

The Constant Consul of Jerusalem: Edward W. Blatchford

Vicken V. Kalbian

On 11 December 1924 Jerusalem's English language publication, the *Daily News Bulletin*, reported that one hundred and sixty of the city's notable citizens attended a luncheon on 7 December 1924, hosted by Mr. Edward W. Blatchford, the director for Palestine of the Near East Relief, at the Hotellerie Notre Dame de France to celebrate the "Golden Rule Sunday," an occasion when groups of people would meet to celebrate the Golden Rule, "do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you." Who was Blatchford and how was he able to engineer this remarkable feat of bringing together such a unique and diverse group of Jerusalemites? The Golden Rule Dinner gives us a glimpse into the influential role that the American Edward W. Blatchford, a Jerusalem resident from 1922 to 1948, played in the city during the period of the British Mandate. Edward Blatchford was my father's close friend and a frequent visitor in my childhood home. His nephew, Charles Hammond Blatchford, Jr., compiled his uncle's memoirs in 1964 and distributed them to family and friends. I was included in this circle and received a copy from the nephew in 1964. I am fortunate enough to still be in possession of them and have used them as the main source of reference in this paper. These memoirs are a treasure trove for historians of Jerusalem. In this paper, I combine information from Blatchford's memoirs with my own memories of this largely unrecognized figure in Jerusalem history.

The Golden Rule Sunday Dinner

Charles V. Vickrey, general secretary of Near East Relief (NER), came up with the Golden Rule Sunday dinner as a way to advertise the plight of orphans in the Near East. His

idea was that families around the United States would eat a simple orphanage-style meal on the first Sunday in December designated as the Golden Rule day. They would then donate the money that they saved to help the orphans. The first Golden Rule Sunday was held in the United States on 2 December 1923. The *New York Times* reported that former president Woodrow Wilson had promised to dine on beans and corn grits for this occasion marking the NER taking over the aid program from the American Red Cross. President Coolidge and several members of Congress pledged to do the same. In a letter to NER on 26 October 1923, Coolidge wrote, “It is with a good deal of satisfaction that I commend your proposal to observe an International Golden Rule Dinner Sunday, on the second of December, 1923 . . . It suggests not only a practical method for help, but the highest expression of sympathy, by sharing for a time the privations of others.”¹

More than one million Americans participated in this program, which was billed not only as a way to help NER support orphans, but also a way for American families to build character by practicing self-discipline. The inaugural Sunday was such a success that Vickrey continued to promote the idea and it quickly spread outside the United States to include more than fifty countries.

The Jerusalem Luncheon

Merely a year after Vickrey’s widespread Golden Rule campaign, Blatchford hosted his own event in Jerusalem. It was a large and diverse communal gathering – one that my own parents attended. That it happened at a time when civil strife was rampant makes it even more remarkable. Fortunately, the occasion was documented by a post-luncheon group photograph, in which, despite the tensions, there seems to be a perceptible collegiality. It was a notable assembly in the early days of the British Mandate with Muslim, Christian, and Jewish dignitaries blending with high-ranking members of the British administration and religious community leaders. Blatchford succeeded in this incredibly thorny task of bringing together the divergent Jerusalem community leaders to sit at the same table, and he did so while still a fairly recent arrival to the city. He remained in Jerusalem until the eve of the 1948 war, but in many ways this luncheon was his crowning achievement. A native

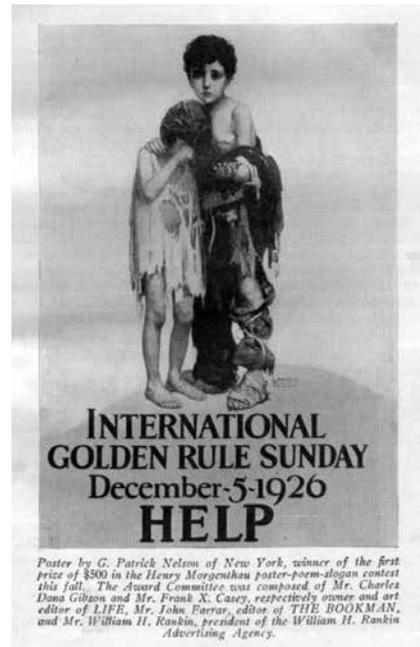


Figure 1. A 1926 poster advertising Golden Rule Sunday won first place in a competition in New York sponsored by Henry Morgenthau, online at nearcastmuseum.com/2015/10/30/charles-v-vickrey-and-the-golden-rule/ (accessed 11 November 2018).

of Chicago, Blatchford had arrived in Jerusalem in 1922 to become the representative of the NER for Palestine and Lebanon. He soon became a recognizable figure around town as a well-respected relief worker tending to the needs of several hundred suffering Armenian orphans, survivors of the mass massacre and deportations from Asia Minor by the Ottomans in 1915.

In Blatchford's memoirs, compiled by his nephew Charles Hammond Blatchford, the first notation of the luncheon is on 25 November 1924: "Call on the Hotellerie Notre Dame de France regarding Golden Rule luncheon. They finally agreed to allow me to hold it there."² This was followed by an entry on 28 November: "Working on Golden Rule Sunday luncheon with Mrs. Vester's help."³ The invitation explained the purpose of the occasion in some detail:

The refreshments that I shall offer will be exactly what the children under the care of the Near East Relief will have for their luncheon, and even the dishes from which we shall eat will be the same as those in use in the Orphanages. We shall thus be able to visualize the service that is being rendered to the helpless children of the East, not alone by the Near East Relief, but also by other organizations, Moslem, Jewish and Christian, that are caring for orphaned children. We shall also be able to join in an international celebration of Golden Rule Sunday in which, through Europe and America, people of many different nationalities and many different religious organizations, to the number of hundreds of thousands, will participate. And thus by our presence we shall show our belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. In short, I am asking the honor of your presence at a very simple meal where we shall meet together as believers in the fellowship of service to which God calls all His children.

The luncheon took place on 7 December. Blatchford writes that "guests began to arrive early . . . at the table of honor Sir Gilbert Clayton on my right." He concludes that "the occasion, by the blessing of God and the loyalty of my friends, was a great success."

Several days later, the *Daily News Bulletin* described the event in glowing terms: "Mr. Edward W. Blatchford, the Director for Palestine of the Near East Relief, gave a luncheon on Sunday, December 7, at the Hotellerie Notre Dame de France to about 160 friends, representing the British government and members of the various religions in Jerusalem. There was no financial appeal, and the company gathered simply in the spirit of 'do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you,' a spirit commanded by the Koran, the Torah, and the words of Jesus." In his welcoming talk Blatchford described the Palestine program of the NER: the Nazareth orphanage with 150 boys, and the three orphanages in Jerusalem with 416 boys and girls of which the NER shared the cost with the Armenian General Benevolent Union. The U.S. consul at the time, Mr. J. Rives Childs, then spoke on the subject of worldwide humanitarian work and of America's ideal of service. Sir Gilbert Clayton, on behalf of the guests, thanked Mr. Blatchford "for this opportunity to

meet together for a common object without thought of difference of race or creed and to reflect upon the great principle of brotherly love.” Judging by the letters Blatchford received, the luncheon must have been a great success. The high commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, was away and could not attend but later commented in a letter to Blatchford that “the luncheon had accomplished what had never been accomplished before in Jerusalem.”



Figure 2. Photo of guests at the Golden Rule luncheon, 7 December 1923 (from Blatchford’s diaries).

The Photo

In the photograph (figure 2), which is recorded in Blatchford’s memoirs, there appears to be a well-choreographed assembly flanked by the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes held by the two consulate guards.⁴ I have had little success in identifying the majority of the guests. I do recognize in the first row, starting from the right, Mr. Noorian, secretary of the Armenian Patriarch, and his lady guest. The elderly cleric to the left with the medallion is the Armenian Patriarch Yeghishe Toorian, flanked by two Armenian priests. The notable Armenian presence was in tribute to the Armenian orphans who were the beneficiaries of the relief work. The gentleman in the center is Sir Gilbert Clayton (acting high commissioner). Next are a Greek priest, a Coptic bishop, an Ethiopian priest, and

another Greek priest. Behind Sir Gilbert are Sir Ronald Storrs, governor of Jerusalem, and his wife. Blatchford is in the center of the fifth row from the top, standing next to the mufti, Hajj Amin al-Husayni, who is wearing a white turban. Just below them is Mr. Yacoub Farraj with a handkerchief in his pocket.⁵ In the sixth row from the bottom, in the center, is the head of the Arab Greek Orthodox community, Mr. Mitri Salameh, and his wife. At the edge of the same row to the right are my parents, Dr. and Mrs. Vahan Kalbian. Noticeably the British administration was heavily represented.

Visibly missing in the gathering was the reigning Latin Patriarch Monsignor Luigi Barlassina who held that office from 1920 to 1947. Interestingly, he is also absent from yet another contemporary photo of the religious leaders in full regalia (figure 3) where they are posing with the high commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel (seated in the center first row) and Sir Ronald Storrs, governor of Jerusalem (standing fourth from the right).



Figure 3. Heads of the British Mandate administration and of the Jerusalem churches, 1922 (Rt. Hon. Viscount Herbert Samuel, *Memoirs* (London: Cresset Press, 1945); a public domain photo (online at commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jerusalem_church_leaders_1922.jpg).

The absence of the Roman Catholic hierarchy from such a ground-breaking ecumenical event is remarkable. But it is worth remembering that this was in 1923, four decades before the Second Vatican Council of 1962–65, which opened the gates for the Catholic Church to engage officially in Christian intercommunal rapport. Blatchford’s diary entry dated 21 September 1932, about the construction of the YMCA building, confirms the Vatican’s antagonism to participating in ecumenical events. He writes, “The Latin Patriarch, Barlassina, has just issued a proclamation against the YMCA which ends with the medieval pronouncement that confessors shall not give absolution to anyone who goes to, or assists, or has anything to do with the YMCA. Poor Roman Catholics!” The Catholics in Palestine, during the 1920s and 1930s, were under the strict authority of

the Franciscan Custodian of the Holy Land “whose obligation, on behalf of the Catholic Church was to protect and guide the holy sites as well as the pilgrims visiting them.”⁶ Another conspicuous and politically significant absence is that of Raghib Nashashibi, the reigning Arab mayor of Jerusalem.⁷ The luncheon took place almost three years after the bloody Nabi Musa protests, which had been initiated by the mufti in opposition to the Balfour Declaration. Arab antagonism to it was very much sentient but Nashashibi’s absence may signify the early split in the Arab front. The photo reflects a certain communal tranquility and collegiality. The spotlight of the photo appears to fall on Hajj Amin al-Husayni, the mufti, standing next to the host Mr. Blatchford, rather than on the front row dignitaries. Although in his memoirs Blatchford states that there were also Jews attending the lunch, I have been unable to identify them. It was a successful event and Blatchford then made it an annual event but on a much smaller scale, in the form of an afternoon tea (figure 4).



Figure 4. Golden Rule tea party circa 1925. Musa Kazim Pasha al-Husayni is seated in the first row second from left; Blatchford is in the center, second row, in a white suit. Armenian, Greek, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Maronite, Syriac, Coptic, and Abyssinian clerics were present (from Blatchford’s diaries).

The Host – Edward Williams Blatchford

These remarkable photos of Blatchford in the midst of various groups of religious and political dignitaries certainly confirm his status in Mandate-era Jerusalem society. Yet, who was Blatchford, and how was he able to achieve such a prominent place?

We know that he came from a long line of accomplished forebears – successful educators, ministers, industrialists, and philanthropists. The *paterfamilias*, Samuel Blatchford, was born in 1767 in Devon, England, educated at Cambridge, and ordained pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Devon. In 1795, he traveled to America to pastor a church in Bedford, New York. In 1805, he was appointed a trustee of Union College and in 1824 he became the first president of the Rensselaer School (Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute). He received an honorary master's degree from Yale University in 1798 and a doctorate of divinity from Williams College in 1808.

Samuel's grandson Eliphalet moved to Chicago in 1837 where he managed a lead and linseed oil manufacturing plant. Eliphalet had seven children, among them were two whose careers led them to the Middle East: Edward, born in 1868, and his sister Amy, born in 1862. Amy married Howard Bliss, the son of Daniel Bliss, the founder of the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut – today's American University of Beirut.

Edward grew up in Chicago. After graduating from Amherst College in 1891, he travelled at length in Europe. He returned to the United States and reluctantly joined the family business in Chicago, but later on moved to London as the resident representative of his father's firm. In 1918 after the United States joined the allies in World War I, Edward volunteered with the YMCA overseas service.⁸ He was fifty years old at the time, clearly past the draft age. His first assignment with the "Y" was to his beloved London; in February 1921, he was relocated to Copenhagen, and finally to the "Y" in Istanbul. It was there that he discovered his passion for the Middle East, which eventually led to his long sojourn in Jerusalem. He remained in Istanbul for only a few months. Upon leaving, he sailed to Beirut to visit his sister Amy, who was recently widowed; her husband Howard Bliss had been the president of the Syrian Protestant College.

It was in Beirut that Blatchford witnessed firsthand the plight of the Armenian refugees who had been resettled in Lebanon. This was a defining moment in his life. He was drawn to the surviving orphans of the Ottoman massacres of 1915. These children had been relocated to predominantly Christian Lebanon and housed in makeshift shelters in a shantytown built haphazardly in the Nahr district on the eastern edge of Beirut. At the time, they were cared for by the NER, under the leadership of Bayard Dodge, who was Amy Blatchford's son-in-law and a future president of the American University of Beirut.

U.S. involvement in the plight of the Armenian refugees dates to 1915 when U.S. ambassador Henry Morgenthau urged the establishment of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (ACASR) in Istanbul to raise funds for refugees in the wake of the genocide. The aid was delivered through the U.S. embassy in Constantinople and distributed mainly through Protestant missionaries. In 1919 after World War I, it was renamed the Near East Relief Committee (NER). The NER raised more than 100 million dollars (roughly 1.25 billion dollars today) between 1915 and 1930 to help Armenian, Greek, and Syrian refugees – including 132,000 orphans – from the Ottoman Empire.⁹ By 1922 it reported that it had already saved one million lives through relief in the region.¹⁰ Almost one thousand aid workers assisted in the relief efforts overseas, along with U.S.-based volunteers, to build scores of orphanages, vocational schools, and food distributions centers.

Blatchford in Jerusalem

Blatchford first arrived in Jerusalem on 12 December 1922. He went directly to the American Colony, hoping to find lodging there, and while Mr. Spafford and Mrs. Whiting welcomed him warmly, they were unable to accommodate him since the hotel was full. He then chose to stay at the Austrian Hospice, inside Damascus Gate, in an upper-floor room with access to the roof from where he could enjoy wonderful views of the Old City. At that time Monsignor Fillinger, the Catholic bishop of Jerusalem, managed the Austrian Hospice.

Blatchford was received at the U.S. consulate and without much delay initiated close relations with the various community leaders. Even before he took on the duties of overseeing the orphanages, he proceeded to introduce himself to the community leaders. With the help of the U.S. consulate dragoman, Elias T. Gellad, he met the Greek Patriarch Damianos and the Armenian Patriarch Toorian. He nurtured these introductions into very productive and close relationships which became the foundations for his rapport with the various religious leaders. Within a week of his arrival he also contacted my father, Dr. Vahan Kalbian, who had been a friend of the Blisses in Beirut during his years at the medical school and the hospital. The entry in Blatchford's diary on 18 December 1922 reads, "Evening had Dr. Kalbian at dinner. A good talk about the situation here." This was the start of a lifelong relationship both professionally and socially. He was a frequent caller at our home in Talbiyya, and my parents were regular guests at his home. In another entry dated 1934, he describes his first experience with a home radio at the Kalbian house in Talbiyya: "There was some atmospherics but still we got a good deal – England, Germany, Italy – all by just turning the dial." He would frequently chat with my three brothers and me before going into my father's library. He had an enormous talent for entertaining us with a treasure trove of limericks and magic tricks. He had an impressive face with a prominent nose and a clownish face. He was an entertainer par excellence. He would amuse us as he drummed out tunes like "Frère Jacques" from his partly open mouth by clicking his fingers on his cheeks, and at Christmas he would perform the beloved carols.

We would often accompany our parents to his home, first in Upper Talbiyya and then the so-called Nusseibeh house, across from the American Colony, next to St. George's School. He always had a pet dog that performed tricks for our amusement. One dog that stands out in my mind was a terrier named Peter who would show his displeasure by barking whenever "certain words" were spoken (figure 6). The floors of Blatchford's house were covered with precious Persian rugs and the atmosphere was reminiscent of a Damascus salon. Soon after he arrived in Jerusalem, he employed an Armenian from one of the orphanages, Bedros Balian, who became his driver, interpreter, and household manager. Blatchford soon purchased a car, which Bedros learned to drive. It was a 1930 Ford sedan with a rumble seat. In my memory, it was the first car of its kind in Jerusalem. He would invite my brothers and me to ride in



Figure 5. Blatchford with my family in front of their Talbiyya home, circa 1940 (author's personal collection). I was fifteen years old and seated in the front row, next to my younger cousin Jerry Kevorkian. Seated behind me (left to right) are Archbishop (later Patriarch) Cyril, Armenian Patriarch Mesrob, Grandma Kalbian (we called her Hajji Mama), Araxie Kevorkian (behind her, half seated), Mrs. Chakr (an Armenian philanthropist from Cairo), and my mother, Satenig. Standing in the back row are Edward Blatchford, my father Vahan, a junior U.S. consul, my brothers Adom and Torkom, Zareh Kevorkian, and Nevart Torossian.

the open backseat on summer afternoons. To this day I remember the cool afternoon breezes as we drove around the city's environs. Blatchford's staff also included a cook, the legendary 'Isa from Bayt Iksa. 'Isa would dress up like the Egyptian waiters at the King David Hotel, in a white robe, a red sash around his waist, a red fez, and serve at table with white gloves. The British had popularized male servants who were recruited from the neighboring villages. In the 1950s when I returned to live in Jerusalem, I was able to locate 'Isa and he gladly served at formal lunches at my home in full regalia.



Figure 6. Blatchford and his beloved dog Peter (from Blatchford's diaries).

Blatchford had a sturdy friendship with Hajj Amin al-Husayni who would come to his house in Shaykh Jarrah, mostly for afternoon tea usually accompanied by Ruhi Bey 'Abd al-Hadi who would act as translator, as Blatchford did not speak Arabic. Having attended the Collège des Frères, however, the mufti was conversant in French, so some of the time they would speak in French. Favored by the British, afternoon teas had become the accepted venues of entertainment particularly as some of the clergy and the majority, if not all, of the Muslim dignitaries were temperate. Blatchford's regular guests would include the Armenian and Greek patriarchs of Jerusalem.

He was devoted to the welfare of the Armenian orphans in Jerusalem and Nazareth. In 1921, the NER had located around twelve hundred orphans, mostly boys, who were found homeless in the Syrian desert region of Dayr al-Zur and around Mosul in Iraq. The NER arranged for their transport by ship via Basra, Alexandria, and Jaffa and then by train to Jerusalem. They were settled primarily in dormitories in the Armenian Convent of St. James in the Old City. Others were housed in the Greek Orthodox Monastery of the Cross, beyond Katamon, located at the foot of the modern-day Israeli Knesset, while a smaller group of orphans were housed in Nazareth. The operation was under the auspices of the Armenian patriarchate, mainly funded by the Armenian General Benevolent Union with help from NER who took on the general supervision of the endeavor. Jerusalem's Armenian community volunteered to take in some of the orphans. The boys and young

men were trained in several occupations and trades such as carpentry, plumbing, and printing, and the girls in nursing. Many of the older boys were recruited into the St. James Seminary at the Armenian convent while others were enrolled at the American University of Beirut. In fact, two of the orphans who joined the seminary ended up as future patriarchs in Jerusalem.

By 1927, most of the orphans had been rehabilitated and had found homes. The NER had to close its operation in Palestine, which meant that Blatchford no longer had a reason to remain in Jerusalem. But in his five years there, he had become passionate about Jerusalem and its inhabitants. He describes his feelings in a letter to his friend Harry J. Dunbaugh on 16 June 1928:

In March the N.Y. office of the NER cabled asking that I close up the work in Palestine and go to Beirut and take charge of the Antilyas Orphanage . . . I am in thorough sympathy with their decision regarding my work. But I have put so much of myself into this Palestine area that I cannot give up until I see it finished. I have therefore offered to start as a volunteer worker.¹¹

His love for Palestine is evident in this passage. He goes on to ask Dunbaugh to cash in some securities from his inheritance to allow him to continue his work with the Armenian orphans. Dunbaugh responds advising Blatchford not to take “quite as large a slice from your principal as you have in mind . . . while at the same time admiring the devotion and spirit which lead you to spend this money.”¹² In a wonderful gesture, a group of Blatchford’s friends in the United States and Europe collected \$4,125 and sent it to him in Jerusalem so that he would not have to spend his own money. Blatchford was moved by this outpouring of support for his continued work in Jerusalem. In a letter dated 9 December 1928, he thanks his friends for “backing this old horse. He returns to Jerusalem, not wind-broken or spavined but keen as a two-year old.”¹³

It is clear that Blatchford did not want to return to his humdrum life in Chicago and he very much wanted to stay in Jerusalem. He describes some conversations in April of 1929 with [Paul] Knabenshue, the American consul general. Also he applied for a position in the U.S. consulate in Jerusalem. Initially he was rejected, as the State Department did not hire Americans for foreign service duty without the proper applications and rigorous entry exams taken in Washington. They finally but reluctantly gave in to his request and in 1929 he was formally appointed with a newly created title of “Vice-Consul for Religious Affairs.” The appointment was initially a temporary six-month appointment, but it was made permanent in 1930. This became his official designation and he served in Jerusalem uninterrupted until he retired in 1948, an unprecedented sojourn as the standard length of a U.S. foreign service tour of duty is twenty-four months, which may be extended to forty-eight months. Blatchford described the nature of his work in a diary entry on 9 September 1929 as follows: “My special work will be to feel the pulse of the community.”¹⁴ He relished his position. He would attend all the official and formal religious events that would always be highlighted by the presence of the consular corps in their formal

attire. The two ceremonies that he would never miss were the Armenian ceremony of the washing of the feet on Maundy Thursday and the Ethiopian Holy Week ceremony that took place on the Holy Sepulcher rooftop. He also had the unique opportunity of meeting both American and European dignitaries as he would guide them around to the holy sites and introduce them to the many religious leaders.

Blatchford defies categorization. Working in philanthropy, he helped establish orphanages in Jerusalem to take care of the Armenian orphans who had survived massacres. Once settled in Jerusalem, he developed deep relationships with influential citizens and civic and religious leaders. It was these relationships that enabled him to successfully host the 1923 Golden Rule luncheon after being in Jerusalem for only one year. The confidence that the American Consulate showed by creating a position especially for him is significant. His ability to communicate with such a diversity of people helped him gain the trust of many. Another unique aspect of Blatchford's tenure in Jerusalem is that, unlike the typical foreign service officer who left after two years, Blatchford was there for twenty-five years. In that time, he was able to gather a wealth of knowledge about the complex relationships that existed between the various religious communities. Thus, while the Golden Rule lunch was one of his first Jerusalem "projects," it exemplified the very essence of his contribution to the fabric of Jerusalem's society in the British Mandate period. Blatchford left Jerusalem in 1948 as the war was breaking out. In the last few years before 1948, his diary entries become stark and urgent. One can sense his sadness as he watches a way of life under threat.

- 1946, May 2: Gave up my car, sold.
- 1946, October 30: Explosion near the American Colony.
- 1946, November 13: Explosion 6:50 PM right back of my house. One outside door blown in and 40 panes of glass.
- 1946, December 5: Heavy explosions and firing.
- 1947, March 1: Attack on the Goldsmith house.
- 1947, March 12: Attack on the Schneller orphanage.
- 1947, May 12: Two British constables shot, corner King George Avenue and Yahuda St.

In 1948, in an urgent cable sent to his friend Harry in Chicago, he writes:

Situation in quarter where I lived made it unsafe to stay. Hastily, I left my house Jan. 2 and am safely housed in less unsafe location. Reluctantly feel this chapter of my life is closed and I had better return to Chicago.

Edward Blatchford left Jerusalem on February 20, 1948. The diary entry for that day reads:

Attack near Jaffa Gate. Left Jerusalem 12 noon.

He returned to Chicago, his hometown, where he lived out his remaining years. He died on 18 May 1956.¹⁵

In the above, I have tried to draw attention to a neglected but unique resident of Jerusalem during the Mandate days. He was the quintessential humanitarian. On his desk he kept a table piece made of Palestinian pottery inscribed with an Arabic phrase, meaning: “If my origin is of dust, then the whole world is my country, and everyone in it is my kin.” His service – first to help the Armenian refugees and later his devotion and staunch support to the Palestinian cause – gives proof that his motto was fulfilled.



Figure 7. Blatchford with Armenian orphans (from Blatchford’s diaries).

Dr. Vicken V. Kalbian, a retired physician living in Winchester, Virginia, was born in Jerusalem. He has published several articles about the history of Jerusalem. The author thanks Professor Aline Kalbian for her editorial assistance.

Endnotes

- 1 Near East Foundation, online at neareastmuseum.com/2015/10/30/charles-v-vickrey-and-the-golden-rule/ (accessed 23 October 2018).
- 2 Edward William Blatchford, unpublished diaries and correspondence, ed. Charles Hammond Blatchford, 37; in author’s possession.
- 3 Mrs. Bertha Spafford Vester was the daughter of Horatio and Anna Spafford, the founders of the American Colony in Jerusalem.
- 4 The photo was probably taken by one of two Jerusalem photographers, Garabed Krikorian or Khalil Raad.
- 5 In the early part of the twentieth century, Farraj worked for the Russian consulate, then in 1920 was appointed acting president of the Arab Executive. In 1934, al-Difa’ party appointed him as their Christian leader, and Raghīb Nashashibi as the Muslim leader. Farraj was appointed deputy mayor of Jerusalem in the late 1930s.
- 6 In 1929, Palestine under the British Mandate was removed from the jurisdiction of the Apostolic Delegate to Syria and transferred to Cairo. In February 1948, the Vatican established the Apostolic Delegation in Jerusalem and Palestine, which included Israel, Jordan and Cyprus. Since 1994, the Apostolic Delegation covers only Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza. See “Apostolic Delegation in Jerusalem and Palestine,” Catholic Church of the Holy Land website, online at catholicchurch-holyland.com/?p=3203 (accessed 23 October 2018).
- 7 Nashashibi and Hajj Amin al-Husayni had been close friends. See Vicken V. Kalbian, “Reflections on Malaria in Jerusalem,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 67 (2016): 82–96.

- 8 Blatchford diaries, 54. YMCA workers in World War I were part of a large-scale program of morale and welfare services for the military, serving almost all American military forces in Europe. They began their work from the beginning of the U.S. Civil War; online at www.asymca.org/history (accessed 11 November 2018).
- 9 “Who We Are,” www.neareast.org/who-we-are/ (accessed 11 November 2018).
- 10 “Near East Relief Has Saved One Million, Report to Congress Says Operations Have Amounted to Total of \$70,000,000,” *New York Times*, 16 July 1922, online at timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1922/07/16/112683327.pdf (accessed 11 November 2018).
- 11 Blatchford, unpublished diaries and correspondence, 44.
- 12 Blatchford, unpublished diaries and correspondence, 45.
- 13 Blatchford, unpublished diaries and correspondence, 46.
- 14 Blatchford, unpublished diaries and correspondence, 48.
- 15 “Biography of the E.W. Blatchford Family” in “Inventory of the Blatchford Family Papers, 1777–1987, Bulk 1839–1965,” website of the Newberry library, online at mms.newberry.org/xml/xml_files/Blatchford.xml (accessed 23 October 2018).