowing Britain's failure to impose its conditions on the emerging new Turkey.

The last case documented by the author, that of Zaven Manoukian, born in West Didsbury, Manchester, on 27 November 1898, is, so to speak, more typical. A young student who became a Cadet Officer, serving in the Lancashire Fusiliers in France, he died a few weeks before the Armistice, killed on 3 September 1918 at Givenchy.

The author's examination of The National Archives (particularly file series WO 372) has also made it possible to identify several hundred hitherto largely forgotten Armenians who served in the British army, notably in Egypt and Palestine, and even at times in Baku—such as Arshak Safar Safrastian, Intelligence Officer, Ministry of Information, London, and later with General Dunsterville's force in Persia and Baku in 1918–1919. However, the author notes that identifying further

Armenians proved extremely difficult and that those recovered lives here recorded carry the shadow of others who have been lost to history. We can hope that the present memorial encourages others to build on it.

Finally, it should be emphasized that, apart from Thomas Mugerditchian—who had been a British diplomatic officer for years—Ottoman-Armenian subjects, including those residing in Egypt under British control, only joined the Entente powers from the summer of 1915 onward, that is, once it became evident that the Central Committee of the Committee of Union and Progress had launched an exterminatory campaign against its Armenian population. A parallel may be drawn with the involvement of Armenians—whose earliest volunteers included men from the Musa Dagh resistance saved by the French Navy in September 1915—within the Legion of the Orient. Officially under French command, it in fact fought within the divisions commanded by General Edmund Allenby during the Palestine and Syria campaign. I learned a lot from reading this work.

Abbreviations

1914-15 Star trio = 1914-15 Star, British War Medal and Victory Medal

ADC = Aide-de-Camp

ANZAC = Australian and New Zealand Army Corps

ASC = Army Service Corps

BEM = Medal of the Order of the British Empire

Bn = Battalion

BRCS = British Red Cross Society

BWM = British War Medal 1914-1920

CMG = Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George

CWGC = Commonwealth War Graves Commission

DCM = Distinguished Conduct Medal

EA = Egyptian Army

EEF = Egyptian Expeditionary Force

GHQ = General Head Quarters

HQ = Head Quarters

IARO = Indian Army Reserve of Officers

IMD = Indian Medical Department

KEH = King Edward's Horse

KRRC = King's Royal Rifle Corps

LG = London Gazette

MBE = Member of the Order of the British Empire

MC = Military Cross

MEF = Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force

MI6 = Military Intelligence, Section 6 (formally SIS)

MID = Mention in Despatches

MM = Military Medal

MMC = Macedonian Mule Corps

MMWM = Mercantile Marine War Medal

OBE = Officer of the Order of the British Empire

OStJ = Order of St John

POW = Prisoner of War

PWD = Public Works Department

RAMC = Royal Army Medical Corps

RASC = Royal Army Service Corps

RE = Royal Engineers

RND = Royal Naval Division

SIS = Secret Intelligence Service

SWB = Silver War Badge

TNA = The National Archives, Kew, London

USAMC = US Army Medical Corps

VC = Victoria Cross

VM = Victory Medal 1914-1919

Introduction

Armenian history during the 20th century has been dominated by the 1915-1923 genocide. Unsurprisingly, accounts of resistance (such as that at Van and Musa Dagh in 1915) have been celebrated by Armenian authors, are an important part of Armenian consciousness, and have contributed to a much richer understanding of Armenian heritage and identity. The military service of Armenians is complex, uneasy, and fragmentary. As a subject people, Armenians living within the Ottoman Empire served within its military forces, sometimes as volunteers though mostly as conscripts.¹ Many of these were disarmed and either worked to death or executed as part of the genocide.

However, motivated by the genocide and wishes for greater political self-determination, Armenians from the diaspora, deserters from the Ottoman forces, refugees, and survivors of the genocide also served with the military forces of other nations. By October 1917, Russia – according to British estimates – had some 150,000 Armenians in its armies, albeit dispersed across various fronts.² A further 50,000 volunteers served in the Caucasus, particularly with Generals Andranik Ozanian (1865-1927) and Tovmas Nazarbekian (1855-1931). Following the French-Armenian Agreement of October 1916, over 5,000 Armenians formed the core of the *Légion d'Orient*, later known as *La Légion Arménienne*, which was initially formed in Cairo in November 1916 and fought with great distinction in Palestine and Syria under British General Edmund Allenby (1861-1936), and later in Cilicia in 1919-1920.

The present work builds on these histories by documenting for the first time the mostly overlooked contribution of those Armenians who served in, or more often with, British military forces during World War I. The work does not include those who *only* served in or with forces of the British Empire, its colonies and dominions. Over the next few pages we shall very briefly look at some of the ways in which core material for the book was gathered and then at selected sectors within which Britain's Armenians featured significantly during the First World War.

Recovering this fragmentary history has not been easy. Information on Armenians who served with the British forces was never centrally collated, making its identification and retrieval a challenge. The weeding and destruction of various records over the past century has further hindered research, as has official closure of files for lengthy periods. Improved cataloguing and digitization of records has, however, helped the process, allowing disparate sources to be systematically investigated. Numerous files, particularly of Armenians naturalization applications, have been officially opened early through numerous Freedom of Information requests we have submitted to The National Archives (TNA), at Kew, London.

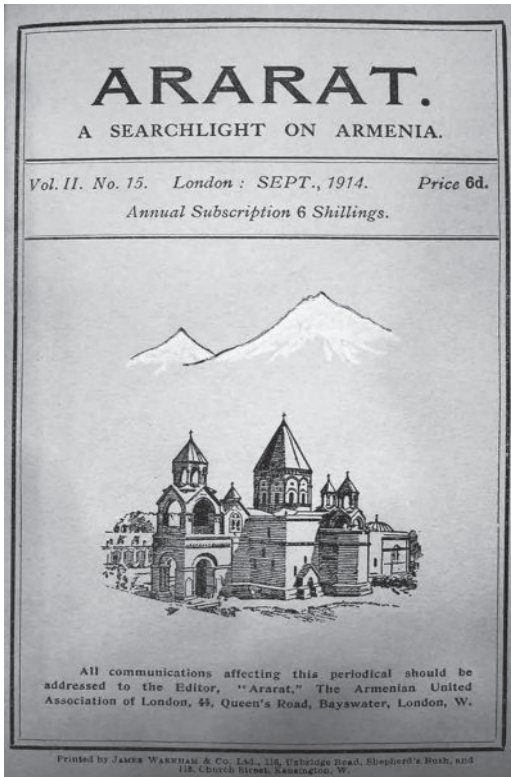
Using these and other original resources from The National Archives, the key data sources used here include census returns, medal rolls, military service and pension papers, as well as the aforementioned naturalization records. Through such sources, we have identified groups of men serving as interpreters with units of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force and Army of the Black Sea, as well as several men from the USA who joined via the Canadian Army and then transferred into British units. Other small clusters of Armenians have been identified serving in various battalions (particularly the 10th and 22nd) of the London Regiment and others in the Hampshire Regiment. The total number of such individuals is not precisely known, though we here document 331 men and women. Most seem to have qualified for some British campaign medals, with at least 19 also being awarded decorations for their gallantry or distinguished service in the war (these included one Victoria Cross, one Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George, five Military Crosses, one Distinguished Conduct Medal, one Military Medal, two Medals of the Order of the British Empire (BEM), and nine Mentions in Despatches).³ Details of all such medal entitlements are noted where they are known. In a not insignificant number of cases, medals went either unissued to these men and women as home addresses were unknown or awards were unclaimed for other reasons.

Armenians in Britain

How many Armenians were in Britain leading up to and during the period of the First World War? Not many is the short answer and of course unnaturalized Armenian immigrants, mostly being Ottoman



1. Volunteers with the 2nd Foreign Regiment, French Army, in 1914 (courtesy of Ararat, November 1914, p. 158).



2. *Ararat: A Searchlight on Armenia*, September 1914.

subjects, were classified as enemy aliens on the outbreak of the war. Internment of and other restrictions were placed on enemy aliens under the provisions of the 'Aliens Restriction (Consolidation) Order, 1914'. However, such restrictions were widely recognised as inappropriate for Armenians and several other groups, given their persecution by and opposition to the Ottoman government and – for Armenians – their Christian affiliations. This resulted on 7 January 1915 in the 'Aliens Restriction (Armenian, &c) Order, 1915', which allowed registration officers to give a certificate of exemption from the Aliens Order of 1914 to those Ottoman / Turkish subjects who were 'to his satisfaction to be by race Greek, Armenian, or Syrian or a member of any other community well known as opposed to the Turkish regime, and to be a Christian'.⁴

Despite such legislation, suspicion still clung to the Armenians in Britain and to other individuals of foreign parentage. Armenians thus could find it difficult to secure a place in the British armed forces during the war, especially as commissioned officers. This to an extent persisted in and after 1916, when alien conscription or deportation was introduced. A few individual stories will illustrate this point.

Agop Gumuchian, though born in Constantinople in 1880, came to Britain soon after his birth and was educated in Manchester. His father was a merchant and had been naturalized as a British citizen in 1867. Agop worked as a manager for a French firm in Salonika and applied to the War Office on 27 November 1915 for employment as an interpreter or intelligence officer. His application was declined at that time but on 24 January 1917 he applied again directly to the Commander-in-Chief in Salonika and was appointed to a locally recruited civil labour battalion. His wife was living in Cannes, France, at the time with her uncle, the British diplomat George Francis Birt Jenner, CMG (1840-1924), and this establishment connection may have finally influenced the authorities in granting Agop this post. He relinquished his commission on 12 June 1919 and was granted the rank of honorary captain.⁵

Another case is that of Arshag Bodigian, who was born in 1886 in Constantinople. When he came to make a claim for British naturalization, his solicitor noted that 'Both before and during the war Mr Bodigian, who is an excellent linguist, offered his services to the British Government'.⁶ His offers were not taken up. Similarly, Aram Manoukian (1881-) was unable to secure a military post, perhaps in part

due to being in delicate health. He did however try to very practically aid the British war effort: he worked for six months in a voluntary capacity manufacturing aeroplane parts in 1918.⁷

While it is clear that many Armenians in Britain wanted to serve in the country's military forces or otherwise contribute to the war effort and sometimes had their approaches frustrated by officialdom, Armenian cultural organisations such as the Armenian United Association of London – publishers of the important British Armenian journal *Ararat: A Searchlight on Armenia* – initially proposed that the Armenian population in Britain might best contribute through fund raising and work on the home front, rather than actually enlisting in the military forces. A few, such as Calouste Gulbenkian (1869-1955), also sought exemption from service.⁸ By 1916, however, other voices were urging Armenians to enlist and *Ararat* was giving space in its pages to such calls. An 'invalided officer' thus wrote on 24 August 1916 to the editor: 'Is it not possible for *Ararat* to sound the clarion note of patriotism which may yet stir the vitals in those of military age and physically fit who are still skulking behind the trenches – in England and other friendly countries? ... There is no excuse for those fit for service for not being at one or other of the fronts – and for an Armenian preferably the Caucasian front.'⁹ The journal had from early in the war noted the activities of Armenians serving with Imperial Russian forces and increasingly gave space to brief notes about some British Armenians (usually commissioned officers or otherwise elite individuals) who were serving in the British army. Later, in 1918, it would note that: 'Many Armenians are fighting as volunteers in the ranks of the United States army'.¹⁰

Given these complex influences, few British Armenians would thus serve in British line regiments. Where men of alien parentage did serve, they were frequently sent to the works battalion of the Middlesex Regiment, known as the 30th Middlesex or more colloquially as the Kaiser's Own. The battalion was formed in July 1916 and was followed by a second, the 31st Battalion, in September 1916. Four Middlesex Infantry Labour Companies were sent to Flanders to work on repairing roads and railway lines in early 1917. Some Armenians would manage to play their part in these battalions of the Middlesex Regiment. Others, however, did manage to enlist and serve in a wider variety of units and

details of all those currently identified are recorded in the final section of this book.

The USA and Canada

Considering Armenians living in the USA, a number of these enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF). American neutrality initially prevented overt recruiting operations on US soil. In February 1917, when Britain was facing a shortage of military manpower, limited recruitment began there under the auspices of the British Canadian Recruiting Mission (BCRM).¹¹ By mid to late 1917, some 35,000 US citizens had joined the CEF.¹² Such enlistments resulted in expatriation as a consequence of swearing an oath to a foreign army, though this was moderated by a relaxation of the US position in September and October 1917, allowing those who so enlisted to regain their citizenship if they had served and been honourably discharged.

At the end of 1917 the Canadian military authorities in Ottawa decided to accept Syrian and Armenian volunteers from the Ottoman Empire, with the Armenians being incentivized to enlist with the promise that they would be given the opportunity to fight the Turks.¹³ This undoubtedly played to the feelings of some US Armenians, attracting them away from enlisting in the US Army, as part of which they would not get the same opportunity, as the USA never declared war on the Ottoman Empire. Incongruously, recruiting committees for the Jewish Legion in the US and Canada were instructed to continue classifying Armenians as enemy aliens. These US Armenian recruits were inducted through CEF recruiting centres from whence they were sent to the Imperial Recruit Depot at Windsor, Nova Scotia.

Egypt, Palestine and the Eastern Mediterranean

In Egypt the situation was somewhat different. There, the British General, Sir John Maxwell (1859-1929), had approaches from Jewish groups in 1915 wishing to serve. Prevented at the time by the Army Act from enlisting foreign nationals as *fighting* troops, Maxwell had expediently formed them into what would become known as the Zion Mule Corps. Armenians living in Egypt (as part of the diaspora, as evacuees from Musa Dagh, and refugees from elsewhere) were in a somewhat similar position, typically ineligible for direct enlistment. This was undoubtedly frustrating for everyone given the Armenians keen

fighting spirit, but there were other crucial roles many of these particular Armenians were well suited for. They were here most frequently taken on, under ad hoc local arrangements, as Interpreters, their facility with languages and intimate knowledge of Ottoman customs and behaviour making them valuable intermediaries in the questioning of Turkish prisoners-of-war, in wider intelligence gathering, and in assisting British forces liaising with the diverse local population.

The intelligence efforts began early as Yigal Sheffy noted. In 1914 the Conservative MP Mark Sykes proposed the development of an intelligence network among the Sinai Bedouin. This plan envisaged 'that Aqaba-based Bedouin would sabotage the Hijaz railway, encourage Ottoman soldiers to defect and act as recruiters of, and couriers for, additional agents – preferably Armenian – deep in Palestine and Syria'.¹⁴ Though at least 656 Bedouin agents were nominally recruited, their quality appeared variable and it is unclear how many Armenians were recruited through this initiative.¹⁵

In Egypt itself, as Armenian and other refugees arrived, they were debriefed to gather intelligence and this process additionally aided recruitment of a number of interpreters and intelligence agents, including several Armenian physicians, a number of whom were deserters from Ottoman army units.¹⁶ Some of these acted as intelligence agents and it was thought they might be able to use their remaining family networks to return to Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor in relative safety. These operations began in early January 1915 and were controlled by Military Intelligence in Cairo until the end of 1915. In early 1916 the operation was transferred to a new organization established in Egypt – the Secret Service.¹⁷

Further Armenian agents were recruited in Athens and elsewhere in Greece, especially from the settled and refugee Armenian populations of Anatolia. Several Armenian businessmen participated in this way, using their company networks for intelligence purposes. Sheffy cites the case of an Egyptian-based American-Armenian, M Anazian, who: 'conveyed military information by means of the contact he maintained with his workers in Istanbul, who supplied food for the Ottoman army in Gallipoli'.¹⁸ These agents were instructed in ways to send encrypted messages, to use secret writing, and were provided with false identity papers to facilitate their movements.¹⁹

Turning to Armenians living in Cyprus, some unsuccessfully offered their services to the British administration there and instead made their way to Egypt where their services were taken up as interpreters and in other capacities. Others were more successful in volunteering in Cyprus, particularly from 1916 onwards when 25 Cypriot Armenians joined the locally raised Macedonian Mule Corps, four of whom acted as Interpreters.²⁰ Monarga, at the base of the Karpas peninsula in Cyprus, became a training base for the French *Légion d'Orient*, with British agreement, with the British administration further facilitating this Allied formation through the transportation here of Armenians from Egypt and Mesopotamia. The story of the *Légion d'Orient* has been recently accessibly documented by Susan Pattie.²¹

Of the Armenians who served in this sphere of the war, by far the largest single group worked as specialist interpreters. These were reformed, Sheffy points out, into a Guides and Interpreters Corps in mid-1917, some of its Armenian personnel being former prisoners-of-war. As guides they assisted patrols in unfamiliar territory, while as interpreters they helped in the interrogation of Turkish and other prisoners and facilitated the military in communicating with the local population.²² The complimentary story of the Armenians who worked with the Australian forces has been ably told elsewhere by Vicken Babkenian and Peter Stanley.²³

The Salonika Field Force, Dunsterforce, and the Army of the Black Sea

With the Gallipoli campaign going badly, French and British forces opened up another front in the Eastern Mediterranean with landings in (initially) neutral Greece at Salonika from 5 October 1915. British units fought against Bulgarian forces in Macedonia for the next three years, suffering many casualties in battle and from the harsh climate and disease, malaria being particularly widespread. During this campaign Armenian's served as interpreters and several as intelligence agents, as well as in the previously mentioned Macedonian Mule Corps and with other units (see chapter five for details). The campaign there came to an end when the Bulgarians signed an armistice with the Allies, which came into effect at noon on 30 September 1918.

Elements of the British Salonika Force under Lieutenant-General George F Milne were then deployed towards Turkish positions on the border with Bulgaria, but as they came into position the Turks signed an armistice at Mudros, following which fighting was to cease at noon on 31 October 1918. Part of the British Salonika Force was re-designated the Army of the Black Sea and would serve largely as the army of occupation of Turkey and Transcaucasia. Its mission was to ensure Turkey complied with the terms of the armistice, which included withdrawal from the Caucasus region and other areas outside Anatolia, and the demobilisation of Ottoman forces. Turkish coastal defences on the Dardanelles were occupied by British forces in November 1918 as part of the army of occupation of Turkey. General Milne moved his headquarters to Constantinople on 14 December 1918. Further east, British units belonging to the 27th Division sought to support White Russian forces and by 9 January 1919 were concentrating at Batum in Georgia, while smaller detachments reached Tiflis.²⁴ These operations not only supported (albeit on a temporary basis) Armenians living in these areas, but the British units themselves included Armenian personnel, particularly as interpreters and in gathering intelligence. The present book identifies 20 such men in chapter five.

At one remove from the above operations was the work of the so-called Dunsterforce operating in Persia, Baku, and elsewhere in the Caucasus. Major-General Lionel C Dunsterville (1865-1946) was appointed as chief of the British military mission to the Caucasus and British representative in Tiflis in January 1918, his remit being 'the maintenance of an effective force on the Caucasus front so as to protect the occupied portions of Turkish Armenia and to prevent the realization of Pan-Turanian designs'.²⁵ Securing the Baku oilfields, or denying them to the enemy, was one objective. The force charged with this task consisted of selected staff-officers, officers and non-commissioned-officers, who were intended not so much to fight themselves but to train and organise local units and volunteers to fight against the Turkish forces. A small body of Russian officers and an armoured car brigade completed the force. Following military and famine relief operations in Persia, Dunsterville landed with a small British force (numbering no more than 1000 at its maximum) at Baku, his first contingents arriving there on 4 August 1918 to aid its defence against the Ottoman Islamic Army of the Caucasus. The

local Armenian and Russian troops (many of the former being volunteers with little or no real training) had been resisting the combined Ottoman and Azerbaijani forces for months. Dunsterville sought to hurriedly bolster their combat abilities through training and develop the defensive positions around the city. Following skirmishes, the Ottoman attack on Baku proper began on 26 August, continuing intermittently until 14 September. On that day the Turkish forces succeeded in capturing the heights outside the city, driving back the local Armenian troops and finally the British companies. The odds during these operations were substantially against the British, Russian, Armenian and other local forces, the latter being hampered by limited training, chaotic lines of command, and fragile morale, undoubtedly influenced by the preceding years of genocide. In the face of bombardment on their positions, locals often fell back and were frequently unable to face the shock of battle – at least this was the view Dunsterville would later propound. Now, with the Turks in possession of the heights that commanded the city and its port (just 3-5000 yards away), Dunsterforce shipped out of Baku in darkness that night, followed by the Centro-Caspian government, the Armenian garrison and a portion of the Armenian population. Without any protection, many thousands of the remaining local Armenian civilians were wiped out by the Azerbaijani and other local Muslim irregular forces before Turkish military took over the city.

Only one British Armenian, Intelligence Officer Arshak Safrastian, is known to have served as part of Dunsterforce in Baku, though it is highly likely Dunsterville brought others with him as interpreters and intelligence officers. The operation was overly ambitious and under-resourced. The Baku debacle, according to Dunsterville, had cost his force some 180 casualties. The cost to the local Baku Armenians, however, was far higher and the shadow of the operation's failure, laid by Dunsterville in part on the claimed ineffectiveness of the local Armenians as a fighting force, obscured his own cavalier contribution and the overwhelming odds they faced.²⁶ The city was finally reoccupied by the Allies on 17 November 1918, following a delayed Turkish evacuation.²⁷

Britain's Armenians at War

The story of the contribution Armenians made to the British war effort during the First World War is complex, fragmentary, and fascinating.

Viewed with suspicion as ‘enemy aliens’ by the British establishment during at least the early part of the war, being given very differing advice on enlistment by Armenian diaspora organisations and leaders, and actively encouraged to contribute in specialist areas (especially as interpreters and intelligence agents) by British generals in the eastern Mediterranean theatres of operations, Britain’s tiny Armenian community and the wider diaspora played a distinctive and heroic part in British military operations during the First World War. The present volume records for the first time the details of 331 Armenians who served in or directly with British military forces during that war. They would see service across many fronts, from France and Flanders, through Egypt, Palestine, Macedonia, to India and beyond. Their services were at their most conspicuous in the campaigns against the forces of the Ottoman Empire from 1915 onwards, services that many continued to give as part of the Army of the Black Sea in peace building attempts across Turkey and the Caucasus.

The next three chapters offer illustrations of the work Britain’s Armenians performed during the war. Michael Rettig writes in moving detail about his great-great-grandfather, Thomas Mugerditchian, a dragoman and vice-consul for the British in Diarbekir, who fled to Egypt following the outbreak of the war, where he would serve as an interpreter and intelligence agent. The next chapter looks at John Haig Arakelian, who served in France and Flanders before going on to fight in Egypt and Palestine where he won the Distinguished Conduct Medal for his great heroism rescuing wounded soldiers while under heavy Turkish fire. His is a particularly remarkable story. The third and final case study is that of Zaven Manoukian, a young student and promising writer, some of whose works are reproduced in chapter four. Manoukian, or ‘Nooky’ as he was known, lost his life while fighting with the Lancashire Fusiliers in France on 3 September 1918, two months before the Armistice. He was 19 years old. Their stories, fascinating in themselves, stand as representatives of the hundreds of other Armenians who served in so many ways during the conflict.

The final section of the book documents the names and details of those other Armenians who served with the British military forces during this period. There are many significant stories of remarkable men and women in that chapter. Despite considerable efforts, the names and details of

some of Britain's Armenians who served in the war will not have been found. I would welcome details of any such individuals, as well as corrections and additions to the information herein recorded, so any that future editions of this volume might be improved.

ENDNOTES

1. The service of Sarkis Torossian, who served in the Ottoman army in Gallipoli and later changed sides serving with Arab cavalry in the final stages of the Palestine campaign, has attracted particular interest: see his own book *From Dardanelles to Palestine*, Boston: Meador Publishing Co, 1947; also Taner Akçam 'A short history of the Torossian debate', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 2015, 17 (3), pp. 345-362 and Ayhan Aktar 'A rejoinder: the debate on Captain Torossian revisited', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 2017, 19 (2), pp. 279-291, both of whom cite the much wider and often contentious scholarship on this issue.
2. Memorandum from General Barter to CIGS, War Office, 15 October 1917, TNA ref: CAB/24/29/47.
3. These went to the following: VC to Gabriel George Anthony Coury; CMG to Varaztad H Kazanjian; MC to Ernest H R Altounyan, George Ekmekjian, Marcar S Gregory, John Paul Jordan, and Alexander Gregory Michaelian; DCM to John Haig Arakelian; MM to Manuel Tutungean; BEMs to Ohan Karnagherian and Mihran Papazian; and MIDs to Mogurditch Bidilikosian, George Ekmekjian, Marcar Sheridan Gregory, Varaztad H Kazanjian (twice), Tatheus Kurdian, G Melconian, Alexander Gregory Michaelian, Mihran Papazian, and Joseph A Youssoufian.
4. *Supplement to the London Gazette*, 7 January 1915, p. 256; see also *The Law Times*, 16 January 1915, p. 258; TNA ref: FO 383/88.
5. TNA ref: WO 339/90345 and WO 372/8/176888.
6. TNA ref: HO 144/5869.
7. TNA ref: HO 144/1759/427650.
8. In 1918, the men up to the age of 50 were eligible for conscription under the Military Service (No. 2) Act. Given his age and important business interests which were themselves significant for the British wartime economy, Gulbenkian would have been unlikely to be conscripted. For his 1918 claim for exemption from national service see TNA ref: POWE 33/53.
9. *Ararat*, September 1916, 4 (39), pp. 129-130.
10. *Ararat*, June-July 1918, 6 (59), p. 5.
11. For a good discussion of this, from which the present discussion has drawn considerable help, see R Holt 'British blood calls British blood: the British-

- Canadian recruiting mission of 1917-1918', *Canadian Military History*, 2015, 22, pp. 27-37.
12. See C Dickon *Americans at War in Foreign Forces: A History 1914-1945*, Jefferson NC: McFarland, 2014.
 13. Library & Archives Canada ref: RG 9 III A1, vol. 92, file 10-12-31; OMFC Intelligence Department to Deputy Minister OMFC 15 January 1918.
 14. Yigal Sheffy *British Military Intelligence in the Palestine Campaign 1914-1918*, London: Frank Cass, 1998, p. 69; Margaret FitzHerbert *The Man who was Greenmantle: A Biography of Aubrey Herbert*, London: John Murray, 1983, pp. 143-4.
 15. Colonel Leith-Ross papers: Part IV 'Character and qualifications of intelligence personnel', National Army Museum, London, archives and library.
 16. Yigal Sheffy *British Military Intelligence in the Palestine Campaign 1914-1918*, London: Frank Cass, 1998, p. 76; TNA ref: FO 371/1971: 70825, Cheetham to FO, No. 262, 13 Nov 1914.
 17. Yigal Sheffy *British Military Intelligence in the Palestine Campaign 1914-1918*, London: Frank Cass, 1998, p. 78.
 18. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
 19. See also TNA ref: WO 157/739 HBM Minister Athens to GOC Egypt, No. RE634 7 October 1915.
 20. For further details see Andrekos Varnava's 'Recruitment and volunteerism for the Cypriot Mule Corps 1916-1919: Pushed or Pulled?', *Itinerario*, 2014, 38 (3), pp. 79-101, 'British military intelligence in Cyprus during the Great War', *War in History*, 2012, 19, pp. 353-378, and his book *Serving the Empire in the Great War: The Cypriot Mule Corps, Imperial Loyalty and Silenced Memory*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017.
 21. Susan Paul Pattie *The Armenian Legionnaires: Sacrifice and Betrayal in World War I*, London: I B Taurus, 2018.
 22. Yigal Sheffy *British Military Intelligence in the Palestine Campaign 1914-1918*, London: Frank Cass, 1998, p. 278; see also TNA ref: WO 95/4361, GHQ EEF to WO, No. ER950. 10 March 1918; WO 24/916, War Establishment No. 871 Guides and Interpreters Corps, Dec 1917; WO 24/928, War Establishment No. 204/331, Guides and Interpreters Corps, Nov 1918.
 23. V Babkenian & P Stanley *Armenia, Australia & the Great War*, Sydney, NSW: NewSouth Publishing, 2016.
 24. For details of the Allied occupation see General Sir G F Milne's despatch on 11 August 1920, *Supplement to the London Gazette*, 7 January 1921, pp. 159-175; see also James E Edmonds *The Occupation of Constantinople*

- 1918-1923, Uckfield: Naval & Military Press, 2010; and A Wakefield and S Moody *Under the Devil's Eye: The British Military Experience in Macedonia 1915-1918*, Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2011, pp. 228-230.
25. F J Moberly *History of the Great War Based on Official Documents: The Campaign in Mesopotamia*, vol. 4, London: HMSO, 1927, pp. 198-99; For Dunsterville's diaries of this period see: www.conflicts.rem33.com/images/Azerbaijan/Dunsterville_Diaries.htm
26. For further details see Lieutenant-General W R Marshall's dispatch of 1 October 1918, *Supplement to the London Gazette*, 20 February 1919, especially pp. 2563-2565; L C Dunsterville *The Adventures of Dunsterforce*, London: Edward Arnold, 1920; M H Donohoe *With the Persian Expedition*, London: Edward Arnold, 1919; C H Ellis *The British 'Intervention' in Transcaspia 1918-1919*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963; A Rawlinson *Adventures in the Near East 1918-1922*, London: Andrew Melrose, 1923; B Gökay 'The illicit adventures of Rawlinson: British intelligence in the final phase of the Ottoman Empire', *The Turkish Yearbook*, volume 23, 1993, pp. 89-99; A H Arslanian 'Dunsterville's adventures: A reappraisal', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, September 1980, 12 (2), pp. 199-216; T Ter Minassian *Most Secret Agent of Empire: Reginald Teague-Jones Master Spy of the Great Game*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014; M Sargent *British Military Involvement in Transcaspia (1918-1919)*, Camberley: Defence Academy UK, 2004.
27. See W P Marshall's dispatch of 1 February 1919, *Supplement to the London Gazette*, 11 April 1919, especially p. 4743.



49. Arshak Safrastian
with Thomas
Mugerditchian (left)
in Bitlis, 16 August
1907.



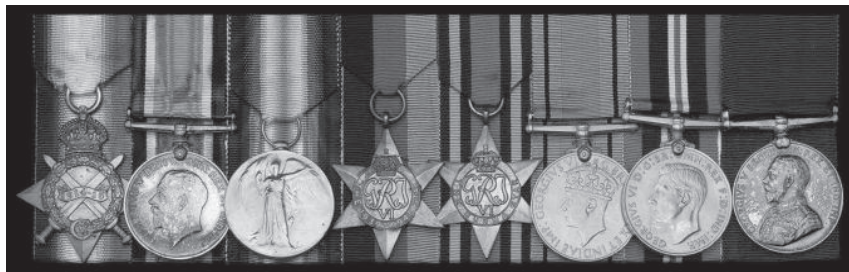
50. Dirdad Haig
Sarafian in 1927
(courtesy of Malcolm
Hooke).



51. Interpreter K Sarafian's details as impressed on the edge of his British War Medal 1914-1920.



52. Charles Samuel Vartan.



53. Benjamin R Vertannes's British campaign medals from the First and Second World Wars.



54. Joseph Zorian in military uniform.

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