

An Ottoman Armenian Orphanage:  
The Short History of Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî in Adana  
(1909-1918)

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## Approvals

“An Ottoman Armenian Orphanage: The Short History of Dârüleytâm-ı Os-mânî in Adana (1909-1918),” a thesis prepared by Uğur Akpınar in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, has been approved on 29 May 2020 by:

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## Declaration of Originality

The intellectual content of this thesis, which has been written by me and for which I take full responsibility, is my own, original work, and it has not been previously or concurrently submitted elsewhere for any other examination or degree of higher education. The sources of all paraphrased and quoted materials, concepts, and ideas are fully cited, and the admissible contributions and assistance of others with respect to the conception of the work as well as to linguistic expression are explicitly acknowledged herein.



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## Abstract

An Ottoman Armenian Orphanage: The Short History of Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî in Adana (1909-1918)

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This thesis examines the history of Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî institution founded in Adana by Adana Governor Cemal Pasha of the period for Armenian girls and boys who were orphaned due to the Adana massacres of 1909. This orphanage, whose foundations were laid in 1909, was officially opened in 1911 for the education and care of 500 hundred orphaned Armenian children. Shortly after its opening, Muslim orphans were also placed in the orphanage and thus became a multireligious and multicultural institution. This thesis tries to show the views of local officials, Ottoman Armenians, and the Committee of Union and Progress towards the opening of the orphanage, by emphasizing the historical role of the Armenian orphans. While drawing a comprehensive picture of the process providing the establishment of the orphanage from 1909 to 1911, this thesis argues that this orphanage was founded for political reasons rather than humanitarian concerns. The study shows the partnerships, disputes, and conflicts between different groups through the discussions on the administration and control of the orphanage from 1912 to 1914. Furthermore, the thesis shows the impacts of the changing ideological, social, and economic policies of the government on the orphanage by focusing on the period between 1914 and 1918. The primary sources used in this thesis are Ottoman archival documents, missionary and consul reports, memoirs, newspapers, province budgets, and regulations.

33,000 words

## Özet

Bir Osmanlı Ermeni Yetimhanesi: Adana'daki Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî'nin Kısa Tarihi (1909-1918)

Uğur Akpınar, Yüksek Lisans Adayı, 2020

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Yardımcı Doçent Seda Altuğ ve Profesör Nadir Özbek, Tez Danışmanları

Bu tez dönemin Adana valisi Cemal Paşa tarafından 1909 Adana katliamları nedeniyle yetim kalan Ermeni kız ve erkek çocukları için Adana'da kurulan Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî kurumunun tarihini incelemektedir. Temelleri 1909 yılında atılan bu yetimhane, 1911 yılında 500 Ermeni yetim çocuğun eğitimi ve bakımı için resmen açılmıştır. Açılışından kısa bir süre sonra Müslüman yetimler de yetimhaneye yerleştirilmiş ve böylece çok dinli ve çok kültürlü bir kurum haline gelmiştir. Bu tez, yetim kalan Ermeni çocukların tarihsel rollerine vurgu yaparak, yerel yetkililerin, Osmanlı Ermenilerinin ve İttihat ve Terakki'nin yetimhanenin açılmasına yönelik görüş ve tutumlarını göstermeye çalışıyor. Bu tez 1909 yılından 1911 yılına kadar okulun kurulmasını sağlayan süreç ile ilgili kapsamlı bir resim çizerken, bu kurumun insani kaygılardan daha çok politik nedenlerle kurulduğunu iddia etmektedir. Bu çalışma farklı gruplar arasındaki ortaklıkları, anlaşmazlıkları ve çatışmaları 1912 yılından 1914 yılına kadar yetimhanenin yönetimi ve kontrolü üzerine çıkan tartışmalar üzerinden gösterir. Ayrıca, bu tez 1914-1918 arasındaki döneme odaklanarak hükümetin değişen ideolojik, sosyal, ve ekonomi politikalarının yetimhane üzerindeki etkilerini göstermeye çalışıyor. Bu tezde kullanılan birincil kaynaklar Osmanlı arşiv belgeleri, misyoner ve konsül raporları, anılar, gazeteler, vilayet bütçeleri ve nizamnamelerdir.

33.000 kelime







To my family



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## Acronyms

BOA	Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives
BEO	Bab-1 Ali Evrak Odası
DH.İD	Dahiliye İdare
DH.MKT	Dahiliye Mektubi Kalemi
DH.MUI	Dahiliye Muhaberat-1 Umumiye İdaresi
DH.ŞFR	Dahiliye Şifre Kalemi
DH.UMVM	Dahiliye Umur-1 Mahalliyye ve Vilayat Müdürlüğü
FTG.f..	Fotoğraflar
İ.HB	İrade Harbiye
İ.MMS	İrade Meclis-i Mahsus
MF.EYT	Maarif Nezareti Daru'l-Eytam
MF.MKT	Maarif Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi
MV	Meclis-i Vükela Mazbataları
ŞD	Şura-yı Devlet
CUP	Committee of Union and Progress

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## Introduction

In the last two decades, more researchers have done works on different fields such as education, sociology, and literature to study the history of children and childhood. While there have been made more studies related to the history of children and childhood, the number of workings focusing on orphaned and destitute children in the Ottoman state has increased. However, many of the studies in this field have focused on Muslim children, who were orphaned and needy due to the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the First World War (1914-1918). Therefore, the number of studies towards non-Muslim orphaned and destitute children remained limited. The majority of the studies have seen not only needy Muslim children but also non-Muslim orphans as “passive agents” and “vulnerable victims” of the wars, immigrations, and massacres. On the other hand, these orphaned and destitute children in the Ottoman state were an active “subject,” who shape the historical processes and participate in important events.

Orphaned Armenian children have an important place in relation to the historical role of orphans in the Late Ottoman Empire. The identity and future of these children who were orphaned due to the massacres performed towards the Armenian population in the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century were an important competition realm between the government and missionary organizations. Furthermore, the aid activities and financial supports provided by different groups for “the protection of these

children” were a part of this competition. In particular, although many researchers who published their studies in Turkish have frequently emphasized these aid activities and financial supports made by the government and local authorities towards the Armenian children, they underlined “the humanitarian aspect” of these philanthropic activities. For that reason, the political, social, and economic aspects of their philanthropic activities for orphaned Armenian children have been generally overlooked.

There have been made more English studies related to orphaned and destitute Armenian children. Some of these studies have focused on the relief organizations of missionaries of different countries towards Armenian children. Missionary activities, which were carried out after the massacres of 1894-1896 in the eastern provinces, in which many Armenians were killed and thousands of Armenian children were orphaned, have been often emphasized. Furthermore, more works have focused on the Armenian children, who were orphaned and destitute because of the deportation of Ottoman Armenians in 1915-1916. Through examining Ottoman archival documents, consul reports, and memoirs of Ottoman Armenians, the assimilation policies and the struggles faced by the Armenian children are frequently emphasized in these studies.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, since these periods have received more attention from researchers, the studies related to Armenian children who were orphaned because of the massacres towards Armenians in the Adana province in April 1909 remained limited. For this reason, neither the historical role of these children in the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1918) nor the institutions opened for them has been examined enough.

This thesis aims to shed light on the history of Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî (the Ottoman Orphanage) in Adana, which lasted from the summer of 1909 until the end of 1918. Cemal Bey (known as Cemal Pasha), the Adana governor of the period, founded this orphanage for the Armenian boys and girls who were orphaned because of the Adana massacres of 1909. The orphanage was officially opened in Adana in 1911 for the education of five hundred orphaned children with the support of the new constitutional government. Furthermore,

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1 For example, see Uğur Ümit Üngör, “Orphans, Converts, Prostitutes: Social Consequences of War and Persecution in the Ottoman Empire,” *War in History*, vol.19, no. 2 (April 2012): 173-192.



after a short time, orphaned Muslim children were placed in the orphanage. Thus, the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana became an institution, in which Armenian and Muslim orphans lived under the same roof and received an education. In this thesis, I answer the questions of what were the political reasons behind the establishment of the orphanage and how political collaborations, struggles, and disputes amongst missionaries, local authorities, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), the Dashnak Party, and the Armenian Patriarch affected on the opening of the orphanage and its administrative and economic issues from 1909 to 1914. In this context, the thesis evaluates this institution as an important part of the political field, in which different political and religious groups tried to legitimize their own policies. Furthermore, since the target of these policies was the Armenian children orphaned due to the Adana massacres of 1909 and were placed in the Ottoman Orphanage in 1911, this study also aims to show “the historical role of these children” in the Second Constitutional Era. Many researchers, on the other hand, have both overlooked the political importance of the orphanage and the historical role of the Armenian orphans. Besides, many of them have evaluated the orphanage as a concrete indicator of “the tolerance and compassion of the government” towards the Armenian children.

Another aim of the thesis is to examine the structural, administrative, and educational changes in the orphanage from 1915 until 1918 by giving reference to the political importance of the orphanage and the historical role of the Armenian orphans in the orphanage. To examine these changes, I focus on the period that deeply affected the political, social, and cultural history of the Ottoman state between 1914-1916. In this period, I analyze the process that led to the conversion of the Ottoman Orphanage into “a Turkish orphanage” where religiously mixed education abolished and many Armenian boys were assimilated. For that reason, in this thesis, I answer the questions of why the local officials insisted on the merging of the orphanage with Adana industrial school in 1914 and how the results of the decision to deport the Ottoman Armenians in 1915 affected the Ottoman Orphanage. In the light of these questions, while providing a more comprehensive perspective related to the changing policies towards the Armenian children from 1909 to 1915, I also answer the question of what happened to the orphaned Armenian children who were

placed in the orphanage in 1911. Thus, the thesis aims also to fill the gap in the literature through considering the historical role of the Armenian children, that participates and witnesses the historical process and events during the Second Constitutional Era. At the same time, this study aims to reveal the rich history of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana by analyzing the orphanage as a dynamic institution, that directly affected by social, economic, ideologic, and cultural changes.

The academic literature directly focusing on the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana is quite limited. Before mentioning these studies, it is important to note that the history of state orphanages opened in different provinces is almost unexplored fields of study. In particular, most of the researchers generally overlook the political, economic, ideologic, and social reasons behind the founding of these institutions, and for that reason, the number of studies focusing on the history of a state orphanage has remained limited until this time.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, there have been made more comprehensive studies about the history of missionary orphanages in the Ottoman Empire<sup>3</sup> compared to fewer studies on state orphanages based on limited primary and secondary sources.

First and most important study directly focusing on the Ottoman Orphanage is an article written by Nazan Maksudyan titled *New 'Rules of Conduct' for State, American Missionaries, and Armenians: 1909 Adana Massacres and the Ottoman Orphanage (Dârü'l- Eytâm-ı Osmânî)*.<sup>4</sup> In this article, Maksudyan focuses on the period between 1909 and 1912. In particular, by using firsthand

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- 2 For some studies, see Salih Özkan, "Türkiye'de Darüleytamların Gelişimi ve Niğde Darüleytâmı," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 19 (Spring 2006): 211-229.; İlhami Yurdakul, "Osmanlı'da Yetimler ve Söğüt Darüleytâmı," in *Tarih Boyunca Söğüt ve Kültürü*, ed. Taner Bilgin and Halim Demiryürek (Ankara: Başkent Klişe Matbaacılık, 2015), 13-20.
  - 3 For a study published in recent years, see Muttalip Şimşek, "Alman Misyonerliği'nin Yakın Doğu'daki En Büyük Müessesesi: Suriye Yetimhanesi (1860-1917)," *Bellekten*, vol. 82, no. 293 (April 2018): 325-356.
  - 4 Nazan Maksudyan, "New 'Rules of Conduct' for State, American Missionaries, and Armenians: 1909 Adana Massacres and the Ottoman Orphanage (*Dârü'l- Eytâm-ı Osmânî*)," in *L'ivresse de la Liberté: La Révolution de 1908 dans l'Empire Ottoman*, ed. François Georgeon (Paris: CNRS, 2012), 137-171.

resources including the memoirs and French archives, she highlights the attitudes and views of missionaries, Armenians in the Adana province, and the founder of the orphanage, Cemal Bey, towards the establishment of the orphanage. In this way, she draws a comprehensive perspective considered the political, social, and cultural aspects of the process that led to the opening of the orphanage. In addition to this period, she mentions the requests of the Armenian Patriarch in 1912 and 1913 related to the orphanage and the orphanage director concerning the political relationships between the CUP and the Dashnaks. However, Maksudyan has missed some important administrative, political, and social details from 1909 to 1914 related to the Ottoman Orphanage and the Armenian children in there because of the usage of limited Ottoman archival documents. Nevertheless, not only this study focusing on the Ottoman Orphanage but also her other studies used in this thesis are an important guide for childhood studies in the Late Ottoman Empire.

The short article of Galip Eken, *Adana Darüleytamına Dair Bazı Bilgiler*, is the second study focusing on the Ottoman Orphanage.<sup>5</sup> In this article, Eken examines the period between 1909 and 1913 by using only Ottoman archival documents as the primary sources. He mentions many different subjects such as the founding purpose of the orphanage, Cemal Bey's attempts to fund the orphanage, and the requests of the Armenian Patriarch related to the administration of the orphanage. However, Eken's study neither provides a broad perspective about the political, social, and cultural reasons and consequences of these subjects nor the historical role of the Armenian children orphaned because of the Adana massacres of 1909.

Another study that should be mentioned is *Abdülhamid'den Cumhuriyet'e Ermeni Yetimleri (Sayıları ve Yurtdışına Taşınmaları)* by Halil Özşavlı.<sup>6</sup> Although this book is not directly focused on the Ottoman Orphanage, a rich variety of primary sources such as Ottoman archival documents, the memoirs of the local officials, and missionary reports were used to examine the process

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5 Galip Eken, "Adana Darüleytamına Dair Bazı Bilgiler," in *Tarihte Adana ve Çukurova: Osmanlı Döneminde Adana ve Çukurova II*, ed. Yılmaz Kurt and M. Fatih Sansar, vol.3 (Ankara: Akademisyen Kitabevi, 2016), 531-539.

6 Halil Özşavlı, *Abdülhamid'den Cumhuriyet'e Ermeni Yetimleri (Sayıları ve Yurtdışına Taşınmaları)* (İstanbul: Kesit Yayınları, 2017).

related to the opening of the orphanage. In particular, Cemal Bey's efforts to find financial resources for the establishment of the orphanage were emphasized in this study. On the other hand, Özşavlı does not evaluate these primary sources mentioned above enough. For that reason, he does not draw a comprehensive picture related to the political, social, and cultural aspects of the founding of the orphanage.

This thesis is based on extensive Ottoman archival documents that gathered from many different collections such as Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası (BEO), Dahiliye Şifre Kalemi (DH.ŞFR), and Maarif Nezareti Daru'l-Eytam (MF.EYT). In this study, the archival documents, which unnoticed and yet undiscovered by the researchers, shed light on educational, social, administrative, and political issues, and they thus provide a more comprehensive perspective about the orphanage and the children in there. However, the archival documents used in this thesis do not provide information about the names, families, and daily lives of the children placed in the Ottoman Orphanage. Besides, the emotions, fears, expectations, and dreams of the children were ignored in these archival documents, except for a few archival documents. These questions waiting to be answered about the children in the orphanage are the main reason why I chose the title of my thesis as "The Short History of Dârüleytâm-ı Osmâni in Adana."

The reports of missionaries and American and German consuls who were on duty in the Adana province, the memoirs of Armenians, missionaries, and local officials, the province budgets, and the newspapers were also used in this thesis. Along with the Ottoman archival documents, these primary sources shed light on many important issues, that the researchers have overlooked until this time. Furthermore, in particular, while thousands of Armenians were forcibly deported from the Adana province in September 1915, the consul reports provide valuable information about what happened to the Armenian orphans in the orphanage in this period.

In addition to the introduction and conclusion, the thesis is composed of three main chapters. The second chapter aims to provide a historical background about the policies carried out by the government and local authorities for orphan and needy children from 1839 until 1908 by using secondary sources. This section has two subsections. The first examines the educational

and disciplinary institutions established for orphaned and destitute children in the Tanzimat Period (1839-1876), with reference to the Tanzimat ideology, economic expectations, and “the agency” of the children in need of protection. Furthermore, “the competition” that emerged between the government and missionaries, for the protection of the Armenian children orphaned due to the massacres of 1894-1896 in the eastern provinces is examined in this part. In particular, the political and social reasons behind this competition are analyzed considering “the issue of the Armenian orphans” in the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), and the aid activities and institutional initiatives of the government and local authorities in order to take a more active role in the protection of the orphaned Armenian children are presented in detail. In the second subsection, the reasons and consequences of the Adana massacres of 1909 are examined in detail. Furthermore, the financial supports and institutional attempts made for “the protection” of thousands of Armenian children orphaned because of the massacres in April and are dealt with.

The third chapter examines the establishment of “Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî” institution, founded by Adana Governor Cemal Bey, for the orphaned Armenian girls and boys. This chapter has three subsections. In the first, while the historical role of the Armenian children is emphasized, the attitudes and roles of different groups including the CUP, Ottoman Armenians, and local officials in the establishment of the orphanage are examined. In this way, the political reasons for the founding of the orphanage are presented, instead of humanitarian concerns, which many researchers have pointed. In the second subsection, the regulation (*nizamname*) of the Ottoman Orphanage is analyzed. Many important changes made by the Council of State on the first regulation, written by Cemal Bey, are clarified in detail, along with the unchanged articles. In the third subsection, the requests of the Armenian Patriarch and Armenian religious institutions in 1912 and 1913 related to changing the orphanage Dashnak director and the control of the orphanage are examined in terms of political disputes and partnerships.

The fourth chapter examines the conversion of the Ottoman Orphanage into a Turkish orphanage, in which many Armenian children were assimilated and religiously mixed structure abolished. This chapter has two subsections. The first focuses on the process leading to the conversion of the orphanage in

the period between 1914 and 1915. In particular, the impacts of Adana Governor Hakkı Bey's requests for the merging of the orphanage with Adana industrial school and more importantly the decision to deport Ottoman Armenians are described. The second clarifies the results of this conversion for the Ottoman Orphanage and the Armenian children who were orphaned due to the Adana massacres of 1909 and were settled in the orphanage in 1911. Thus, in this subsection, many structural, administrative, and educational changes from 1915 to the end of 1918 are mentioned.



## The Policies for Orphaned and Needy Children in the Ottoman Empire (1839-1909)

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman state was struggling with many problems due to wars, decreasing tax revenues, and weakened central authority in the provincial areas. Therefore, in 1839, the Sublime Porte promulgated the Tanzimat reforms both to overcome these problems and to set up an Ottoman citizenship by including all subjects regardless of their identity or religion to these reform programs. With the Tanzimat reforms, while all Ottoman citizens' lives, properties, and honor was secured, it was decided to abolish the inequalities related to taxation and the military service between the Muslims and minority groups. Furthermore, it was also decided that all citizens would be equal before the law.<sup>1</sup>

While important steps were taken towards the centralization of the state, education became an important part of these centralization moves. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, due to the occurrence of the nationalist and separatist movements, the empires began to see children as an important "subject" to create loyal citizens and to counter social unrest. Thus, many states began to play a more active role in the education of children, and government

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1 Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, trans. Yasemin Saner (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014), 84.

schools were opened to raise children in the direction of the political, religious, and cultural expectations of the sovereign ideology. For the Ottoman Empire, with the Tanzimat Era (1839-1876), the education provided and organized by the government began to be seen as an important vehicle to strengthen military power, to provide social discipline, to achieve economic development, and to create a common Ottoman identity amongst children.<sup>2</sup> *Rüşdiyye mektepleri* (secondary schools) were the first government schools, which were opened in provinces to spread “government education”, and they were first opened in Bursa and Edirne in 1848.<sup>3</sup> After that respectively, while they were established in the Bosnia province in the early 1850s, some schools were opened in Girid towards the end of the 1850s.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, as Selçuk Akşin Somel, who made many important studies related to the history of the Late Ottoman Empire education, has pointed out, the first civil rüşdiyye school in the Ottoman-Arab provinces was opened in Damascus in the years 1860 and 1861 as an important part of one of the series of measures taken against Syrian Muslims reacting to the Tanzimat reforms.<sup>5</sup> In this sense, the government sought to include children to the centralized education system spreading newly to rural regions to achieve these aims, and it also tried to decrease the effectiveness of non-state elements in this field.

While the government began to take a more active role in the realm of education, both Muslim and non-Muslim orphaned children lacking the support of their families became another important target of these policies that put new responsibilities on the shoulders of non-orphaned children. Until this time, the education and aid policies of the government for these children were neither systematic nor institutional. Rather, close relatives, religious communities that children belonged to, and Ottoman waqfs were meeting the basic needs of the children such as shelter, food, and education.

With the Tanzimat period, the government tried to include orphaned children into the education system provided by a central authority in order to raise

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2 Ibid., 100-101.

3 Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908) İslamlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin*, trans. Osman Yener (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2015), 93-95.

4 Ibid., 96-99.

5 Ibid., 100-102.



loyal Ottoman citizens. Furthermore, it aimed at protecting public order and discipline by “protecting them.” Moreover, these children were also expected to contribute to economic development in this period. In other words, the economic and political expectations of the government and local authorities were affecting the policies towards orphaned children. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Armenian children orphaned due to the massacres of 1894-1896 became one of the main actors in the conflict between missionaries and the state, and both thus tried to be more active in the protection and possession of these children. In this context, these children were neither passive agents nor vulnerable victims of the wars and massacres. Rather, as Maksudyan has pointed out, Muslim and non-Muslim orphaned children were the “actors who shape important processes and participate and witness historical events.”<sup>6</sup>

In the time passing from the mid-nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, social, economic, and political changes affected the attitudes of the government and local authorities towards these children. The educational and disciplinary institutions opened for Muslim and non-Muslim orphaned children such as the *islahhanes* (Ottoman vocational orphanages), orphanages, and industrial schools were also affected by these changes. In particular, the establishment and spreading of these institutions in the rural regions became an important part of the competition between different groups trying to be more active for the protection of the orphaned Armenian children, and new tasks and responsibilities were put on orphaned children’s shoulders through educational and structural changes made on these institutions. In this context, one of the most prominent institutions was *Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî* (the Ottoman Orphanage) opened for the Armenian children orphaned due to the Adana massacres of 1909 in Adana.

In this section, to provide a more comprehensive perspective for the institutions opened for orphans and needy children, the institutional initiatives making for these children from the 1850s until the beginning of the 1870s will

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6 Nazan Maksudyan, “A New Angle of Observation: History of Children and Youth for Ottoman Studies,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, vol.3, no. 1 (May 2016): 119-120.

be examined in their political, social and economic aspects. Besides, to emphasize the importance of the historical role of orphaned Armenian children, it will be shown how tens of thousands of orphaned Armenian children because of the massacres of 1894-1896 caused competition between the government and missionary groups. Afterward, while the reasons for the Adana massacres and its catastrophic results for the Armenian population will be analyzed in detail, the competition of different groups for “the protection of the orphaned Armenian children” will be examined.

## § 2.1 The Institutional Initiatives for Children in Need of Protection (1850-1908)

In a short time after the promulgation of the Tanzimat reforms, while the administrators took a more active role in the protection of orphaned and destitute children, these children were also tried to be included in the economic process. Therefore, in 1851, the Ministry for the Direction of Orphans' Property (*Emval-i Eytam Nezareti*) was established. According to the establishment regulation of this institution, after the death of their parents, the properties and money left from their parents to orphaned children were secured until they reached 18 years old. Furthermore, it was decided to meet their basic needs such as shelter, health, and education with this secured money during this period.<sup>7</sup> More importantly, this regulation allowed the supervising and management of orphaned and destitute children's money and properties by the government. Thus, the government aimed both at protecting the value of the children's income left from their families and at providing capital for merchants, local elites, and domestic producers.<sup>8</sup>

In this period, while the wealthy children in need of protection were on the agenda of the government more than ever, the Crimean War of 1853-56

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7 Tahsin Özcan, “Osmanlı Toplumunda Yetimlerin Himayesi ve Eytam Sandıkları,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, no. 14 (2006): 107.

8 Nazan Maksudyan, “Orphans, Cities, and the State: Vocational Orphanages (“İslahhanes”) and Reform in the Late Ottoman Urban Space,” *IJMES*, vol.43, no. 3 (August 2011): 498.

caused many destitute and orphaned refugee children to emerge. Midhat Pasha, who was one of the strong supporters of Ottomanism and appointed as the governor of Nis in 1861, opened the *Islahhanes* (Ottoman Vocational Orphanages) not only for these children but also for non-refugee children in need of protection in this region. Besides, even though Midhat Pasha was appointed as the governor of Tuna in 1864, he continued to open these institutions in Sofia and Ruse. At the end of the 1860s, the *islahhanes* were opened in the different provinces such as Sivas, Aleppo, Diyarbekir, Kastamonu, and Trabzon for needy boys. Furthermore, In 1872, the *islahhane* of Ruse was founded for girls. The reason for the opening of the *islahhanes* was not merely related to meeting needy children's basic needs such as shelter, food, and education. Rather, political, social, and economic reasons were effective in establishing these institutions and opening them in different provinces of the Ottoman state in a short time.

During the 1860s, when the *islahhanes* opened, not only orphaned and destitute but also begging, vagrant, and wandering children between 5 and 13 years old were settled in these institutions. In this way, as Maksudyan emphasized in her study, while the children were protected from the dangers on the streets, at the same time, it aimed at protection of the society and urban regions from "dangerous children," that can cause unrest and crime.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, in parallel with this new policy that aimed to ensure the security of the urban regions, it was decided that the children, who were sentenced to 1 year or more in prison and were deemed unsuitable to be sent to prisons, could be settled in the *islahhanes*.<sup>10</sup> It is unclear how many children who committed the crime were settled in the *islahhanes*. Besides, it is unknown whether the education that these children received in these institutions was the same as other children or not. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the *islahhanes* was being used as an education and disciplinary institution.

Another important objective of these institutions was to spread "Ottomanism," that aimed to strengthen "the idea of unity" between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects to prevent nationalist ideas to occur. Therefore, the

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9 Ibid., 497-498.

10 Bekir Koç, "Osmanlı Islahhanelerinin İşlevlerine İlişkin Bazı Görüşler," *Gaziantep Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, vol.6, no. 2 (2007): 45-46.

founder of the *islahhanes*, Midhat Pasha, decided that Muslim and non-Muslim children in need of protection were accepted to these institutions and were educated together. Furthermore, while each student would receive education in their language, religious education was given to them by teachers, who were a member of their communities.<sup>11</sup> In this context, many non-Muslim children, including Jews, Armenians, and Syriacs were placed in these institutions opening in both the Balkan regions and in the different provinces such as Izmir, Edirne, Baghdad, Diyarbekir, and Damascus. Thus, they lived and received an education with Muslim children under the same roof.<sup>12</sup>

The education that the children received in the *islahhanes* did not only consisted of basic education such as reading, writing, and arithmetic. In particular, these institutions aimed to develop skilled artisans from the children in order to develop the urban economy, local industries, and domestic production, which were threatened by imported goods. Thus, while the children received vocational education to have diverse professions such as tailoring, shoemaking, machinery, and carpentry, they continued to work in many different local industrial factories, small businesses, and also local printing presses during their education lives. In other words, they were both a laborer and a student.<sup>13</sup> These children, however, were also used as unskilled laborers for the economic needs of the province that should be met in a short time.<sup>14</sup>

To sum up, the *islahhanes* founded to achieve the social, political, and economic targets that were a part of the Tanzimat reforms. While the children were protected and disciplined in these institutions, the order and security of urban regions that gained importance with the centralization movements in this period aimed to ensure. Besides, through religiously mixed education, it was aimed to disseminate Ottomanist ideology in order to strengthen “the idea of unity” amongst Muslim and non-Muslim children. Although it is unknown to what extent Ottomanism spread amongst these children, mixed education provided in the *islahhanes* set an example for public schools that opened after this time. Moreover, the students were equipped with various

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11 Maksudyan, “Orphans, Cities, and the State,” 502.

12 Koç, 46-47.

13 Maksudyan, “Orphans, Cities, and the State,” 501.

14 Ibid.

professions through vocational education to contribute to the urban economy and local industry.

In the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), most of the *ıslahhanes* were converted into industrial schools and named as the *Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sanayi*. However, since the studies on the *ıslahhanes* are very limited, it is not fully clear what kinds of educational, economical, and administrative changes made on these institutions both in this period and in the Second Constitutional Era.<sup>15</sup>

The long-term solutions were created for the children in need of protection in the period between 1860 and 1870 through the educational and disciplinary institutions like the *ıslahhanes*. However, compared to the well-organized institutions opened by foreign and minority groups for the education of non-Muslim children, the institutions founded by the government or local authorities for Muslim children who needed protection was inadequate both in terms of education and physical structure. Thus, *Cemiyet-i Tedrisiye-i İslamiye*, of which leading Ottoman military officials were members, was founded in 1863 to support the education of poor and orphaned Muslim children. In this way, they also aimed to prevent Muslim children to be placed in the institutions of foreign groups. Many Muslim children began their education in a relatively modest building in Istanbul, Bayazıt. After about ten years later, the *Darüşşafakat'ül İslamiye* was officially opened in 1873, in Istanbul, Fatih, to give a quality education to orphaned Muslim girls and boys under the age of 13.<sup>16</sup>

### 2.1.1 *The Issue of Orphaned Armenian Children in the Late 1890s*

At the beginning of the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), numerous children became orphans, destitute, and needy because of the Russia-Ottoman War (1877-78), that led to economic, politic, social and humanitarian crises.

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15 For a study that emphasizes these changes by examining an example *ıslahhane* institution, see Sotirios Dimitriadis, "Visions of Ottomanism in Late Ottoman Education: The *ıslahhane* of Thessaloniki, 1874-1924," *Die Welt des Islams*, vol.56, no. 3 (November 2016): 415-437.

16 Nesimi Yazıcı, "Osmanlılarda Yetimlerin Korunması Üzerine Bazı Değerlendirmeler," *AÜİFD*, vol. XLVIII, no. 1 (2007): 43-44.

In a short time, many refugee children affected deeply by this war were placed in the educational and disciplinary institutions like the *islahhanes* in different provinces.<sup>17</sup>

In the 1880s, although the destructive effects of the war were felt in many different areas, Abdülhamid II launched a nationwide schooling program including all provinces and villages.<sup>18</sup> While a large number of primary schools (*ibtidai*), secondary schools (*rüşdiyye*) and high schools (*idâdi*) opened in the rural regions, industrial schools began to be used for the education of orphaned and destitute children. One of the main reasons for the opening and disseminating of government schools was to raise loyal and obedient children to Abdülhamid II. Besides, since Sunni-Islam was seen as one of the most important apparatuses to raise loyal and obedient children in parallel with Abdülhamid II's political approach, the curriculum of schools and contents of books were rearranged in accordance with this new Islamic education policy.<sup>19</sup> In particular, with the mid-1880s, religious and moral courses were added to the curriculums of schools, and also the implementation of Islamic religious rituals and practices, such as prayer, in schools were encouraged.<sup>20</sup>

In this period, while the beliefs and practices of Sunni-Islam were instilled in students in public schools, the government made important attempts to supervise and take control of the education activities of minorities and foreign groups in the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, missionary organizations of different countries, that spread all provinces after the second half of the nineteenth century, were considered as the harmful institutions disrupting the national identity amongst Ottoman citizens. For this reason, the government and local authorities tried to prevent not only Muslim children but also children of minority groups such as Armenians, Jews, and Rums from being them

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17 Maksudyan, "Orphans, Cities, and the State," 495-496.

18 Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), 37-38.

19 Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Eğitim ve Modernleşme," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, vol.6, no. 12 (2008): 42-44.

20 *Ibid.*, 45-50.

settled in missionary schools. In this sense, the government competed with missionaries to be more active in the realm of education.

At the late 1890s, many Armenian children, who became orphans due to the massacres committed in the period 1894-1896 towards Armenian population who lived in the different provinces of Eastern Anatolia, became the subject of this competition between the government and missionaries. As Maksudyan has emphasized, the main motivation behind this competition was related to the conversion (*ihtidâ*) of the Armenian children.<sup>21</sup>

With the massacres of 1894-1896, which many Armenians lost their lives, Protestant and Catholic missionaries took important steps for in caring of thousands of Armenian children in order to convert them into Protestantism or Catholicism.<sup>22</sup> In particular, in comparison to Catholic missions, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) was much more effective in this process thanks to its different economic sources and its developed organizational structure. Thus, in a short time, tens of Protestant orphanages were founded for “the save and protection” of thousands of orphaned Armenian children.<sup>23</sup>

While the missionaries’ activities towards the Armenian children increased their influences in the days following the massacres, Abdülhamid II and the administrators in the Sublime Porte immediately put “the issue” of numerous orphaned Armenian children on its agenda. As Selim Deringil, who made studies related to the political history of the late Ottoman Empire, has highlighted, the main objective of them was to ensure that the ethnic and religious identities of both Muslim children and orphaned Armenian children remained the same.<sup>24</sup> In other words, as Deringil has pointed out, they aimed to prevent the conversion of these children into Protestantism and other foreign religious beliefs. Moreover, during this period, not only the government

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21 Nazan Maksudyan, “Üç kuşak üç katliam: 1894’ten 1915’e Ermeni çocuklar ve yetimler,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 132 (April 2015): 37.

22 Ibid., 36.

23 Ibid.

24 Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1999), 92.

and local authorities but also the Gregorian and Catholic Armenian Patriarchs tried to prevent the Armenian children from settling in missionary schools in order to protect their language, religion, and culture. To do this, they opened many orphanages in different provinces of Eastern Anatolia, and also, charity institutions and wealthy Armenians contributed directly to the efforts in the care of orphaned Armenian children.<sup>25</sup>

The government, on the other hand, could not take significant action to prevent the activities of missionaries due to the foreign countries' pressures. For this reason, it sought to find ways to be more active in the protection of Armenian children. In 1897, a commission was set up related to this subject, and Greek Orthodox and Armenians included in this commission, along with Muslim officials sent from the *Şeyhülislam's* office, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Interior.<sup>26</sup> Although the functioning and activities of this commission are uncertain, the establishment of this multireligious and multilingual commission was one of the important examples that showed to what extent the government gave importance to orphaned children. During this period, the government both provided financial aid to Ottoman Armenians and sent basic food products to the Armenian children.<sup>27</sup> At the same time, local authorities were asked to help Armenians that wanted to open an orphanage.<sup>28</sup>

Despite these attempts and financial aids, missionaries continued to place thousands of orphaned Armenian children in their orphanages and schools, and in these institutions, in addition to basic knowledge and vocational courses, the children received a religious education, which teaches ways to become "a true Christian."<sup>29</sup> For this reason, the government started a more comprehensive initiative in 1899 to decrease "the harmful activities of missionaries." This initiative was to open state orphanages in different provinces. The Ottoman administrators desired that all children would be registered in

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25 Nazan Maksudyan, "Being Saved to Serve:" Armenian Orphans of 1894-1896 and Interested Relief in Missionary Orphanages," *Turcica*, no. 42 (2010): 53.

26 Deringil, 92.

27 Özşavlı, 59-62.

28 Ibid., 69-70.

29 Nazan Maksudyan, "Being Saved to Serve," 65-66.



orphanages, irrespective of their religions and languages, and curriculums of the orphanages would be organized so that each child would protect their religion.<sup>30</sup> In this aspect, these new state orphanages were going to have similar features with the *islahhanes* founded by Midhat Pasha in 1863 to instill Ottomanist feelings amongst children.

The project of state orphanages, however, finished before it started due to the lack of financial resources. For this reason, as Nadir Özbek has emphasized in his study examining the political aspect of social state practices during the reign of Abdülhamid II, a modest orphanage project, *Darülhayr-ı Âli*, began to be built in Istanbul in 1899 by emphasizing “the protective role of Abdülhamid II on needy children like many of his other initiatives making for poor people.”<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, in the same year, the Orphanage Regulation (*Darüleytam Nizamnamesi*) was published.<sup>32</sup> The orphaned Armenian children, however, were not placed in *Darülhayr-ı Âli*, and in 1903, the orphanage opened officially for Muslim orphans and vagrant children on the streets.<sup>33</sup>

Although it is unclear why Armenian children were not settled in the orphanage, it can be argued that in addition to financial problems, organizational and communication deficiencies between the center and local authorities may have been affected this decision. The education period of *Darülhayr-ı Âli* was determined as seven years with one-year preparation education. Furthermore, in this institution, many different vocational courses such as shoe-making, tailoring, gardening, forging, and carpentry in the fourth and fifth classes were decided to be taught to children to help them have a profession.<sup>34</sup> However, it is unclear to what extent these lessons were successful in teaching the children. Besides, the history of this institution was short-lived, and soon after the dethronement of Abdülhamid II, on 14 September 1909, *Darülhayr-ı*

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30 Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet (1876-1914)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016), 241.

31 Ibid., 242-246.

32 *Düstur, Tertib-i Evvel*, vol. 7, (Ankara: Başvekâlet Devlet Matbaası, 1941), 263-275.

33 Özbek, 237.

34 Nadir Özbek, “II. Abdülhamid ve Kimsesiz Çocuklar: Darülhayr-ı Âli,” *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 182 (February 1999): 16.

*Âli* was closed with about three hundred children who were placed in this institution.<sup>35</sup>

At the beginning of the 1900s, different institutional initiatives, that were similar to *Darülhayr-ı Âli*, were made. For instance, in Mamüret-ül-Aziz, a secondary school (*rüşdiyye mektebi*) was opened for Muslim and Armenian children to receive education together and to reinstall “Ottomanist ideas” that negatively affected due to the massacres of 1894-1896.<sup>36</sup> This attempt, however, was unsuccessful like *Darülhayr-ı Âli*. After about thirteen years later, while the massacres towards Armenians performed in Adana in 1909, orphaned Armenian children once again became the main subject of the competition that emerged amongst different groups.

## § 2.2 The Adana massacres of 1909 and Orphaned Armenian Children

Toward the end of the reign of Abdülhamid II, most of the Armenians were in despair about their future because of the massacres in the 1890s in the eastern provinces. At the beginning of the 1900s, this condition began to change, due to the strengthening of the Committee of Union and Progress that many Ottoman Armenians supported. In particular, in July 1908, with the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Era that caused the power of Abdulhamid II to weaken on a large scale, many Armenians became relatively comfortable in terms of their social, economic, and political conditions. Conservative groups, however, did not welcome the decrease in the effectiveness of Abdülhamid II and in a short time, showed their reactions to the policies of the new constitutional regime by using violence. These counter-revolutionary groups who defended the monarchical regime of the Hamidian era launched a military revolt on 13 April 1909 in Istanbul, known as the Incident of March 31<sup>st</sup>.

35 Hikmet Zeki Kapıcı, “Osmanlı Eğitim Sisteminde Disiplin: Darülhayr-ı Âli Örneği,” *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi / The Journal of International Social Research*, vol.6, no. 28 (Fall 2013): 170.

36 Selçuk Akşin Somel, “Osmanlı Ermenilerinde Kültür Modernleşmesi, Cemaat Okulları ve Abdülhamid Rejimi,” *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no. 5 (Spring 2007): 90.

In addition to Istanbul, the day after the military revolt, series of massacres directed against Armenians' lives, properties, workplaces, and churches occurred in Adana and surrounding regions. Historiography on this incident largely agrees that the anti-Hamidian political preferences of the Armenians caused the Adana massacres to take place, and the Adana massacres were an extension of the Incident of March 31st in Istanbul. Although this interpretation is not entirely wrong, it is not enough to explain the reasons for the Adana massacres.

In the last fifteen years, many researchers have shown that the population, religion, social and cultural life, and economic conditions in Adana had a crucial effect on the emergence of the Adana massacres of 1909. As Meltem Toksöz, who comprehensively deals with this issue in her studies, has emphasized, local dynamics and developments led to the building up of tensions in the region.<sup>37</sup> One of the prominent dynamics was the Armenians' economic welfare. Although the massacres of 1894-1896 caused catastrophic social, humanitarian, and economic results to occur for Armenians in the eastern provinces, these series of killings did not affect the Armenians in the Adana region. Thus, many Armenians who had a large number of fertile farmlands from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century increased their incomes and capital accumulation thanks to the increase in the agricultural trade of Adana. However, the Muslim population's economic condition was not as good as Armenians' ones. Furthermore, because the Armenian landholders began to use agricultural machinery, many Turkish craftsmen lost their jobs.

In addition to these, the growing Armenian population amongst the Muslims was one of the key factors that caused the conservative groups to discomfort. As the welfare of Armenians in the Adana region increased, many Armenians emigrated from different regions to Adana at the beginning of the twentieth century in order to have relatively a better life. In 1906, while the

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37 Meltem Toksöz, "Çukurova'da Sosyo-Ekonomik Dönüşüm ve 1909 Adana Olayları," in *1915: Siyaset, Tehcir, Soykırım*, ed. Fikret Adanır and Oktay Özel (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2015), 243-244.

Armenians made up 10% of the population in Adana, in 1909, they consisted of 12% or 15% of the province's population, approximately 60.000.<sup>38</sup>

Besides these various local dynamics, after the declaration of the Second Constitution in July 1908, many Armenians in Adana began to show their religious beliefs and cultural values freely on the streets, and as well as they expressed their political ideas and expectations. Thus, as Bedross Der Matossian has pointed out in his work that largely makes main points covered by Toksöz while giving some additional detail, many conservative Muslims became more skeptical and intolerant towards the Armenians.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, before the massacres in April, some attacks were directed against Armenians in the different areas of Adana.<sup>40</sup> To sum up, when all the reasons shown above are taken into consideration, the Incident of March 31st was a vehicle that enabled "the fire" to be ignited in Adana.

On April 14th, 1909, with the slogan "Long Live My Sultan" from the side of the government building at five o'clock, the attacks started toward the Seyhan region, where the Armenians were densely populated. Thursday, April 15, the massacres spread to the different areas of Adana. The Armenians living in the villages of Misis, Abdoğlu, Şeyh Murad, İncirlik, and Osmaniye became the primary target of crowds who carried out the massacres.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, the killing, looting, and seizing land took place in Tarsus and Kozan. In ongoing killings for three days, most of the officials in Adana did not take any measures to hinder the massacres. Moreover, in some places, they supported the perpetrators of the massacres directly or indirectly ways. In the result of these massacres, in addition to a few hundred Greeks and Syriac Christians, thousands of Armenians were killed.

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38 Meltem Toksöz, "Adana Ermenileri ve 1909 "İğtişası"," *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no. 5 (Spring 2007): 148.

39 Bedross Der Matossian, "From Bloodless Revolution to Bloody Counterrevolution: The Adana Massacres of 1909," *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, vol.6, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 156-159.

40 Garabet Çalyan, "Adana Vakası ve Mesulleri," in *1909 Adana Katliamı: Üç Rapor*, ed. and trans. Ari Şekeryan (İstanbul: Aras Yayınları, 2015), 34-41.

41 *Ibid.*, 56-57.

In the period between April 16 and April 23, although the violence directed against Armenians was continuing in some rural regions, the Adana region became relatively calm due to the fact that the European countries showed a military reaction by settling their warships into the port of Mersin. However, the second massacre, which lasted three days, occurred on April 24th. As people who witnessed the events pointed out, the arrival of the Ottoman troops, which were sent to the region to restore the order, played an important role in the increase in the violence because they moved together with the groups that performed the massacres.<sup>42</sup>

In the Adana massacres of 1909, it is not precisely known how many people were killed. One of the main reasons for this uncertainty is that before the starting of the events in the Adana region, the Armenian population increased to a large extent. Many Armenian agricultural laborers estimated twenty to thirty thousand came to Adana to make the soil ready for the production of cotton and barley in April. Furthermore, many Armenians who lived in different provinces came back to their villages to celebrate Easter.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, considering the reports of Hagop Babikian, one of the members of the investigation committee established for the Adana massacres, along with the Armenian agricultural laborers, at least 20,000 Armenians lost their lives.<sup>44</sup> In addition to this dramatic decreasing in the Armenian population, many Armenians' farms and fertile farmlands in Adana and its surrounding areas were seized by people who joined the massacres, and people who seized the Armenian farmlands and properties increased their incomes to a great extent after this time.

Many Armenian children who lost their parents were amongst the victims of the Adana massacres of 1909. Although it is not easy to determine certain numbers, as Maksudyan stressed, over 7,000 children who lived in the different regions of Adana such as Dört Yol, Tarsus, Kozan, and Hacın (Saimbeyli) became orphans.<sup>45</sup> These children were being seen as a crucial human resource

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42 Ibid., 60-61.

43 Toksöz, "Adana Ermenileri ve 1909 'İğtişaşı'", 148-149.

44 Çalyan, 112-114.

45 Maksudyan, "New 'Rules of Conduct' for State," 139.

that could be raised with different cultural, social, and religious values. Therefore, in a short time, many orphaned, destitute, and homeless Armenian children became an important issue that must be solved. Although this issue has not been examined except for a few studies, the solution to this problem triggered a field of competition between missionaries and the local authorities to be more active in protecting the children.

### 2.2.1 *The Competition for “the Protection” of Orphaned Armenian Children*

In this period, similar to the state’s policies for missionary organizations in the reign of Abdülhamid II, many assistance and educational initiatives performed by missionaries were considered as a harmful activity that aimed to teach their cultural, social, and religious beliefs and values to non-Muslim Ottoman children, mainly Ottoman Armenians. However, the local authorities had neither political nor economic power to hinder missionaries’ activities. Therefore, they sought to find ways of bringing the orphans under their control, as possible as they could. For example, in cooperation with the Armenian Patriarch, due to news from the Adana region to the Ministry of Interior, which reported some homeless and lonely Armenian children were being sold, it was decided that the children would be found and placed under the government protection.<sup>46</sup> In addition to this, while the government placed some Armenian widows and orphans to the different houses in Halep via the local authorities, some amount of money was allocated from the budget for them.<sup>47</sup> More importantly, in July, it was decided to establish a state orphanage on the Adana Aid Commission, that was established by the government for the people in need of social and economic aids.<sup>48</sup> However, in addition to financial problems, since the state’s relief activities toward the Armenian children, as a general problem, mostly depended on the local officials’ willingness to put them into practice, this plan could not be implemented.

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46 BOA, DH.MKT., 2813/65, 25.04.1327, May 16, 1909.

47 Özşavlı, 132.

48 Ahmet Uçar, Kemal Erkan, and Selman Soydemir, *Adana İtidal Gazetesi: (5 Eylül 1908 – 31 Temmuz 1909)*, vol.2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 915.

In contrast to the insufficient and irregular attempts of the state, the assistance organizations of missionaries of different countries were more organized and effective. In the period after April 1909, while the missionaries settled some of the orphaned Armenian girls in the Girls' School of Mission in Tarsus and Hacın,<sup>49</sup> they sent many Armenian children to their schools and orphanages in different provinces such as Antep, Izmir, Maraş, and Beirut. Besides, some non-Muslim volunteers who came to Adana from nearby regions to attend the relief activities also played an important role both in saving many Armenians' lives and being settled many orphans to the Protestant schools in the provinces close to Adana.<sup>50</sup>

In addition to the government's attempts and missionaries' assistance organizations, although these parentless children's futures became a competition arena between them, it can be said that the Armenian Patriarch was the most primary institution to undertake the responsibility for the Armenian children thanks to its community identity. The days after the massacres, the Armenian Patriarch wanted to preserve the orphans' Armenian languages, and religions, because many Armenian children had lost their community identities in missionaries' schools after the massacres of 1894-96. Thus, the Patriarch tried to prevent Armenian children from being placed in missionary schools and orphanages.<sup>51</sup> For this reason, it strove to get information about the location of the Armenian children via some volunteers such as nurses and doctors who worked in the region, and at the same time, it attempted to learn their names and ages. More importantly, both to carry out this process more effectively, and to establish an Armenian orphanage for the children, the Ar-

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49 Helen Davenport Gibbons, *The Red Rugs of Tarsus: A Woman's Record of the Armenian Massacre of 1909* (New York: The Century Company, 1917), 39-40.; for the Turkish translation of this book, see: *Tarsus'un Kırmızı Kilimleri Bir Kadının 1909 Ermeni Katliamı Tanıklığı*, trans. Atilla Tuygan (İstanbul: Pencere Yayınları, 2009).

50 Fred D. Shepard, "Personal Experience in Turkish Massacres and Relief Work," *The Journal of Race Development*, vol.1, no. 3 (January 1911): 333.

51 Maksudyan, "New 'Rules of Conduct' for State," 142.

menian Patriarch Orphanage Committee was established, and one of the leading Armenian women writers, Zabel Yesayan,<sup>52</sup> was appointed as the committee director.

The committee members arrived in June and began work in Mersin, instead of the center of Adana because many Armenian children were sent to Armenian schools and churches in there. With the works of the committee, many children were placed in existing Armenian orphanages and asylums until new orphanages began to be built up in August in the different areas of Adana.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, some Armenian children were sent to Istanbul to meet their needs. In addition to these, the committee members continued to strive to assemble more information about the location and identity of the Armenian children.

While the committee was working in Mersin, many Armenian women who lost their husbands went there from the different places of Adana to deliver their children to the committee. As Yesayan emphasized, their primary motivations were to protect their children's Armenian identity, and they did not thus want to give their children to foreign institutions.<sup>54</sup> Yesayan was also embracing this idea. For example, in addition to a large amount of money, the British Consul and some foreign officials in Adana offered her to establish an inter-

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52 Zabel Yesayan (February 4, 1878 – Unknown, 1943). Women's rightist, novelist, editor, antiwar. When she obtained higher education in Paris, she published her first short stories. She returned to İstanbul in September 1908. After the Adana massacres of 1909, she was appointed as the director of the Armenian Orphanage Commission, which was established for the Armenian children. During her duty, she made great efforts to meet the Armenian orphans' basic needs such as food, sheltering, and education. In 1911, when she returned in İstanbul, she published *Averagnerun Mech (Yıkıntılar Arasında)* in Armenian. In her book, through her witnesses and experiences, she demonstrated the catastrophic consequences of the Adana massacres on the social, cultural, and daily lives of the Armenians. From 1915 until her death, she published novels emphasizing social injustice, economic and politic competition, and the issue of women's right.

53 Maksudyan, "New 'Rules of Conduct' for State," 139.

54 Zabel Yesayan, *Yıkıntılar Arasında*, trans. Kayuş Çalikman Gavrilof (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2014), 61-62.



national orphanage for the Armenian orphans. However, Yesayan did not accept these generous offers since she wanted the children to be educated in Armenian institutions.<sup>55</sup>

To realize this aim, however, was not easy because there were too many orphaned and destitute Armenian children, and the financial and social instruments of Armenians were insufficient to meet their needs. In addition to these, Yesayan also accused of the Patriarch for its insufficient interest in the protection of the Armenian children. Yesayan stated that the Patriarch did not timely reply to the requests regarding assistance for the children, and it did not make a decision a long time where to build the orphanages.<sup>56</sup> From April 1909 until the end of 1909, many Ottoman Armenians who lived in different provinces of the Ottoman Empire tried to support the people who lived in Adana. During this period, many help campaigns were organized, and many associations in different provinces such as Sivas and Erzurum worked for giving financial support to the survivors of the massacres and the Armenian orphans.<sup>57</sup>

To sum up, until the appointment of Cemal Bey as the governor of Adana in August 1909, the local authorities and missionary groups were racing to take responsibility for the children. In this racing, the activities of missionaries were more effective and coordinated, as opposed to the irregular and temporary aid attempts of the state. In the shadow of this competition, the Armenians were trying to protect their children's community identity by settling them in their schools and orphanages, as possible as they could. However, they were not fully successful due to economic, social, and administrative problems.

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55 Ibid., 260-261.

56 Ibid., 264.

57 Ohannes Kılıçdağı, "Socio-Political Reflections and Expectations of the Ottoman Armenians after 1908 Revolution: Between Hope and Despair" (PhD diss., Boğaziçi University, 2014), 40-41.



## The Ottoman Orphanage in Adana

The founding of the institutions for orphaned and needy children in the Ottoman Empire occurred first in the Tanzimat Period. In this period, because the education provided and regulated by the government was seen as one of the vital elements to strengthen military power, to achieve economic development, and to instill Ottomanism amongst children, the government began to take a more active role for the children's education. In parallel with the centralization movements in the realm of education, orphaned and destitute children were tried to be included in the education provided by the government or local authorities to achieve these aims mentioned above. Thus, the opening of educational and disciplinary institutions for the children in need of protection was related to political, social, economic, and ideological aims rather than being the concrete examples of "the compassionate role of the state" for these children. In this sense, just like orphaned children, these institutions were a significant part of the historical processes and events.

The *islahhanes* (Ottoman Vocational Orphanages) founded by Midhat Pasha in 1863 for orphaned Muslim and non-Muslim children were amongst the first examples of these institutions, as examined in the second chapter. Through these institutions, which began to be opened in many provinces at the end of the 1860s, it was aimed to spread Ottomanist feelings amongst children in order to prevent any separatist and nationalist ideas amongst non-Muslim children to occur. Besides, it was aimed to protect the public order by

placing begging and vagrant children in these institutions. Moreover, the children placed in the *islahhanes* received vocational training and worked in small workshops and local industrial institutions to contribute to the local economy and domestic production.

Throughout the 1870s, the *islahhanes* provided education to many Muslim and non-Muslim children and met their basic needs such as sheltering and food. Their educational services and capacities to meet the needs of the children, on the other hand, were insufficient in comparison with the well-organized educational institutions of foreign and minority groups opened for non-Muslim children. Furthermore, although the *islahhanes* were founded in different provinces such as Izmir, Diyarbakir, and Istanbul, there were especially lots of needy Muslim children who could not receive a good education and to meet their basic needs. For this reason, in order to provide a quality education to these children and more importantly to prevent them to be settled in the institutions of foreign and minority groups, it was started to take institutional steps. Thus, *Darüşşafakat'ül İslamiye*, which foundations were laid by *Cemiyet-i Tedrisiye-i İslamiye* in 1863, was opened to orphaned Muslim girls and boys in 1873 in Fatih, Istanbul.

In the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), missionary institutions were seen as “harmful institutions,” which aimed to weaken and disrupt the loyalty of Muslim and non-Muslim children to the state and to convert them into their religious beliefs. Therefore, the government and local authorities aimed to prevent both Muslim and non-Muslim children from being them settled in missionary schools, and they thus competed with missionaries to be more active in the realm of education. While tens of thousands of Armenian children orphaned due to the massacres of 1894-1896 became the main subject of this competition at the end of the 1890s, the issue of the conversion (*ihtidâ*) of orphaned Armenian children was in the center of this competition.

During this period, Abdülhamid II took action to produce more comprehensive and permanent solutions against the activities of missionaries, and thus, the state orphanages for the education of Muslim and non-Muslim children were aimed to be opened in different provinces. This orphanage project, which provided religiously mixed education, finished before starting due to

financial problems. Therefore, in 1899, this project turned into a modest orphanage project, called *Darülhayr-ı Âli* in Istanbul. Although *Darülhayr-ı Âli* was founded for the education of orphaned Armenian children, when it was opened in 1903, orphaned Muslim children were placed in it, instead of the Armenian children. Furthermore, considering the literature about orphaned children in the reign of Abdülhamid II, these kinds of institutional attempts making towards orphaned Armenian children were unsuccessful like *Darülhayr-ı Âli*.

After about thirteen years later, while thousands of Armenian children became orphans due to the Adana massacres of 1909 in April, they became once again the subject of the competition between government and missionaries. In the following days after April, it was aimed to prevent orphaned Armenian children from settling in missionary schools and orphanages. Thus, the government provided financial support to Ottoman Armenians and made cooperated with them to find and protect the Armenian children. More importantly, the idea of establishing a state orphanage for the orphaned Armenian children continued in this period. However, although a state orphanage was decided to be opened in July on the Adana Aid Commission, this initiative was unsuccessful.

In the summer of 1909, while the relief activities and institutional attempts for the orphaned Armenian children continued, the administrators of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) tried to repair their political approaches damaged because of the Adana massacres. In particular, the massacres towards the Armenian population in April proved the weakness of the new constitutional regime and created a negative image on the Ottomanist ideas of the CUP, which intended to gather all Ottoman subjects as equal citizenship within the new constitutional order.<sup>1</sup> In this context, the administrators of the CUP began to dismiss some leading officials in Adana. Babanzade Mustafa Zihni, who had been appointed as the governor of Adana after the massacres, was dismissed because he had not sufficient administrative capac-

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1 Zürcher, 154.

ity to meet the Armenians' economic, social, and humanitarian needs and expectations.<sup>2</sup> Instead of him, Cemal Bey,<sup>3</sup> the strong supporter of the Ottomanist ideas, was appointed as the governor of Adana on August 1.<sup>4</sup>

Cemal Bey arrived in Adana on August 19. Thanks to his reputation as a reliable and hardworking Ottoman official, many people welcomed the arrival of him.<sup>5</sup> In a short time, Cemal Bey began to realize his projects supported by different religious groups in Adana. He set up a relief committee composed of Muslims and Christians and a construction commission to rebuild the ruined houses, churches, and schools.<sup>6</sup> Besides, while he founded a health commission that supplied free health care, he also set up a new commission to help unemployment and homeless women in Adana.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to these relief activities targeting the needy groups, many Armenian children who suffered from the lack of their basic needs such as food, sheltering, and education due to the unorganized and temporal solutions were standing as a significant problem in front of Cemal Bey. He saw these orphaned children's future as a national issue by giving a reference for their Ottoman identity. He underlined that the assistance activities for the Armenian

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2 Çalyan, 19.

3 Ahmed Cemal Paşa (1872-1922). He graduated from the Military Academy in 1893 and was assigned to the construction section in Kırkkilise (Kırklareli) in 1896. In 1905, after he was appointed to the Salonika as the chief of staff, he became a member of the Ottoman Freedom Society, that was inspired by the CUP's ideas. Respectively, he served as the governor of Adana and Baghdad. With the beginning of World War I in 1914, he was appointed both as the Fourth Army Commander and the governor of Syria. Today, Cemal Pasha's politic, cultural, economic, and social policies for the Armenian population deported in 1915 are discussed on the positive and negative aspects.

4 Nazan Maksudyan, "1909 Adana Olayları Ertesinde Cemal Bey'in Adana Valiliği ve Osmanlılık İdeali," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 176 (August 2008): 22.

5 Yücel Güçlü, *The Armenian Events of Adana in 1909: Cemal Paşa and Beyond* (Lanham, Maryland: Hamilton Books, 2018), 297.

6 Ibid., 305.

7 Nevzat Artuç, "1909 Adana Olayları Sonrasında Cemal Paşa'nın Tutumu ve Yaraları Sarma Çabaları," in *1909 Adana Olayları Makaleler/ The Adana Incidents of 1909 Revisited*, ed. Kemal Çiçek (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011), 277.

children were a sacred obligation for him.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, not only Cemal Bey but also the political authority began to show him as “the guardian of the children” by emphasizing on his official duty.<sup>9</sup>

Cemal Bey sought a permanent solution instead of provisional financial supports and aid activities for the protection of Armenian orphans. In this context, in parallel with the decision which had been made in July in the Adana Aid Commission related to the construction of an orphanage, he decided to set up a government orphanage for the Armenian orphans. Through this orphanage, he aimed to prevent many orphaned Armenian children from being placed in missionary institutions. More importantly, he wanted to make sure with the founding of this institution that these children would be raised with the national training and education (*tâlim ve terbiye*) and thus would be a loyal Ottoman citizen for the state. The name of this government orphanage was *Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî* (The Ottoman Orphanage).

In this chapter, political collaborations and struggles amongst different groups including the CUP and the Armenian Patriarch from 1909 to the end of 1913 will be examined through the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana. Thus, the political reasons behind the establishment of the orphanage and the impacts of these relationships on the administration of the orphanage will be analyzed. In this way, the historical role of the orphaned Armenian children who were placed in the orphanage will also be emphasized.

### § 3.1 The Road to the Opening of the Orphanage (1909-1911)

Cemal Bey, initially, established the Adana Orphanage Commission to conduct the orphanage project more effectively. Along with the Armenians and some officials, he included the missionaries to the committee since he wanted to benefit from their educational knowledge and skill.<sup>10</sup> The including of missionaries to the committee led a new cooperation realm to occur between missionaries and officials in the Second Constitutional Period. This was a new

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8 Yesayan, 266.

9 Maksudyan, “*New ‘Rules of Conduct’ for State,*” 151-152.

10 *Ibid.*, 146.

policy for not only the state but also missionaries concerning changing their ideas positively about the government institutions which were desired to be set up for Armenian children.<sup>11</sup>

Cemal Bey wanted Yesayan to her collaboration and to help with selecting the committee members. Rather than accept this more distinguished role of electing the committee members, as Yesayan declared, she preferred modestly to work as an ordinary member. One of the main reasons why Yesayan accepted to work in the committee was that the living conditions of many Armenian orphans gradually worsened due to the fact that the hot and muggy weather of Mersin caused many children to caught malaria. The other one was that the education of Armenian children had remained quite insufficient.<sup>12</sup>

With the establishment of the committee, Cemal Bey's state orphanage project called *Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî* spread to the Adana region. As Maksudyan highlighted, the name of the orphanage was a deliberate choice for emphasizing the new constitutional regime, in contrast to various education, health, and military institutions that had been entitled Abdülhamid II's name.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the name of the orphanage was demonstrating a changing political atmosphere between the two periods. At the same time, the construction of a state orphanage for Armenian children was a prominent example that showed the continuity of the Armenian children policies of the state.

After the announcement of a government-run orphanage project for the Armenian children, as Cemal Bey strikingly portrayed in his report, a crowd assembling in Adana Government Building declared their supports to the Ottoman Orphanage.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, while the Sublime Porte allowed Cemal Bey to establish the orphanage, it asked him to realize this orphanage project

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11 Ibid., 153.

12 Yesayan, 266.

13 Maksudyan, "New 'Rules of Conduct' for State," 144.

14 "... Akşam kalıpta iki yüz elli üç yüz kadar halk toplanmış idi. Hükümetin ahval ve vaziyet-i müşkülesini iki saat mütemadiyen anlattım ve emr-i tebligatım dairesinde hareket edeceklerine ve hatta Ermeni yetimleri için burada teşkili fikrinde bulunduğum bir büyük eytamanenin tesisi emrinde fedakârlıktan çekinmeyeceklerine ağlayarak yemin ettiler..." BOA, DH.MKT., 2914/1, 12.08.1327, August 29, 1909.; Özşavlı, 141.



as soon as possible.<sup>15</sup> Although humanitarian concerns were highlighted, the reason for the government's strong interest in the orphanage was related to the political concerns. The CUP desired to create a positive image through the protection of the Armenian orphans in the eyes of Ottoman Armenians and international public opinion. Moreover, after about four years later, the Ministry of Interior strongly emphasized the political reason behind the establishment of the Ottoman Orphanage (see footnote 119).

On the other hand, as Yesayan pointed out, with the declaration of the orphanage project, many Armenian women, who had delivered their destitute and orphaned children to the Armenian Orphanage Committee after the Adana massacres, wanted to take back their children since they thought that their orphans were going to be sent to the Ottoman Orphanage, which they saw it an assimilation institution.<sup>16</sup> Yesayan succeeded in persuading them by announcing that the children in the Armenian orphanages would not be sent to the Ottoman Orphanage, and they would continue to stay at the orphanages under the control of the Patriarch.<sup>17</sup>

Before the Adana Orphanage Committee meetings were held, Cemal Bey outlined his orphanage plan to William Nesbitt Chambers, the head of American Mission and an important member of the orphanage committee. In this conversation, Cemal Bey pointed out that different racial and religious subjects were obstacles before the progress and enlightenment due to the fact that there were religious fanaticism, hatred, and hostility, which did not allow working together, among them. His solution for this issue was to assemble them under the umbrella of the Ottoman nationality.<sup>18</sup> By doing this, while he tried to include them to the central structure, he also attempted to create an area of activity in which the religious practices of non-Muslim subjects were

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15 "Hadise-i zailedde yetim kalan çocukların talim ve terbiyeleri için tesisine teşebbüs olduğu dahiliye nezaretine vaki' olan iş'arınızdan isbat edilen darüleytamın bir saat evvel vücuda getirilmesi himmet-i müessirinizden muntazırdır." BOA, BEO., 3630/272207, 17.08.1327, September 3, 1909.

16 Yesayan, 253-254.

17 Ibid., 254.

18 "An Ottoman Ideal," *The Missionary Herald*, vol.105, December 1909, 544-545.

not represented. In this regard, the Ottoman Orphanage was the primary target to realize his ideas:

In the matter of orphans, an awful calamity has left hundreds of widows and orphans homeless and helpless. These orphans have lost their natural protectors and the state is responsible for them and must perform its duty in feeding, clothing, and educating them... The orphanage must be established by the government. The children must be received, not as the children of this or that community, but as Ottomans. Religious divisions must be eliminated; neither Moslem khoja (*hoca*) nor Christian priest can be admitted as such. The children may repair to their perspective places of worship and receive any religious instruction that may be thought necessary – the Moslem to the Mosque on Friday, and the Christian to the church on Sunday, but they must receive a high moral training at the orphanage.<sup>19</sup>

As seen in William Nesbitt Chambers's report, on the one hand, Cemal Bey described the vital role of the state for the protection of the Armenian orphans, on the other hand, he indirectly ignored the right of the Armenian community to take responsibility for the Armenian children. In addition to this, he was demonstrating the orphanage as "an exemplary interfaith project" through accepting Muslim and non-Muslim children to the orphanage. However, according to Cemal Bey's statements above, the Christian education that was one of the most significant community identities were hindered from being provided at the orphanage. Therefore, unlike different researchers who have seen this as a part of Cemal Bey's Ottomanist ideas,<sup>20</sup> as Hans-Lukas Kieser, a historian of the late Ottoman era and Turkey has highlighted, Cemal Bey was drawing up an education schedule under the government control through not

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19 Ibid.

20 Özşavlı, 140.; Mustafa Çabuk, "1875-1925 Yılları Arasında Adana, Antakya, Antep, Maraş ve Mersin Bölgelerinde Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri ve Ermeni Olayları" (PhD diss., Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam University, 2013), 103-104.; Selma Çetinkaya, "1915-1923 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Ermeni Yetimleri" (Master's thesis, Erciyes University, 2009), 52-53.

considering one of the crucial community identities.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, one of the main features of the “high moral training” was not to be provided the religious instruction. Therefore, the issue of religious education caused the Armenians’ fear of assimilation related to the orphanage to increase.

With the beginning of the meetings of Adana Orphanage Commission under Cemal Bey’s chairmanship, instead of the religious education, the official language of the orphanage led to the discussions between Yesayan and the officials in the committee. The officials wanted to set up the education schedule of the orphanage on Turkish instruction, by accepting Turkish as the official language of the orphanage. On the other hand, Yesayan insisted on the mother tongue education, the Armenian, in order to protect the orphans from the assimilation.<sup>22</sup> Due to this deep difference of opinion, the tension began to increase in the meetings. In particular, as Yesayan cited, the officials used the government funding that had been allocated for the orphans’ needs as a threat element, and they continued to underline the unorganized and bad conditions of Armenian orphanages against the Armenian members in the orphanage committee.<sup>23</sup> At the end of the third meeting, the discussions on the official language led the committee to break up. In this regard, along with the religious instruction, the issue of language became another factor, which caused Armenians’ assimilation and Turkification fears to increase about the Ottoman Orphanage. Related to Turkish, However, Cemal Bey apposes Turkification accusations in his memoirs.<sup>24</sup>

After the breaking up of the orphanage commission, Cemal Bey pursued his willingness to establish the orphanage. While he launched a nationwide

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21 Hans-Lukas Kieser, *İskalanmış Barış Doğu Vilayetleri’nde Misyonerlik, Etnik Kimlik ve Devlet 1839 – 1938* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), 405-406.

22 Yesayan, 267.

23 Ibid.: “... Gün gelecek yanıldığınızı anlayacaksınız. Osmanlı yetimhanesi kurulacak: Çünkü Ermeni yetimhaneleri uzun süreli ve makul bir teşkilata sahip olamayacaktır...”

24 Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, ed. Alpay Kabacalı (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006), 374.; “... Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun resmi dilinin Türkçe olmasını istemek, unsurları Türkleştirmek istemek midir? Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda mekteplerin hükümetin kontrolü altında bulunmasını ve bir örnek olmasını arzu etmek, sair unsurları Türk yapmak istemek midir? ...”

fundraising campaign, he also established an orphanage construction commission including different groups such as the director of the Ottoman Bank in Adana, French architect and engineer Charles Chartier, and Suphi Pasha, one of the leading notables.<sup>25</sup> In this commission, Cemal Bey appointed Mr. Chartier to draw the plans of the orphanage.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, he invited German Hülfsbund missionary Paula Schâfer in Maraş as the consultant because he wanted to benefit from the German education system, which prioritizes loyalty and hardworking for the state.<sup>27</sup>

Even though Cemal Bey wanted to build the Ottoman Orphanage as soon as possible, he had to wait due to financial difficulties. Therefore, until the orphanage construction was partially finished in August 1911, over four hundred orphaned Armenian children were placed in the different state orphanages named “Ottoman Orphanages” in Adana, Dört Yol, and Hacın.<sup>28</sup> While the administration of these orphanages was temporarily left to the American missionaries as a result of the intimate relations between Cemal Bey and missionaries, the provincial authorities took over the management of the orphanages in April 1910.<sup>29</sup>

Throughout November, Cemal Bey sought to find the resource for the construction of the orphanage. Therefore, he sent a written statement to the Porte for financial aid by highlighting the orphans’ Ottoman identity.<sup>30</sup> However,

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25 Özşavlı, 262.

26 Güçlü, 311.

27 Kieser, 406.

28 “... Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî nâmı tahtında eytamhaneler küşadına teşebbüs ederek...” BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.17, 16.10.1330, September 28, 1912. Within this Ottoman archival document, there are one hundred five documents dated from 1911 to 1915 related solely to the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana.

29 Maksudyan, 151.

30 Mehmed Asaf, 1909 *Adana Ermeni Olayları ve Anılarım*, ed. İsmail Parmaksızoğlu (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1986), 57; “... Ferda-yı felakette Osmanlı aguş-ı müşterekine birer vedia-yı mukaddese halinde bırakılmış olan anasız babasız çocuklar... hükümetin ahval veya ahali-yi mahalliyenin değil, bütün Osmanlılığın kucağına bırakılmış birer bergüzar-ı kıymettar oldukları ve Osmanlılık tarihte felaket-i ahirenin açtığı siyah sahifeyi ancak bunlar hakkında göstereceği şevkat... ile temizleyeceği cihetle bu mini mini Osmanlılar için...”

Mehmed Asaf Bey, who was the Mutasarrıf of Cebeli Bereket region,<sup>31</sup> in which many Armenians were killed in the Adana massacres of 1909, in his memoirs, opposes Cemal Bey's ideas about the children and his financial demand for the establishment of an orphanage. While he describes the Armenian orphans were untrustable for the state, he also argues that the establishment of an orphanage with the support of the state was entirely serving the purposes of Armenian armed gangs.<sup>32</sup> Asaf Bey's views about the Armenian orphans show that local authorities had different approaches to the government's policies for the orphaned Armenian children. In other words, there was no consensus related to this issue.

In response to Cemal Bey's request for financial aid, The Sublime Porte allocated the revenues of Gün Han, which was a workplace in the grand bazaar in Adana, to the orphanage.<sup>33</sup> As the Porte was creating financial resources for the orphanage, it also continued to stress the protective mission and generosity of the government related to the Armenian children.<sup>34</sup>

Thanks to Suphi Pasha's grant of six acres of land near the Seyhan river and Baghdad railway station in Adana,<sup>35</sup> the construction of the orphanage with sixty rooms for five hundred orphaned Armenian children of different ages started in December 1909. Two months later, with the decision of Meclis-i Vükelâ (Council of Ministers), 262,400 guruş (kurush) was allocated to the construction of the orphanage.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, as shown in the table below,

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- 31 Ferudun Ata, "Asaf Bey'e Göre Adana Olaylarının Çıkışında Ermenilerin Etkisi," in *1909 Adana Olayları Makaleler / The Adana Incidents of 1909 Revisited*, ed. Kemal Çiçek (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011), 254.
- 32 Asaf, 57-58.; "... (Yetişip komiteler ve devletin parası sayesinde harb-ı umumî ve İstiklal harbi zamanında yani bu iltifat tarihlerinden 10-15 sene sonra gene komitelerin emriyle vazifelerini bihakkın gene vatandaşları aleyhinde ifa etmekte gecikmemişler)... bu çare bir cesim eytamhane (Zaten Komitacıların maksadı da buydu) teşkil ederek olabilirdi..."
- 33 BOA, DH.MUİ., 43/1, 11.11.1327, November 23, 1909.; BOA, MV., 134/54, 19.11.1327, December 2, 1909.
- 34 "Bikes ve bivaye kalan evlad-ı vatanın tâlim ve terbiyelerine maksad-ı fütüvvetkârenesiyle tesis olunmakta bulunan iş bu Darülhayr mesarîfinin temini için..." BOA, BEO., 3676/275667, no.1, 24.11.1327, December 7, 1909.
- 35 BOA, BEO., 3676/275667, no.3, 24.11.1327, December 7, 1909.
- 36 BOA, MV., 136/64, 25.01.1328, February 6, 1910.

the Porte prepared the orphanage budget which consisted of an annual salary of the administrators, teachers, servants, and workers in the Ottoman Orphanage.

Table 3.1 The Ottoman Orphanage's budget for 1911<sup>37</sup>

	Annual Salary
Director	24.000 guruş
Assistant director and an accounting officer	14.400 guruş
Accounting officer with the duty of treasurer	6.000 guruş
Steward ( <i>Vekil-i Harç</i> )	6.000 guruş
Person in charge of the orphanage warehouse ( <i>Debboy memuru</i> )	4.800 guruş
Male and female teachers (8)	42.000 guruş
Servant women (8)	9.600 guruş
Doorman	1.800 guruş
Gardener	2.400 guruş
Assistant gardener	1.200 guruş
Cook	3.000 guruş
Assistant cooks (2)	2.400 guruş
Washerwomen (4)	4.800 guruş
The children ( <i>Etfâl</i> ) (500)	240.000 guruş
Total	362.400 guruş

As the table shows, in comparison to other orphanages in the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana was becoming one of the biggest and developed orphanages. Furthermore, as seen in the table, a certain amount of money was decided to be given to the children in order to help them to meet their needs on their own. Although it is unknown whether the money was given or not, this kind of financial support decided by the Porte was unique to neither the orphanage nor the Armenian children. The regulations of many educational institutions in the Ottoman state included similar articles on financial support for children.

37 BOA, BEO., 3702/277590, no.5, 02.02.1328, February 13, 1910. The same table that has been detailed with a monthly salary has also been used by Özşavlı, see “*Abdülhamid'den Cumhuriyet'e Ermeni Yetimleri*,” 144. However, there are a few mistakes in the prepared table. For example, the word cook (*aşçı*) has been written as a worker (*işçi*).

In this period, while the government financed the orphanage, it also continued to give support to the Armenian children and the Armenian charity institutions. For example, for the education of two orphaned Armenian children, 800 *lira* of income from a concert in Salonika was sent to Adana.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, to help the education costs of the orphaned Armenian children, the Sultan donated 50 *lira* to the show (*müsamere*) to be held on 3 March 1911 in Pera Palace Hotel in Istanbul organized by *Ermeni Maârif Perver Kadınlar Cemiyeti*, which carried out many projects for the education of poor and orphaned Muslim and non-Muslim girls.<sup>39</sup> In addition these, in response to the financial aid request of the Armenian Patriarch concerning approximately one thousand six hundred Armenian orphans and three thousand Armenian women who lost their husbands because of the Adana massacres of 1909,<sup>40</sup> the allocation of approximately 23,200 *lira*, that the Patriarch requested, was added to the 1911 budget.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, in a report sending from the Ministry of Interior to the Adana province, local authorities were also asked to assist the members of *Ermeni Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Umumiyesi*, that came to Adana Dörttyol from Kahire for the construction of an orphanage for orphaned Armenian children.<sup>42</sup>

Apart from these supports, in Mersin, in order to spread Ottomanist ideas amongst Armenian children and to prevent them from being placed in foreign institutions, local officials planned to construct a state school named *Mekteb-i Osmanî* (the School of Ottoman), where Armenian and Muslim children would be educated together.<sup>43</sup> However, it is unknown whether this school was

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38 BOA, DH.MUİ., 53/42, 13.01.1328, January 25, 1910.; Özşavlı, 135.

39 BOA, BEO., 3697/277265, 22.01.1328, February 3, 1910.

40 BOA, MV., 137/105, 23.02.1328, March 6, 1910.

41 BOA, MV., 144/5, 02.09.1328, September 7, 1910.; BOA, BEO., 3822/286630, 11.11.1328, December 14, 1910.

42 BOA, DH.MUİ., 99/41, 21.05.1328, May 31, 1910.

43 Ahmet Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, ed. Mehmet Çetin Börekçi, vol.1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999), 189.; Sena Şen, "Between brotherhood and hostility: Cultural encounters between Armenian and Turkish communities in the Ottoman Empire (1908-1914)" (Master's thesis, İstanbul Şehir University, 2016), 46.

established. Thus, these kinds of institutional initiatives planned by local officials for non-Muslim children need to be more studied.

After approximately one and a half years, towards the summer of 1911, the orphanage construction was partially completed. The orphanage with a rectangular building consisted of a basement and two floors that some parts of the second floor were arranged as terraces.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, while the arched columns were used in the inner courtyard, the walls of the orphanage were made of cut stone and the upper floors were made of brick.<sup>45</sup> Although there was an incompleated part of the orphanage, the architecture of its completed part was rather remarkable compared to other educational and official buildings in Adana. In this context, “the greatness of the orphanage” was a symbol of not only Cemal Bey’s personal efforts for orphaned Armenian children but also “the protective role and strong interest of the government” towards them until this time.

At this time, Cemal Bey was appointed as the governor of Baghdad in June 1911 to hinder the spread of Arab nationalism in the region.<sup>46</sup> Notwithstanding, he continued to make decisions about the issues related to the orphanage. One of the most significant examples of his making decisions about the orphanage was that he appointed Vahakn Datevian,<sup>47</sup> the leading members of the Dashnak Party (Dashnaktsutyun or The Armenian Revolutionary Federation), which was the most powerful Armenian party in the Chamber of Deputies, as the director of the Ottoman Orphanage, and the Ministry of the Interior approved of his appointment in July 1911.<sup>48</sup>

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44 Nur Umar, “19. yüzyılda Adana vilayetindeki kamu yapıları” (PhD diss., Yıldız Teknik University, 2017), 125.

45 Ibid., 126-129.

46 Özşavlı, 145.

47 Vahakn Datevian was born in 1875 in Sivas. While he became the defender of Dashnaktsutyun at his young age, he conducted propaganda and organizational works in America at the beginning of the twentieth century. He went to Adana in 1909. In 1911, he was appointed as the director of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana. Throughout his duty, he also continued to work for the party until he was arrested in 1915. The personal information about Vahakn Datevian is taken from Nazan Maksudyan’s study, see “New ‘Rules of Conduct’ for State,” 169.

48 DH, İD., 166/8, no.5, 25.07.1329, July 22, 1911.



There were two main reasons for the assignment of “Vahakn Efendi.”<sup>49</sup> First, he had a close relationship with the Unionist leaders. In particular, he had set up a good relationship with Cemal Bey in Istanbul before he came to Adana in 1909. Secondly, not only the CUP but also the Dashnaks believed that the appointment of an Armenian director to the Ottoman Orphanage could change some Armenians’ assimilation thoughts about the orphanage.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, while two groups benefited from this assignment, as Maksudyan emphasized, at the same time, it became one of the notable examples, which showed the close relationship between the CUP and Dashnaks in the field of education. In August 1911, five hundred orphaned Armenian children who had been settled in the different state orphanages were transferred to the Ottoman Orphanage.<sup>51</sup> Thus, the project to establish a big government orphanage for the Armenian orphans, which the first institutional initiatives were made during the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), was realized. Some Armenians, on the other hand, were carrying assimilation fear about the orphanage. One of them who felt this profoundly was Yesayan:

These orphans are handed into a Turkish orphanage to be able to live and receive an education. With what a contemptible resignation, almost the whole nation bends its head in front of this unspeakable affront and can we as Armenians, let our enemies so easily spit on our honor and take our orphans from us... The Ottoman orphanage of Cemal Bey stands with its four wings as a memorial, as an eternal monument of shame, on which this time, the dead body of the dignity of the Armenian nation is crucified.<sup>52</sup>

By describing the Ottoman Orphanage as a “Turkish orphanage,” Yesayan emphasized that the orphanage was a government institution aimed at assimilating Armenian children, and it thus was far away from being an Ottoman and

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49 In most of the Ottoman archival documents, Vahakn Datevian’s name is written as Vahakn Efendi. Therefore, this usage is preferred in this study.

50 Maksudyan, “*New ‘Rules of Conduct’ for State,*” 169.

51 Yesayan, 254.

52 Maksudyan, “*New ‘Rules of Conduct’ for State,*” 169.

an Armenian institution. In addition to Yesayan, there was someone else who agreed with her. French vice-consul defined also the orphanage as a Turkish institution.<sup>53</sup>

### § 3.2 The Regulation of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana (1911)

In June 1911, while Cemal Bey was the governor of Baghdad, he prepared the Regulation of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana (*Adana'da Müesseses Dârüley-tâm-ı Osmânî Nizamnâme-i Esasîsi*). This regulation which consisted of twenty-eight articles accounted for not only the administrative, fiscal, and structural features of the orphanage but also included some important decisions about the Armenian orphans at the orphanage.<sup>54</sup> Soon after, he sent the regulation (*nizamname*) to the Council of State for approval.<sup>55</sup> Although some articles such as the children's qualifications for being enrolled, the sources of income of the orphanage, and the duties of the orphanage committee were unchanged, at the end of its examination, the Council of State made significant changes to the regulation that Cemal Bey prepared. At this point, it is important to note that the researchers who have mentioned the regulation of the Ottoman Orphanage<sup>56</sup> have not noticed these changes that included many important issues like the official language of the orphanage.

One of the important changes that the Council of State made on Cemal Bey's regulation was related to the committee of the orphanage (*Encümen*). While Cemal Bey defined himself as the chairman of the committee of the orphanage as long as he lived, he also wanted regularly the decisions about the

53 Maksudyan, "Üç kuşak üç katliam," 42.

54 BOA, ŞD., 31/40, no.10-13, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

55 BOA, İ.MMS., 145/27, no.9, 27.07.1329, July 24, 1911.

56 For some examples, see Mustafa Ergün, *İkinci Meşrûtiyet Devrinde Eğitim Hareketleri (1908-1914)* (Ankara: Ocak Yayınları, 1996), 482.; Musa Ak, "II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nde Meslekî ve Teknik Eğitim Okulları 1908-1918" (Master's thesis, Pamukkale University, 2006), 107.; Maksudyan, "New 'Rules of Conduct' for State," 166-167.; Eken, 537-538.

orphanage to be sent him.<sup>57</sup> In this way, he wanted to keep the orphanage under his control and surveillance. However, the Council of State did not approve of this article, by stating that the chairman of the committee should be an official in Adana. Therefore, the Adana governor was put on the head of the committee, and the honorary chairman was given Cemal Bey due to his efforts for the establishment of the orphanage (Art. 13).<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, with the change of this article, it was decided to affiliate the orphanage with the Adana province, not the Ministry of Interior that Cemal Bey demanded.<sup>59</sup>

Another important subject that the Council of State emphasized was Turkish language education and how it was described. In the regulation prepared by Cemal Bey, in accord with the first orphanage regulation that had been declared on 5 July 1899,<sup>60</sup> the Ottoman Orphanage was divided into two different departments for boys and girls (*Zükûr ve İnâs şubelerine mahsus olmak üzere iki şubeye tefrik*) within the same building (Art. 5 and 9).<sup>61</sup> One of them was four years of primary school (*kısm-ı ibtidaî*), and the other one was two years of secondary school (*kısm-ı rüşdiyye*). For the primary school, Cemal Bey decided that the orphaned Armenian children should receive education in their mother tongue.<sup>62</sup> However, since he did not mention Turkish language education in this department, this decision was found incompatible with the educational policies of the CUP. From the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, many people who had Unionist and Ottomanist ideas saw Turkish as the most important apparatus to unite different elements in the Ottoman state.<sup>63</sup> In particular, as emphasized in the CUP's

57 BOA, ŞD., 31/40, no.11, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

58 BOA, İ.MMS., 145/27, no.7, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

59 "... Müessese-i mezkûrenin dahiliye nezaretine irtibatı ancak vilayet vasıtasıyla olabileceğinden... ve valinin reis-i sani olacağına dair fıkra tebdil edilmesine mebni... madde-i mezkûrenin ana göre tashihi..." BOA, İ.MMS., 145/27, no.8, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

60 Düstur, Tertib-i Evvel, vol. 7.

61 Maksudyan, "New 'Rules of Conduct' for State," 167.

62 "... Kısm-ı ibtidaîde tedrisat yetimin mensup olduğu anasır-ı mahsusı üzerinden icra kılınacaktır..." BOA, ŞD., 31/40, no.11, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

63 Masami Arai, *Jön Türk dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliği*, trans. Tansel Demirel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994), 24-36. It is important to note that during the nineteenth century, along with

party program in 1908, *ibtidaî* schools were rather important to achieve this aim.<sup>64</sup> In this sense, while the Council of State accepted the Armenian language as the language of education, teaching Turkish was also added to the curriculum of the *ibtidaî* department.<sup>65</sup>

For the *rüşdiyye* department, although Cemal Bey added Turkish to the curriculum, he used the word “Ottoman Language (*Osmanlı Lisanı*)” in his regulation.<sup>66</sup> Because the word Turkish was being seen as one of the crucial symbols of national identity in the Second Constitutional Period, the name of Ottoman Language was renamed as the Turkish language (*Osmanlı lisanı yerine Türkçe lisanın tahriri*).<sup>67</sup> The Council of State, however, did not change the article about the usage of Armenian in some grammar and literature courses (Art. 11).<sup>68</sup>

Cemal Bey appointed two teachers for the lessons of the *ibtidaî* and *rüşdiyye* departments.<sup>69</sup> The Council of State did not approve of this appointment, by arguing that the curriculum content of the departments was not complicated. Considering this assessment, the curriculum content was most likely covering basic courses such as Turkish and Armenian alphabet, writing, and arithmetic. Besides, the adding of lessons such as weaving, embroidery, and sewing to the curriculum for orphaned girls was rather likely. Thus, the

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the state schools, Turkish was being taught in minority schools. Furthermore, in the curriculum of many Armenian schools, the use of Turkish was rather significant, especially in lessons like math. For more detailed information, see M. Macit Kenanoğlu, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Gayrimüslimlerin Eğitimi Üzerine,” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, vol.6, no. 12 (2008): 185-189.

64 Ercan Uyanık, “II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi’nde Toplumsal Mühendislik Aracı Olarak Eğitim: İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyetinin Eğitim Politikaları (1908-1918),” *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, vol.3, no. 2 (2009): 73.

65 “... Kısm-ı ibtidaide tedrisat yetimin mensup olduğu anasır-ı mahsusu üzerinden icra kılınacaktır denmiş olduğu halde lisan-ı resmi hakkında bir şey denilmemiş olduğu... mamafih lisan-ı resmi dahi mecburi olduğundan bu dahi ayrıca icra edilecektir fıkrasının ilaveten derci...” BOA, İ.MMS., 145/27, no.7, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

66 BOA, ŞD., 31/40, no.11, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

67 BOA, İ.MMS., 145/27, no.7, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

68 Ibid.

69 BOA, ŞD., 31/40, no.10, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

male and female deputy directors were assigned both for the education of boys and girls and for arranging working and resting hours and preparing the syllabus (Art. 8).<sup>70</sup> In the regulation, there is no personal information about the assistant directors. However, if the Armenian identity of the director and the children in the orphanage are taken into account, it seems reasonable to assume that they were Armenian.

In addition to these administrative and educational amendments summarized above, one of the most significant amendments made by the Council of State was related to the decision Cemal Bey made on the orphaned children's futures in the orphanage. According to the 26th of his regulation, "a legal document (*sened*) is obtained from parents, who lives near and far away, that they will leave their children to the orphanage until they are 16. After that, the orphans are not delivered to their parents until reaching sixteen years old under no circumstances."<sup>71</sup> Moreover, when they reached the age of 16, even if the girls were allowed to be delivered to their parents or their community councils, the boys would be continued their education free of charge in either high schools (*İdâdî*) or industrial schools, based on their successes and abilities.<sup>72</sup>

It is important to note that there is no information regarding these decisions of Cemal Bey either in his conversations with missionaries or in his statements about the orphanage. Furthermore, as understood from Yesayan's memoirs, Cemal Bey did not mention this decision in the meetings of the Adana Orphanage Commission established for the Ottoman Orphanage. Therefore, the reasons for Cemal Bey's decision on the orphaned children placed in the orphanage are unclear. Nevertheless, it can be argued that this article in his regulation would cause controversies and would increase the Armenians' assimilation fears towards the orphanage. On the other hand, the

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70 BOA, İ.MMS., 145/27, no.7, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

71 "... çocukların karib ve baîd velilerinden çocuğu 16 yaşına kadar darüleytamda terk edeceğine dair bir sened alınır. Andan sonra hiçbir bahane ile çocuk velisine teslim olunmaz..." BOA, ŞD., 31/40, no.13, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

72 Ibid.: "... 16 yaşına ikmal eden çocuklar zükürdan iseler kendileri derece-i liyakatlarına göre ba-resmi mekâtib-i idâdiye veya sınaî mekteblerine meccanen kayd edilmek suretiyle himaye olunarak darüleytamdan ihraç olunur..."

Council of State removed this article, by stating that Cemal Bey's decision regarding the orphaned children was against "the common law rules."<sup>73</sup> Considering the emphasis on the law in the report of the Council of State, it seems reasonable to assume that this amendment was a result of the importance given to the constitution during this period.

In addition to this removed article, in Cemal Bey's regulation, "the obligation" about the enrollment of the orphaned boys to high schools and industrial schools with "free of charge" was changed on due to the fact that it was contrary to the general regulation of the Ministry of Education (Art. 23).<sup>74</sup>

### 3.2.1 *The Unchanged Articles of Cemal Bey's Regulation*

Apart from these crucial changes, the Council of State approved some important articles in the regulation prepared by Cemal Bey for the Ottoman Orphanage. Because they provide significant information about the orphanage, it is useful to analyze on three subjects concerning the terms for enrollment, the sources of income of the orphanage, and the duties of the committee of the orphanage.

The children between the ages of 5 and 10 who became orphans due to the Adana massacres were decided to be enrolled to the Ottoman Orphanage. Furthermore, in the case of an empty room in the orphanage, "non-Armenian Ottoman children" would also be accepted (Art. 21).<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, it was decided to carry out the health checkups of the accepted children before being placed in the orphanage.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, if there were any disabled children

73 "... Dârüleytâma teslim alınan çocukların hiçbir bahane ile velisine teslim edilmeyeceği gösterilmekte ise de bu kayd-ı ahkâm-ı umûmiyeye muhalif olduğundan iş bu fıkranın ih-racı..." BOA, İ.MMS., 145/27, no.7, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

74 "... On altı yaşına vasil olanlar velilerine teslim edilir. Darüleytam bunların mekâtibe mec-canen kaydına ve sâir işler yapmasına imkân dahilinde yardım eder..." BOA, İ.MMS., 145/27, no.8, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

75 BOA, İ.MMS., 145/27, no.3, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

76 Although it is not fully clear what kinds of implementations in relation to students' health checkups were carried out, the Ottoman archival documents related to the health checkup results of children may be used as a source of information for enriching various social, cul-tural, and gender studies. For a good example for the Second Constitutional Era, see BOA,

(*ma'lûl*) amongst them, they would be sent to the municipal hospital (Art. 22).<sup>77</sup>

Creating different financial sources in order for the orphanage to sustain its existence was another significant subject. According to the regulation, while the cash money donated by “generous people” would be transferred to the budget, the rental income of some properties that were bought with the decision of the orphanage committee would also be allocated to the orphanage.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, in addition to the state’s annual allocation, both the revenues of a concert and a ball (dance party) organized for the orphanage and the incomes of any legal activities like bicycle race would also be included the orphanage budget (Art. 17).<sup>79</sup> At this point, it is important to note that these financial sources determined by Cemal Bey for the orphanage were similar to the different creative initiatives for the financing of schools in the late Ottoman period.<sup>80</sup>

Thirdly, related to the members in the committee of the orphanage, although the Council of State made changes related to some members’ status, it approved of their membership. In addition to local officials and two Muslim notables, the assembly chairperson of the Adana Armenian episcopacy was in the committee. It is not clear whether the chairperson of the Armenian episcopacy himself applied for being a member of the committee or was invited by Cemal Bey. His presence in the committee, nevertheless, was an important

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MF.MKT., 1213/71, 13.03.1334, January 19, 1916.; Nazan Maksudyan, *Ottoman Children and Youth During World War I* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2019), 29.

77 BOA, İ.MMS., 145/27, no.3, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

80 From the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the Second Constitutional Period, many innovative activities such as the lottery, wrestling, horse racing, bicycle races, and publishing school newspapers were made for the financing of schools in the Ottoman state. For some examples, see BOA, DH.MKT., 1366/142, 22.12.1303, September 21, 1886.; BOA, DH.MKT., 1858/47, 07.01.1309, August 13, 1891.; BOA, ŞD., 2026/5, 02.12.1316, April 13, 1899.; BOA, DH.MKT., 2567/66, 28.08.1319, December 10, 1901.; BOA, DH.MKT., 1180/40, 29.03.1325, May 12, 1907.

factor supporting “the interfaith orphanage” project that Cemal Bey highlighted while establishing the orphanage. The orphanage administration’s activities, on the other hand, were under the control. According to the regulation, the orphanage director and assistant directors were obliged to submit comprehensive financial and education reports (Art. 16).<sup>81</sup> In particular, one of the main purposes for the education reports that should be submitted regularly regarding the orphanage was to ensure that the Armenian children were not given any negative ideas regarding the state and nation.

To sum up, Cemal Bey prepared the regulation for the orphanage in June 1911 and sent it the regulation to the Council of State shortly afterward. At the end of the examination of the regulation, the Council of State made many significant amendments, although some articles were unchanged. These amendments were reflecting some political, social, and educational concerns of the Second Constitutional Era. At the same time, they were showing the points that differed Cemal Bey, one of the leading Unionist figures, from other people who supported the CUP. In particular, the amendments made on the articles related to Turkish language education were an important example that showed these different approaches.

With the changed and unchanged articles on the regulation prepared by Cemal Bey for the Ottoman Orphanage, the Council of State approved of the regulation that consisted of twenty-four articles. At the end of November, it was approved by Meclis-i Vükela (the Council of Ministers).<sup>82</sup> On December 1, 1911, the regulation of the orphanage was published in the *Düstur* (Code of Laws).<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, on January 7, 1912, to make a nationwide announcement of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana, its regulation was published in *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the first official newspaper of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>84</sup>

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81 BOA, İ.MMS., 145/27, no.3, 13.09.1329, September 7, 1911.

82 BOA, MV., 226/23, 07.12.1329, November 29, 1911.; BOA, İ.MMS., 145/27, no.1, 07.12.1329, November 29, 1911.

83 *Düstur*, *Tertib-i Sani*, vol. 4, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1915), 15-19. For the Turkish translation of the Regulation of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana, see Appendix A.

84 “Adana’da Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî Nizamnâme-i Esasîsi,” *Takvim-i Vekayi*, no. 1017, 17.01.1330, January 7, 1912.



### § 3.3 The Discussions on the Orphanage Director (1912-1913)

In the time passing from August 1909 to the middle of 1912, not only the local officials but also the political authority showed interest in the Ottoman Orphanage more than any orphanages in the different provinces. During this period, the debates making in the Adana Orphanage Commission, the financial supports for the construction of the orphanage and preparing the regulation for the orphanage by Cemal Bey, and some significant changes made on it by the Council of State were some instances of this importance given on the orphanage. In addition to the government and the local officials, the Ottoman Orphanage was also on the Armenian institutions' agenda. In September 1912, the Armenian Patriarch sent a report to the Ministry of Justice and Sect (Adliye ve Mezâhib Nezâreti). According to this report, while the Patriarch wanted the administration of the orphanage to be brought under the control of the Patriarch, it requested the orphanage to be attached to the Armenian orphanages in the region, by claiming that there were only Armenian orphans at the orphanage.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, the Patriarch requested the orphanage director Vahakn Efendi to be dismissed due to the fact that as the Adana Armenian episcopacy and the Catholicos of Sis emphasized, he had not sufficient knowledge and skill to educate the orphans.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, although they did not mention amongst their complaints, as Vahakn Efendi pointed out in his letter that responded to the accusations, he was being charged with "pushing the children to apostasy and Turkification."<sup>87</sup>

When the causes behind these complaints are examined, one of the main reasons, that the existing literature has overlooked, was the political relationships between the Dashnaktsutyun, which the orphanage director Vahakn Efendi was a member, and the Armenian Patriarch. After the Adana massacres of 1909, the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party, which was another important Armenian party in the Chamber of Deputies, accused of the CUP related to

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85 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.17, 30.09.1330, September 12, 1912.

86 Ibid.

87 "... Hakiki Osmanlı talim ve terbiyesini sû-i te'eddi ederek: İstimâle-i reddiye sevk ediyorlar, Türkleştiriyorlar iftirasıyla ahaliyi teşvik..." BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.38, 16.10.1330, September 28, 1912.; Maksudyan, "New 'Rules of Conduct' for State," 168.

its responsibility for the emergence of the massacres. The Dashnak party, on the other hand, continued to maintain their cooperation and good relations with the CUP. Due to this support, the Dashnaks strengthened their political positions not only in the parliament but also in the rural regions. However, as some researchers have argued, the Armenian Patriarch assessed their increasing effectiveness as a threat to the Patriarch's leading position amongst Ottoman Armenians.<sup>88</sup> In this context, in the Adana region, in which the Dashnak party supporters gave great importance due to its financial and military geopolitical position,<sup>89</sup> one of the examples of this tension between them in the field of education emerged through the Dashnak director of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana.

In Vahakn Efendi's responses to the accusations of the Armenian religious institutions, that have been dealt with insufficiently in the relevant existing literature, this competition between them can also be seen. For example, he claimed that the main target of Adana Armenian episcopacy was to create trouble and unrest in society.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, he argued that although the state sent a lot of money for Armenian orphanages under the Armenian episcopacies' control for three years, the Armenian episcopacy did not spend the money on orphanages. Therefore, he asked the government to check the orphanages under the episcopacies' control regularly.<sup>91</sup>

Apart from these, in his letter that responded to the accusations, he evaluated missionaries' orphanages opening after the Adana massacres as the harmful institutions targeted to convert the Armenian orphans and attempted to "ruin" the Ottoman language and religion.<sup>92</sup> In contrast to his negative views on missionaries, Vahakn Efendi described Cemal Bey as a loyal and pa-

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88 Arsen Avagyan and Gaidz F. Minassian, *Ermeniler ve İttihat Terakki İşbirliğinden Çatışmaya*, trans. Mutlucan Şahan and Ludmilla Denisenko (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2005), 71-72.

89 Vahé Tachjian, "Adana Ermenileri: Milliyetçi İdeolojilerle Ters Düşen Farklı Bir Kimlik," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 191 (November 2009): 64-65.

90 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.37, 16.10.1330, September 28, 1912.

91 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.38, 16.10.1330, September 28, 1912.

92 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.37, 16.10.1330, September 28, 1912.

triot Ottoman. Besides, he appreciated his aid activities for orphaned Armenian children in Adana and her efforts to find the necessary financial resources for the construction of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana.<sup>93</sup>

Another significant reason for these complaints of the Armenian religious institutions, which have not been noticed by researchers, was related to Vahakn Efendi's violence against the Armenian orphans. Related to this issue, on October 26, in a telegram, signed by 12 Armenians presumably affiliated with the Central Administration for the orphans of Kilikya under the Armenian Patriarch's control (*Ermeni Patrikhanesi'ne merbut Kilikya eytamı idare-i merkeziyesi*), was sent to the Ministry of the Interior.<sup>94</sup> In their telegrams, similar to the Patriarch's accusations that mentioned before, they criticized Vahakn Efendi due to his Dashnak identity and his inadequate knowledge and skill.<sup>95</sup> More importantly, they claimed that the orphanage director Vahakn Efendi was beating the orphans, and he was punishing them mercilessly.<sup>96</sup> In another telegram sending from the Adana province to the Ministry of Interior, it was reported that approximately 30 children escaped from the orphanage because of Vahakn Efendi's violence, and two of them drowned, although no information about the age and gender of the children was mentioned.<sup>97</sup>

While the local authorities did not take action related to many complaints about the orphanage director until that time, the escaping of some children and the drowning of two of them happened a turning point for Vahakn Efendi's administration in the orphanage. The Ministry of the Interior decided him to be dismissed in December 1912, and the provincial director of education was temporarily appointed as the orphanage director.<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, due

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93 Ibid.

94 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.44, 15.11.1330, October 26, 1912.

95 Ibid.: "... Osmanlı eytamhanesinin tahsil-i ibtidaîden mahrum ve gabaveti ahlakiyesiyle mâ-ruf bulunan... ve Taşnakyan olmaktan başka bir meziyeti olmayan bu şahsın..."

96 Ibid.: "... Yetimleri darb ve ayırmakta gark ve serapa yatırmada oldukları meydanda iken bunun hala azl edilmediği..."

97 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.46, 24.11.1330, November 4, 1912.

98 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.48, 02.01.1331, December 12, 1912.

to the continuing cooperation between the Dashnaks and the CUP in the region, Vahakn Efendi was appointed to the Adana municipality as a civil servant.<sup>99</sup>

However, Adana Governor Hakkı Bey stated in his detailed report about the orphanage that Vahakn Efendi did not continue to his duty in the Adana municipality and resigned shortly afterward.<sup>100</sup> More importantly, the governor argued that Vahakn Efendi was a member of one of the two Armenian parties that constantly complained about each other and he did not know how to write in Turkish.<sup>101</sup> Therefore, in order to keep the orphanage away from the discussions and disagreements, he asked for the appointment of an impartial director who was neither a member of the Dashnak Party nor the Hunchakian Party. Moreover, he also asked Cemal Bey to appoint the orphanage director from his place of duty in Baghdad, by arguing that no suitable director could be found in Adana.<sup>102</sup> However, the governor's requests were not accepted, and at the end of March, Vahakn Efendi was re-appointed as the Ottoman Orphanage director since another appropriate official duty for him could not be found.<sup>103</sup>

Another important point in Hakkı Bey's report was the Armenian Patriarch's request to bring the orphanage under its control. Related to this issue, in parallel with the information given by Vahakn Efendi,<sup>104</sup> Hakkı Bey argued that not only Armenian children but also Muslim orphans were at the orphanage.<sup>105</sup> Therefore, he underlined that it was inappropriate to give control of the orphanage to the Armenian Patriarch. Even though the Patriarch conveyed its

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99 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.69, 22.03.1331, March 1, 1913.

100 Ibid.

101 Ibid.: "... Türkçe defter tutmaya ve yazı yazmaya iktidârı olmadığı ve Ermeni milleti arasında mevcut bulunan iki partiden birisine taraftar bulunması cihetiyle.."

102 Ibid.

103 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.73, 19.04.1331, March 28, 1913.

104 "... Bir aydan beri mahall-i mezkûrede bulunan eytam hasbe'z-zarûret naklonurak İslam, Hristiyan ve mezahib-i mütea'addiye mensub yüzlerce eytam muhafaza oluna gelmektedir..."  
BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.38, 16.10.1330, September 28, 1912.

105 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.69, 22.03.1331, March 1, 1913.

demands several times,<sup>106</sup> the local officials refused its requests by giving the same answer.<sup>107</sup>

### 3.3.1 *Increasing Financial Problems*

In the middle of these controversies and disagreements related to the orphanage director, the Ottoman Orphanage was struggling with financial problems. Although the orphanage was officially opened in August 1911, its building was still incomplete in March 1912. Therefore, Cemal Bey asked Başmabeyinci Lütfi Bey (the Lord Chamberlain) to send 1,000 *lira* to build the incomplete part of the orphanage.<sup>108</sup> However, the Ministry of Interior did not accept to Cemal Bey's request, by stating that the Sultan made too many donations and aids for Armenians after the Adana events.<sup>109</sup> In other words, it emphasized that the needs of the orphanage should be met by the resources of the Adana province, instead of the central treasury.

The Ottoman Orphanage was not the only institution that could not receive the needed financial allocation. Many orphanages, which had been established by the Armenian Patriarch after the Adana massacres and sheltered approximately one thousand orphaned Armenian children, remained open thanks to the government's financial support.<sup>110</sup> However, the government began to not send the needed allocation towards the summer of 1912, and these orphanages were thus faced with the danger of closure. Although archival records do not provide details about why the government cut its financial support, the Central Administration for the Orphans of Kilikya (*Kilikya Eytamı İdare-i Merkeziyesi*) sent a telegram to the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Forests, Mines, and Agriculture, and the Minister of War, for believing that they would solve this economic problem. In this telegram, the need for finan-

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106 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.64, 10.04.1331, March 19, 1913.; BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.62, 27.04.1331, April 5, 1913.

107 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.60, 30.05.1331, May 7, 1913.

108 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.12, 12.04.1330, March 31, 1912.

109 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.10, 14.04.1330, April 2, 1912.; Özşavlı, 146.

110 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.21, 16.10.1330, September 28, 1912.

cial support was attempted to be described via the Armenian children's adverse conditions and their Ottoman identity.<sup>111</sup> It is unknown whether the ministers responded to this telegram. Nevertheless, the emphasis made on the Armenian children's Ottoman identity shows that Ottomanism, which weakened every passing day due to the political, social, and economic crises, was being seen by Armenians as a solution to their problems in the rural region.

In March 1913, the uncompleted part of the orphanage's building was still a significant problem. Adana Governor Hakkı Bey stated related to this issue that the Adana province's resources were not enough to complete the unfinished part of the orphanage. At the same time, he added that many people were criticizing the authorities for the insufficient financial assistance making for the orphanage.<sup>112</sup> While Hakkı Bey did not information about who they were, he requested the allocation to be sent as soon as possible due to these reasons.<sup>113</sup>

The next day, the orphanage committee members, including Adana Governor, the Adana Armenian episcopacy, and the treasurer, sent a petition to the Ministry of Interior. In this petition, they highlighted that it was needed 262,400 kuruş in order to overcome these financial problems that negatively affected the orphans' lives. Hence, they proposed that in cooperation with the Adana chamber of commerce, an additional tax could be put in sesame and cotton exports for "this house of benevolence and charity institution that had a privileged place in the country."<sup>114</sup> Furthermore, if this proposition was not accepted, they stressed that the government would have to send the money from the central treasury. Although there were crucial disagreements amongst

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111 "... Peder ve validelerinin şefkatinden baba ocağından mahrum kalmış... aç ve çıplak kalmak tehlikesinde bulunan bin kadar evlad-ı vatan melce-i yegâne ve tabi'yyeleri olan hükümet-i seniyye-i Osmâniyyemize müracaat ediyorlar efendim..." BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.21-22, 16.10.1330, September 28, 1912.

112 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.69, 22.03.1331, March 1, 1913.

113 Ibid.

114 "... Memlekette en ziyade şayan-ı nazar-ı himaye olan böyle bir müessese-i hayriyenin natanam kalması tecviz olunamayacağından... susam ve pamuk ihracatı üzerine bir resm vazzı ticaret odasıyla bilmuhabere meclis-i acizanemizce tensib ve keyfiyet ba-mazbata müşarünileyhe arz edilmiş..." BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.54, 23.03.1331, March 2, 1913.

the orphanage committee members related to the administration of the orphanage and its control, the preparation of a joint petition for this financial issue shows that to what extent the different sides attached importance to the orphanage.

After a couple of weeks, the Ministry of Interior decided to send the allocation from the central treasury, by stating that the decisions related to taxes could only be made by the decision of the Chamber of Deputies.<sup>115</sup> However, the Ministry of Finance reported that the financial condition was not conducive to sending the needed allocation.<sup>116</sup> Furthermore, it also stressed that local financial sources should meet the needs of the orphanage since it was considered as a property of the Adana province.<sup>117</sup> Thereupon, the allocation sending from the central treasury to the orphanage caused a disagreement between the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Finance on the orphanage status, which researchers have unnoticed until now.

The Ministry of Finance argued that the health and charity institutions such as an orphanage, a hospital, and *Darülaceze* setting up in rural regions were under the provinces' control, and thus, even though the Ottoman Orphanage had been built with the state's allocation, no more allowance for meeting its needs should not be sent from the central treasury.<sup>118</sup> In particular, the Balkan Wars that caused to occur deep economic problems may have affected this decision. However, the Ministry of Interior stated in a report sending the Porte that "the establishment of the orphanage was relevant to the political reasons which directly affected the state's policies in the Adana region, and therefore, the financial problems of the orphanage must be met for a while for the state's ongoing policies in the area."<sup>119</sup> By emphasizing the political situation in the Adana region, the Ministry of Interior tried to stress in its report that if the orphanage closed, a positive image created by the government

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115 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.52, 06.04.1331, March 15, 1913.

116 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.58, 25.05.1331, May 2, 1913.

117 Ibid.

118 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.80, 21.06.1331, May 28, 1913.

119 "... Devletçe siyaseten görülen lüzum üzerine tesis edilmiş ve hükümetin vilayet-i mezkûrede takip eylediği hatt-ı hareket icabınca ikmâl-i i'fâsıyla daha bir müddet idaresi lazımeden bulunmuş..." BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.78, 02.07.1331, June 7, 1913.

through the protection of orphaned Armenian children with the Ottoman Orphanage after the Adana massacres of 1909 would disappear. In other words, the Ministry of Interior highlighted that the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana was carrying out more meaning for the state than an ordinary orphanage and a school. For that reason, it insisted that the financial problems of the orphanage should be solved despite the economic problems. After this report of the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Finance decided to send the needed allocation, and 250,000 kuruş was added to the 1914 budget to build the unfinished part of the orphanage.<sup>120</sup>



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120 “*Adana vilayeti 1330 muvazene-i hususiyesi*,” (Adana: Adana Vilayet Matbaası, 1914), 37. For the 1914 budget of the Adana region, see Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Taksim Atatürk Library, accession no: Bel\_Osm\_O.01675-03.



## The Conversion of the Ottoman Orphanage into a Turkish Orphanage

The Ottoman Orphanage in Adana was built by Cemal Bey (known as Cemal Pasha), the Adana governor at the time, for the Armenian girls and boys orphaned due to the Adana massacres of 1909. Cemal Bey built this institution to prevent the activities of missionaries that aimed at the conversion of the orphaned children into Protestantism or other religious beliefs and to ensure that the Armenian children would be raised as loyal Ottoman citizens. Furthermore, from the first moment that the orphanage project was announced in the summer of 1909, the CUP encouraged and supported Cemal Bey to establish this institution. Although it described the orphanage as a charity and benevolence institution established due to the humanitarian concerns, as many researchers emphasized in their studies, the reason behind the strong interest of the CUP to this institution was related to political concerns. By building up an orphanage, in which orphaned Armenian children would be protected and educated, the CUP aimed to restore its political image, which was damaged both among Ottoman Armenians and in the international arena due to the Adana massacres.

In the process leading up the opening of the orphanage, on the other hand, the idea of building a government orphanage for the orphaned Armenian children did not have its intended positive effect on many Armenians in Adana, especially on Armenian women who lost their husbands during the massacres

and had to place their children in different orphanages. They saw the orphanage as an institution, that aimed to assimilate the Armenian children. In particular, in addition to the decision on religious education at the orphanage and the debates on the official language of the orphanage occurred between the Armenian members and the Ottoman officials in the Adana Orphanage Commission caused the assimilation fear towards the orphanage to increase. In this context, the Armenian children became a crucial part of the social, cultural, and political milieu in the road to the opening of the orphanage in the summer of 1911.

After its opening, the orphanage sustained its political importance. In 1912, the accusations towards the orphanage Dashnak director and the requests related to the control of the orphanage became an important example in the political power struggle for the realm of education between the Armenian Patriarch and the Dashnaks. On the other hand, in 1913, the discussions making on the orphanage director and insufficient local financial resources to meet the needs of the orphanage began to disturb local authorities in Adana. While these discussions continued amongst local authorities, the Armenian religious institutions, and the orphanage Dashnak director Vahakn Efendi, the Ministry of Interior emphasized related to the issue of the funding of the orphanage that the orphanage should be kept open due to its political importance for the government. During this period, orphaned Armenian and Muslim girls and boys continued to live and receive an education under the same roof. In other words, the Ottoman Orphanage served as a multireligious and multicultural institution, as shown in the third section of this thesis.

This chapter will focus on the elimination of these features of the Ottoman Orphanage and its conversion into “a Turkish institution,” in which many Armenian children were assimilated, religiously mixed education abolished, and orphaned Muslim boys received a vocational education. To examine this process, in the transition period (1914-1915), the requests of the Ottoman local officials in Adana related to the Ottoman Orphanage and the orphaned Armenian children will be analyzed with their social, economic, and political aspects. Besides, while examining some important reasons and consequences of the deportation of Ottoman Armenians (*Tehcir*) in 1915, the significant ef-

fects of this decision on the conversion of the orphanage into a Turkish orphanage will be focused on. After that, both the results of this conversion and the administrative and structural changes in the orphanage from 1915 to 1918 will be examined.

#### § 4.1 The Transition Period (1914-1915)

Toward the end of 1913, some local authorities, including Adana Governor Hakkı Bey, decided to combine the Ottoman Orphanage with Adana industrial school. With this decision, they wanted to increase the industrial school's effectiveness, which had a prominent place in the agricultural economy of Adana. However, apart from the economic expectations, the assimilation of the Armenian children was planned as one of the crucial results of the conversion of the orphanage, which the researchers have unnoticed. Thus it seems reasonable to argue that they took this decision without consulting the orphanage committee, where orphanage director Vahakn Efendi and the Adana Armenian episcopacy were members. In the light of the Ottoman archival documents that I have examined, the Deputy Governor of Adana was the first Ottoman official who expressed this aim in his report sending to the Ministry of Interior related to the Adana industrial school.

The reformation (*islâh*) of the orphanage, which took a bizarre shape today, was deemed suitable by combining it with Adana industrial school.<sup>1</sup>

At this point, the word *Islâh* is crucial. According to its dictionary meaning, it means to improve and to make something better. In many Ottoman archival documents, the word was frequently used on the economic developments and agriculture and animal husbandry-related issues. On the other hand, the word also meant the suppression of riots, ensuring security, and forcing the minority groups to accept the social, cultural, and religious practices of the sovereign

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1 “... Bugün acaip bir şekil alan dârüleytâm ile mekteb-i sınaînin tevsîd-i suretiyle ıslâhı çâkerlerince mansur bulunmuş olup...” BOA, DH.UMVM., 68/46, no.3, 15.01.1332, December 14, 1913.

ideology.<sup>2</sup> In this sense, considering both its meaning for these groups and Adana governor Hakkı Bey's requests related to the orphanage examined below, although it is unclear what the Deputy Governor tried to say with "a bizarre shape," the word *Islâh* in his report was meaning the assimilation of the Armenian children, along with some educational and structural changes that were planned in the orphanage.

Approximately six months later, on May 2, 1914, similar to the Deputy Governor, Adana Governor Hakkı Bey requested the Ministry of Interior the needed allocation to be sent for the transformation of the Ottoman Orphanage into a "*Dârülsınâî*," where serves as both an industrial school and an orphanage.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, in his report, he argued that most of the orphans at the orphanage received an Islamic education consisting of the hadiths about faith and worship.<sup>4</sup> There is no information about how Governor Hakkı Bey received this information, and on what basis he put forward this assertion. Besides, neither Ottoman archival records nor the missionary and consul reports provide information about an Islamic education at the orphanage. Thus, it seems that by asserting this, he attempted to justify the assimilation of the Armenian children.

Three days later, the governor sent another report to the Ministry of Interior.<sup>5</sup> In this report, while he firmly insisted on the transformation of the orphanage into a *Dârülsınâî* by combining the orphanage with Adana industrial school, he explained the reasons for this decision in detail. He highlighted that the education in Adana industrial school was developing day by day, and the students were also playing an essential role in the development of the economy of the Adana province by repairing agricultural vehicles like Lokomobils, which had a crucial impact on the agricultural output and productivity.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, Hakkı Bey stated that there were substantial problems that the

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- 2 Taner Akçam, *Ermenilerin Zorla Müslümanlaştırılması: Sessizlik, İnkâr ve Asimilasyon* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014), 180.
  - 3 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.101, 06.06.1332, May 2, 1914.
  - 4 Ibid.: "... Dâr-ı mezkûrda bulunan eytamin hemen ekserisi tahsil-i sünene dahil olmak..."
  - 5 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.86, 09.06.1332, May 5, 1914.
  - 6 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.88, 09.06.1332, May 5, 1914.

industrial school faced. In contrast to the Ottoman Orphanage, the industrial school's location was quite far from the city. Furthermore, the school building and infrastructure were inadequate to meet the basic needs of the students.<sup>7</sup> While Hakkı Bey was explaining the problems of the industrial school, at the same time, he intensively criticized the education at the orphanage as follows:

Instead of a quality education involving vocational training, the orphans were entirely given inadequate training consisting of basic courses such as reading and writing... and because they are not equipped with a craft and talent to ensure their welfare after they left the orphanage, no major benefit is achieved from the involvement of these orphans, who wanted to be brought up as the individuals damaging for the country, in the Ottoman Society (*Cemiyet-i Osmaniye*).<sup>8</sup>

In addition to the vocational lessons that were requested to be added to the orphanage curriculum, Governor Hakkı Bey emphasized that the construction of some workshops such as a woodshop (*marangozhane*) and the smithy (*demirhane*) would help to transform the orphanage into an excellent *Dârülsınâî*. Furthermore, the governor pointed that destitute and orphaned children (*bikes ve yetim etfâlin*) could be educated as an artisan with all these changes, which would provide them to be “a good citizen” for both themselves and the government.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, he also underlined that if the function and name of the orphanage building, which was tried to be shown as “the foremost symbol of the Adana events (*nişâne-i hazine*)” were changed, the remembrance of this sorrowful event would end.<sup>10</sup>

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7 Ibid.

8 “... Hiçbir sanat öğretilmeden ve esaslı bir tahsil ve terbiye verilmeden sade biraz okumak, yazmak öğretmek ve ufak tefek bazı malumat vermekle iktifa olunmakta... ve refahını temin edecek surette bir sanat ve marifetle mücehhez bulunmadıklarından memleket için birer anasır-ı müfsid halinde yetiştirilmek istenen bu eytamin bila-tefrik Cemiyet-i Osmaniyyeye karışmalarında büyük bir menfaat temin edilememekte...” BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.86, 09.06.1332, May 5, 1914.

9 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.86-88, 09.06.1332, May 5, 1914.

10 BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.90, 09.06.1332, May 5, 1914.

To sum up, at the end of the planned structural and educational changes making on the orphanage, the Armenian children would be able to have a profession, and the efficiency of the Adana industrial school would increase. In this aspect, as Eken has underlined in his article about the Ottoman Orphanage, Governor Hakkı Bey's request may seem to be positive.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, his requests in his report were not as innocent as they seem, and there was another crucial result of the transformation of the orphanage that Hakkı Bey did not directly mention in his report. This result was the assimilation of the Armenian orphans, that has been unnoticed by the researchers. As can be seen in Hakkı Bey's report, the Armenian children would continue their education in government schools in which the directors, teachers, and students were Muslim, in other words, in an Islamic environment. In this way, the children would be deprived of their religious and cultural identity and would gradually be converted to Islam.

In parallel with this aim, Governor Hakkı Bey stated related to the orphaned Armenian girls that "because it would be inappropriate for them to stay at the same place with the boys, the girls were to be transferred either to Adana industrial school building in the city that was a well-suited to meet the needs of approximately one hundred orphan girls or a new *Darüşşafaka* that was going to be built up for them."<sup>12</sup> Although the governor did not want the orphaned girls to remain at the orphanage, he wanted them to involve in an economic process that contributed to the economy of the Adana region by placing them in another industrial school. In this aspect, Hakkı Bey's attitude toward the orphaned girls was similar to the CUP's nationalist educational

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11 Eken, 534.

12 "... Yalnız darüleytamın bir kısmında kız etfali bulunur ki erkeklerle birlikte bulunmaları münasip görülmediğinden kızlarında şimdiki sanayi mektebine nakil edilerek orada bir sanayi mektebinin veyahut kızlara mahsus bir Darüşşafaka vücuda getirilmesi teemmül edilmekte... çünkü sanayi mektebinin dahil-i şehirde bulunan bina-yı hazır yüz kadar kız etfal ve güzel bir kız sanayi mektebine ifrağı için pek müsaittir..." BOA, DH.İD., 166/8, no.88, 09.06.1332, May 5, 1914.

policies, which reorganized the girls' education to meet the economic needs of the state after the Balkan Wars that ended of a heavy defeat.<sup>13</sup>

In this period, in addition to the Ottoman Orphanage, some missionary schools, particularly opening for Armenian children in different provinces, were also encountering the pressure from the local authorities. For example, in the Everek region in the southeast of Kayseri, an American orphanage that had been opened for the Armenian children orphaned due to the Adana massacres of 1909, was closed by the authorities.<sup>14</sup>

Although the Ministry of Interior did not respond to Hakkı Bey's request that the orphanage would merge with the Adana industrial school and transform into *Dârülsınâî*, the orphanage was still in danger of closing, and also the Armenian children were under the assimilation threat. In this time, five photographs, which dated 23 July 1914 and including the orphanage director Vahakn Efendi, assistant directors, servants, and the orphaned Armenian girls and boys at the orphanage, were taken to be sent to the Interior Minister Talat Bey (known as Talat Pasha), both one of the prominent members of the CUP and one of the most influential politicians of the Ottoman state.<sup>15</sup> It is important to note that these photographs have not been used in the relevant existing literature about the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana, except for Özşavlı's study, which highlights the financial and social assistance of the government towards the orphaned Armenian children between the reign of Abdülhamid II and the Second Constitutional Era.<sup>16</sup>

It is not fully clear why these photographs were taken and why they were sent to Talat Bey. However, the different nationalistic symbols on them may clarify these questions that Özşavlı did not consider in his work. Two of these

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13 Bahar Baskın, "2. Meşrutiyet'te Eğitim, Kadın ve İnas Darülfünunu (İlk Kadın Üniversitesi)" (Master's thesis, İstanbul University, 2007), 112.

14 Raymond Kevorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 520.

15 BOA. FTG.f., 1640, 29.08.1332, July 23, 1914.; BOA. FTG.f., 1641, 29.08.1332, July 23, 1914.; BOA. FTG.f., 1642, 29.08.1332, July 23, 1914.; BOA. FTG.f., 1643, 29.08.1332, July 23, 1914.; BOA. FTG.f., 1644, 29.08.1332, July 23, 1914.; For the photographs, see Appendix B.

16 Özşavlı, 148-152.

symbols are Turkish flags and a framed photograph of the founder of the Ottoman Orphanage, Cemal Bey, in a military uniform. Although it is unclear who brought the framed photograph of Cemal Bey to the orphanage, it is reasonable to assume that the photograph was hanging on the orphanage. By holding Turkish flags and Cemal Bey's photograph, the children and the orphanage director, teachers, and servants were trying to display their respects and loyalty to the state and one of its leading figures. In addition to Cemal Bey, a few sentences to express the children's loyalty to Talat Bey and the nation were written on these photographs. As seen in the orphaned Armenian girls' photograph, many of them include the following sentences:

To our honorable interior minister, Talat Bey Efendi

The compassionate protector of the nation! While we are already presenting the sacrifice that we have kept with Ottoman feelings for tomorrow, we greet you with our sincere hearts. The Ottoman Orphanage students.<sup>17</sup>

As seen in some photographs in appendix B, the military service was an important part of the orphaned children's faithfulness, and the orphaned boys' postures, facial expressions, and their clothes were thus a deliberate choice to emphasize that the children were ready to become a soldier.<sup>18</sup> In other words, they displayed through these photographs that they were ready to give their lives. The emphasis on the military service of the children can be seen as an important example of the change in the education system during this period. After the Balkan Wars caused by the nationalist and independent movements in the region, the subjects related to the nation and homeland glorified to revive nationalist feelings amongst children, and especially in the primary

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- 17 "Muhterem dahiliye nazırımız Talat Bey Efendiy  
Ey milletin müşfik hâmisî! Osmanlı hisleriyle yarına sakladığımız fedakârlığı şimdiden arz eder, sizi samimi kalplerimizle selamlarız. Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî talebatı." BOA. FTG.f., 1644, 29.08.1332, July 23, 1914. For the Turkish translation of the sentences on the other photographs, see Appendix B.
- 18 BOA. FTG.f., 1641, 29.08.1332, July 23, 1914.; BOA. FTG.f., 1643, 29.08.1332, July 23, 1914.



schools, the military lessons enriched with Islamic values were added to the curriculum to raise patriot, faithful, and pious children.<sup>19</sup>

These photographs also point that how the limits of the sense of the loyalty expected from the orphaned Armenian children changed from 1909 to 1914 as a result of the political, social, economic, and educational changes. In 1909, the local authorities did not see the military service as an element of the loyalty of the Armenian children orphaned due to the Adana massacres. In July 1914, on the other hand, while the importance of these children for the state increased, they, like many students educated in government schools in different provinces, needed to prove their loyalty physically.

So why did the orphaned children, along with the orphanage administration and teachers at the Ottoman Orphanage, try actively to prove their loyalty via these photographs in June of 1914? Given the content mentioned above and time of these photographs, it seems reasonable to assume that they were sent to Talat Bey for hindering Adana Governor Hakkı Bey's requests related to the conversion of the orphanage into a *Dârülsımaî*. In other words, these photographs may have been sent to ask for help from the Interior Minister Talat Bey regarding keeping the orphanage as it was and also preventing the Armenian children from being raised as Muslim Turks that planned as one of the significant results of the transformation of the orphanage.

Although it is unknown whether the Interior Minister Talat Bey saw these photographs and what decisions he made about the orphanage, in the summer of 1914, the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana did not combine with Adana industrial school and did not turn into a *Dârülsımaî*. Besides, the orphaned girls were not transferred to another industry school, and they continued to stay at the orphanage. In the different regions, however, the local authorities' pressure on many missionary institutions, where Armenians were located, drastically increased due to the beginning of World War I. For instance, in Erzurum and Caucasia, local authorities closed some missionary hospitals, schools, and orphanages, which were particularly opened for Ottoman Armenians, under the

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19 Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Militarist Turkish-Islamic Synthesis: Official Ideology, Official History and Nationalism in the Second Constitutional Period," *Türkiye Ortadoğu Çalışmaları Dergisi/Turkish Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol.1, no. 2 (2014): 163.

pretext of World War I, and they removed their administrators and teachers forcibly from the region.<sup>20</sup>

#### 4.1.1 *The Decision of the Ottoman State to Deport Ottoman Armenians and the Orphanage Director Vahakn Efendi's Arrest*

Due to the heavy defeats in the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), many regions that had been dominated by the Ottoman Empire for hundreds of years lost and approximately a half-million Muslims had to leave their homes and were settled in different regions in Anatolia. Therefore, in 1914, the idea of keeping the Empire together around a common Ottoman identity weakened due to the increasing nationalist movements every passing day, and the Turkish-Islamic policies carried out by the CUP increased their impacts on different fields including education, economy, and policy.<sup>21</sup> In this period, in particular, the political relationship between the CUP and the Dashnak Party (the Armenian Revolutionary Federation), that many CUP members had set up good relations before, came to breaking point. There were two main reasons for the deterioration of their relationship.

One of the most critical issues was the reform program that the Dashnak Party and Armenian nationalists demanded on the CUP to guarantee the property and lives of Armenians in the Eastern Anatolia after the Balkan Wars (1912-1913).<sup>22</sup> Both the Dashnak Party and the Armenian Patriarch wanted the European states to supervise the reform program, by stating that the CUP did not do the needed reforms related to this issue before.<sup>23</sup> With the direct involvement of the European countries, this issue turned into an international

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- 20 Fuat Dündar, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi İttihat ve Terakki'nin Etnisite Mühendisliği* (1913-1918) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 263.
- 21 Nesim Şeker, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Son Döneminde "Demografi Mühendisliği" ve Ermeniler," in *İmparatorluğun Çöküş Döneminde Osmanlı Ermenileri: Bilimsel Sorumluluk ve Demokrasi Sorunları*, ed. Fahri Aral (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 167-169.
- 22 Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks and the Ottoman Nationalities: Armenians, Greeks, Albanians, Jews, and Arabs, 1908-1918* (Utah: University of Utah Press, 2014), 27.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 34.

problem in a short time. Therefore, although the CUP's leading figures and the Dashnak Party representatives made many meetings about the reform program in the period from 1913 to 1914, no result was obtained.<sup>24</sup>

Another important reason that caused the weakening of their political relationship was that during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), many Armenian Revolutionary Federation supporters in Thrace fought for the independence of Bulgaria by receiving the support of Russia.<sup>25</sup> Besides, many Dashnak Party supporters continued to develop their political relationship with Russia. Therefore, as Feroz Ahmad who made many important studies about the Committee of Union and Progress has pointed, many Unionists began to suspect the loyalty of the Armenians to the Ottoman state and considered them as Russian sympathizers. Moreover, many were thus in doubt about whether the Armenian revolutionaries would fight for the Ottoman Empire in World War I.<sup>26</sup>

With the Ottoman state entering World War I, the accusations that non-Muslim and non-Turks elements were unreliable and disloyal to the state increased, and mainly Armenians and Orthodox Rums became the target of these accusations.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, in the wartime, while many leading members of the CUP were thinking that the only way to the survival of the state was to rely on Muslims and Turks, the military, social, and economic policies of CUP towards these groups radicalized every passing day, citing security concerns. Besides, as Eric Jan Zürcher who has made many important studies about the history of the Second Constitutional Era and the Turkish Republic has pointed out, "the homogenization of the population" was adopted by the CUP cadres

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24 Rober Koptaş, "Zohrab, Papazyan ve Pastırmacıyan'ın Kalemlerinden 1914 Ermeni Reformu ile İttihatçı-Taşnak Müzakereleri," in *İmparatorluğun Çöküş Döneminde Osmanlı Ermenileri: Bilimsel Sorumluluk ve Demokrasi Sorunları*, ed. Fahri Aral (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 187.

25 Ahmad, 24-25.

26 Ibid., 69-71.

27 Mustafa Aksakal, "Harb-i Umumi Eşiğinde Osmanlı (1914-1915)," in *Ermeni Soykırımı Araştırmaları Uluslararası Bilim Konseyi Yüz Yıl Sonra Ermeni Soykırımı: Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar*, trans. Melike Işık Durmaz and Ümran Küçükislamoğlu (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016), 62.

in 914. This policy aimed at the eradication of the reform requests of Armenians and the purification of Anatolia from “unreliable and disloyal elements.”<sup>28</sup> Before World War I, in early summer of 1914, more than one hundred and twenty thousand Orthodox Rums living on the coastline in the Aegean region were forced to leave the country. Ottoman Armenians became the target of this policy about one year later. In this context, as many researchers have argued, through the deportation of the Armenians during World War I, it was aimed to change the demographic and social structure of the Ottoman state. It is important to note that, there were also many economic, social, cultural, and ideological reasons for the deportation decision. However, analyzing the reasons for the deportation of Armenians will not be examined in detail since they exceed the scope of this thesis.

On April 24, 1915, more than two hundred fifty Armenian intellectuals from different professions, including politicians, writers, teachers, poets, lawyers, and journalists, in Istanbul and other provinces were arrested and sent to Ankara and Çankırı.<sup>29</sup> This wave of arrest was one of the most important stages of the deportation of Armenians. While it was decided to deport the Armenians, who lived in the different areas of the Adana province such as Dörtyol, Zeytun, and Sis,<sup>30</sup> many Armenians who were a member of the Dashnak Party were detained and arrested. The Ottoman Orphanage director Vahakn Efendi was one of them. As reported by the committee of Dashnaktsutyun in Balkans, in April, he was imprisoned and deprived of all

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- 28 Erik Jan Zürcher, “Jön Türk’lerin Karar Alma Modelleri (1913-1915),” *Ermeni Soykırımı Araştırmaları Uluslararası Bilim Konseyi Yüz Yıl Sonra Ermeni Soykırımı: Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar*, trans. Melike Işık Durmaz and Ümran Küçükislamoğlu (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016), 29.
- 29 Raymond Kevorkian, “Yıkımın İlk Aşaması: Tehcir ve Katliamlar (Nisan-Ağustos 1915),” in *Ermeni Soykırımı Araştırmaları Uluslararası Bilim Konseyi Yüz Yıl Sonra Ermeni Soykırımı: Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar*, trans. Melike Işık Durmaz and Ümran Küçükislamoğlu (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016), 71-72.
- 30 Kevorkian, “*The Armenian Genocide*,” 595.

communications.<sup>31</sup> On May 6, 1915, he was remanded to the court-martial of Adana because eight revolution brochures called “*Müdâfaa-i Nefs*” published by the Dashnaks in 1911 were found in his apartment.<sup>32</sup> It is important to remember that for the field of education, the appointment of Vahakn Efendi as the orphanage director in 1911 was one of the prominent examples that displayed the close relationship between the CUP and the Dashnak Party. In this sense, his arrestment was one of the concrete examples that showed this political cooperation between them disappeared.

With the orphanage director Vahakn Efendi’s arresting, one of the most important obstacles before both the transformation of the orphanage into a *Dârülsınâî* and the assimilation of the Armenian orphans disappeared. Thereupon, by describing the Ottoman Orphanage as “an Ottoman institution,” Adana Governor Hakkı Bey asked the Ministry of Interior to appoint “a public-spirited, powerful, and intelligent Islam director for Ottomanization of both the children of the fatherland (*etfâl-i vatan*) and nearly eighty Muslim children, who had been settled in the orphanage.”<sup>33</sup> In Hakkı Bey’s report sending to the Ministry of Interior, to make the children Ottoman (*Osmanlı etmek*) meant that the Armenian children would be converted to Islam and raised as Muslim Turks.

For this target, Hakkı Bey appointed Mahmud Şevket Efendi, the director of Halep *Darülmualimîn* (Male Teacher Training School of Halep) as the Ottoman Orphanage director.<sup>34</sup> The Ministry of Interior approved of his appointment.<sup>35</sup> The assignment of a well-educated director to the orphanage from an important educational institution is one of the important indicators of how

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31 “The report by Committee of Dashnaktzoutioun Section of Balkans, June 2/15, 1915,” in *United States Official Records on the Armenian Genocide, 1915-1917*, ed. Ara Sarafian (London: Gomidas Institute, 2004), 99.

32 BOA, DH.UMVM., 132/17, no.1, 21.06.1333, May 6, 1915.

33 Ibid.: “... Osmanlı müessesesi olan dâr-ı mezburda bulunan seksen kadar da İslam olan etfâl-i vatanın Osmanlı edilmesi lüzum-ı kat’iyyesine göre... hamiyetli, muktedir ve zeki bir İslam müdürünün tâyin ve azametini arz ve istirham eylerim...”

34 BOA, DH.UMVM., 68/47, no.4, 13.07.1333, May 27, 1915.

35 BOA, DH.UMVM., 68/47, no.7, 13.07.1333, May 27, 1915.

much Adana Governor Hakkı Bey attached importance to the Ottoman Orphanage. However, in the lights of both the report of the German Consul Eugen Büge and the Ottoman archival documents about the appointment of a director to the orphanage dated June 1917, Osman Efendi<sup>36</sup> was appointed as the Ottoman Orphanage director in summer of 1915.

On May 27, 1915, on the same day when Adana Governor Hakkı Bey appointed Mahmud Şevket Efendi, the Tehcir Law, or officially *Sevk ve İskân Kanunu* (The Temporary Relocation and Resettlement Law), was accepted by the Ottoman Parliament, by asserting the military measures and security concerns against the Armenian population. According to this law, Armenians in Eastern Anatolia were decided to be deported to the areas of Syria province in which covered in deserts and mountains. Furthermore, on June 21, 1915, the Interior Minister Talat Bey sent a telegram to all provinces related to the deportation of all Armenians in the Ottoman Empire to Syria.<sup>37</sup> In this way, a nation-wide deportation program began to be performed. The deportation decision was implemented from the may of 1915 until the end of fall 1916. More than one million Armenians were forced to exile. During the forced exile, many Armenians lost their lives on the roads due to different reasons such as starvation, epidemic diseases, and attacks against themselves. Moreover, many died in the camps where they were placed in the different areas of Syria for similar reasons.

During World War I, apart from a great number of Armenian men and women who tried to survive, the Armenian children became one of the main targets of the government's nationalist policies.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, thousands of Armenian male and female children were abducted or forcibly taken from their families, and a lot of them were settled in Muslim households. Furthermore, as Maksudyan has emphasized in her study, while many abducted male chil-

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36 Neither Ottoman archival documents nor the missionary and consul reports that I have examined provide detailed information about Osman Efendi.

37 Kevorkian, "Yıkımın İlk Aşaması," 67.

38 Nazan Maksudyan, "Agents or Pawns?: Nationalism and Ottoman Children during the Great War," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, vol.3, no. 1 (May 2016): 140.

dren were sent to factories, small business, and workshops in Istanbul and Anatolia for their work, many Armenian girls who were forced to marry or were “adopted” started living in Muslim households as wives, domestic helpers, servants, and concubines.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, many of them were placed in state orphanages, called *Darüleytams*. These orphanages were established with the proposal of the Minister of Education, Ahmet Şükrü Bey, for orphaned and needy Muslim children due to the Balkan Wars and World War I. In January 1915, the first orphanage opened in Istanbul, Kadıköy. Furthermore, in May 1915, there were about twenty state orphanages in many different provinces such as Kayseri, Urfa, Ankara, Kastamonu, Edirne, and Diyarbakir.<sup>40</sup> These institutions had a “Turkish and Muslim character that prioritized the political, social, and economic expectations of the CUP.”<sup>41</sup> In this sense, while they were used to raise Armenian children as Muslim Turks,<sup>42</sup> they became an important part of the transition period.

#### § 4.2 The Changing Names (1915-1918)

In the summer of 1915, more than 20,000 Armenians were deported from the center of Adana and its surrounding districts such as Tarsus, Hacın, Sis, and Mersin.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, throughout the exile of the Armenians from the region, many Armenian children were left behind by their families, who could not meet their children’s basic needs or could not bear to see their suffering.

In September 1915, while the deportation of thousands of Armenians was continuing from the province of Adana, the Ottoman Orphanage director Vahakn Efendi was sentenced to death due to being a member of the Dashnak committee and distributing its’ brochures, called *Müdâfaa-i Nefs*.<sup>44</sup> Elisabeth

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39 Maksudyan, “Agents or Pawns?,” 151.

40 Maksudyan, “Ottoman Children and Youth,” 22-25.

41 Ibid., 20.

42 Vahakn N. Dadrian, “Children as Victims of Genocide: The Armenian Case,” *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol.5, no. 3 (2003): 435.

43 Kevorkian, “*The Armenian Genocide*,” 595.

44 BOA, İ.HB., 174/37, 07.11.1333, September 16, 1915.; BOA, BEO., 4376/328131, 16.11.1333, September 25, 1915.

S. Webb, who was a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and was in Adana since 1886, highlights the orphanage director's condition as follows:

“The Armenian orphanage in Adana started by Jemal Pasha in 1909 after the Adana massacre, at the time of the exiling became a Turkish orphanage. The Armenian man at the head of it was imprisoned and finally hung. I heard the charge against him was the possession of two pernicious Armenian books the leaves of neither of which had been cut.”<sup>45</sup>

As Webb highlights, Vahakn Efendi's execution was one of the important stages that led to the conversion of the orphanage into “a Turkish orphanage.” The orphaned Armenian children at the Ottoman Orphanage were another crucial “subject” of this conversion. While the orphanage director's execution was decided at the end of September, the future of the Armenian children at the Ottoman Orphanage became clear. Different consul reports sending from the province of Adana, which have unnoticed by the researchers, describe the fate of the Armenian children in the orphanage. German Consul Eugen Büge, who served in the province of Adana since 1910, reported the decisions of the new administration at the orphanage towards these children as follows:

“The former Second Director of the Turkish College of Education (Dar el muallemin) and the Present director of the Turkish Orphanage, Osman Bey, explained to the Christian pupils that they would have to convert to Islam or leave the orphanage.”<sup>46</sup>

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45 “Letter of Miss Elisabeth S. Webb, “The Exiling of the Armenians, Adana District,” to ABCFM, in April 10, 1918,” in *Turkish Atrocities: Statements of American Missionaries on the Destruction of Christian Communities in Ottoman Turkey, 1915-1917*, ed. James L. Barton (London: Gomidas Institute, 1998), 276.; Kevorkian, “*The Armenian Genocide*,” 598.; Maksudyan, “*New ‘Rules of Conduct’ for State*,” 170-171.

46 “The report from German Consul Eugen Büge to Imperial Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg, September 30, 1915, (Enclosure 3),” in *The Armenian Genocide: Evidence from the German Foreign Office Archives, 1915-1916*, ed. Wolfgang Gust (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 402.



Considering many Armenian children were forcibly settled in government orphanages and were included in the assimilation process during this period, it is remarkable that the Armenian children at the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana were given the chance to leave the orphanage. The report by Consul Eugen Büge contains more detailed information about the Armenian children, thanks to including statements from Miss Sirpuhî, a teacher at the Ottoman Orphanage.

According to a statement by Miss Sirpuhî, a teacher at the orphanage who visited me, all of the girls, about 35, left the house and sought to be taken in by different families as a result of the unreasonable demand made of them. I am not aware of their fate; I referred them to the American mission.

14 out of about 60 Christian boys remained at the orphanage because they did not know what to do. Those left behind have already started to become Mohammedans.

Osman Bey had explained that the Christian religion could not be tolerated in the Ottoman orphanage. The pupils were to refrain any kind of religious activity, particularly praying. (Sirpuhî).<sup>47</sup>

As seen in Consul Büge's report, the Armenian children were told either to become Muslim or leave the orphanage. It is crucial to remember that the Armenian children orphaned due to the Adana massacres of 1909 were not expected to "prove their loyalty," when they were settled in the orphanage in the summer of 1911. On the other hand, as the photographs were taken at the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana in the summer of 1914 show, the military service, which orphaned Armenian boys tried to emphasize, was being seen by the authorities as a crucial element for the loyalty. Moreover, in September 1915, being a Muslim became the main factor for the Armenian children to be seen as "a loyal Ottoman citizen." In this context, while the measure to be a loyal Ottoman citizen changed and expanded from 1909 to 1915 due to the political, social, economic, and cultural changes, the orphaned Armenian children at the Ottoman Orphanage became the target of these changes.

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47 Ibid.

The orphaned Armenian girls and boys, on the other hand, did not accept to be Muslim, and most of them left the orphanage. In different sources such as memoirs, consul reports and archival documents about Ottoman Armenians, it can be found many examples that show Armenian children's resistance to the assimilation in government orphanages.<sup>48</sup> These examples prove that the Armenian children were not the passive agents of the deportation of Armenians in 1915-1916. In the light of German Consul Büge's report, in September 1915, the collective disobedience and resistance of the Armenian children, that orphaned due to the Adana massacres of 1909 and were placed in the orphanage in 1911, against Turkification and Islamacizing can be seen as one of the important examples related to this subject. Furthermore, their decisive attitude towards assimilation was an important component of their historical role.

What happened to the orphaned Armenian children who left the orphanage? Even if the answer to this question is not fully known, the report that American missionary Webb gave information about the children leaving the orphanage after mentioning the decision made about the orphanage director Vahakn Efendi provides important details about the children.

Pressure was brought to bear to make the children become Moslems, but only a few of the younger yielded. The rest escaped from the orphanage, some finding homes with relatives and some becoming servants in Greek or Jewish houses. I called upon the German consul at Adana for help in this connection. He was friendly, but unable to do anything (I wished to get some of them to the German orphanage near Baghche).<sup>49</sup>

Besides, the American Consul Edward I. Nathan who was in Mersin highlights Miss Webb's efforts for the orphaned Armenian girls leaving the orphanage in his report as follows:

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48 For some examples, see Karnig Panyan, *Elveda Antura: Bir Ermeni Yetimin Anıları*, trans. Maral Fuchs (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2018); BOA. DH.ŞFR., 532/15, 16.11.1334, September 14, 1916.

49 "Letter of Miss Elisabeth S. Webb," 173.

...Forced conversions, which formerly were only reported from the interior are now taking place here. Thus, in Adana the many Armenian orphan girls whose parents were killed in the massacres of 1909 and were kept in the Government Orphanage told either to leave or become Moslems. A small number had the courage to leave, and were without any shelter or refuge. I had advised the American missionaries not to take in any too great number of outsiders into their institutions, as they would thereby jeopardize their present inmates. Miss Webb however secured the consent of the authorities to place these girls in private homes, she found for them after much difficulty...<sup>50</sup>

While German Consul Büge once again reported the statements from Miss Sirpuhî, a teacher at the orphanage, on 21 October,<sup>51</sup> 14 Armenian boys orphaned due to the Adana massacres of 1909 were in the orphanage. There is no information about who 14 orphaned Armenian boys that had to stay in the orphanage were and what types of assimilation methods they were exposed to. Nevertheless, the assimilation practices that Armenian children were exposed to in different government orphanages in different provinces considered,<sup>52</sup> it seems reasonable to argue that these 14 orphaned Armenian boys were circumcised, given Turkish names, and forced to speak Turkish.

The last stage of the conversion of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana into a Turkish orphanage was to change its name. As seen in the Ottoman archival document dated 1916 related to the Adana Education Director's request for the renaming of the orphanage, the name of the orphanage changed to *Adana Zü-kûr Darüleytamı* (Adana Male Orphanage). Although the exact date and who

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50 "The report from American Consul Edward I. Nathan to American Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, September 27, 1915," in *United States Official Records on the Armenian Genocide, 1915-1917*, compiled with an introduction by Ara Sarafian (London: Gomidas Institute, 2004), 276.

51 "The report from Consul Büge sending from Adana, on 21 October (Enclosure 3)," in *The Armenian Genocide: Evidence from the German Foreign Office Archives, 1915-1916*, ed. Wolfgang Gust (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 502.

52 For some examples, Panyan, 178-179.; "The report by Clara Childs Richmond, "Cesarea and Talas," May 11, 1918," in *Turkish Atrocities: Statements of American Missionaries on the Destruction of Christian Communities in Ottoman Turkey, 1915-1917*, ed. James L. Barton (London: Gomidas Institute, 1998), 127.

decided to this name are unknown, considering the time of the decisions towards the orphanage director and the Armenian children, it can be argued that the name of the orphanage was changed in fall 1915. Besides, while the name of the orphanage changed to Adana Male Orphanage, an orphanage for orphaned girls was established in the center of Adana under the name of Adana Female Orphanage. It is important to note that the new name of the orphanage was also used as *Adana Darüleytami* (Adana Orphanage) in the Ottoman archival documents.

#### 4.2.1 *A Turkish Orphanage, Adana Male Orphanage*

During this period, many Muslim male children orphaned due to the Balkan Wars and World War I were settled in Adana Male Orphanage. Furthermore, in a number of classes, where different courses were taught such as tailoring, shoemaking, and leather sewing were opened. In 1916, there were not only Muslim children in “*Adana Zükûr Darüleytami*.” The Armenian children who were transferred from Kayseri American Orphanage were settled in the orphanage to be converted to Islam. By a circular telegram dated May 3, 1916, while it was decided to be evacuated the Armenian girls and boys in Kayseri and Talas American schools due to military reasons, these children were decided to be distributed in government orphanages.<sup>53</sup> In mid-May, it was decided to send some of the Armenian boys to Adana and to be placed in “Adana Orphanage” with the decision of the Minister of War, Enver Pasha.<sup>54</sup> At this point, it is rather important to note that Cemal Pasha, Talat Pasha, and Enver Pasha, the three leading figures of the Second Constitutional Era, directly and indirectly, became a part of the history of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana.

While these children were settled in the orphanage, the Adana Education Director, Ahmed Şükrü, sent a petition to the Ministry of Interior on June 25, 1916. In this petition, he asked the Minister of Education, Ahmed Şükrü Bey, to “rename of Adana Male Orphanage by giving the name of highness Cemal

53 BOA, DH.ŞFR., 63/178, 29.06.1334, May 3, 1916.

54 BOA, DH.ŞFR., 520/75, no.1-2, 19.07.1334, May 22, 1916.

Pasha who is the founder of Adana Male Orphanage, fourth Army commander and the Naval Minister.”<sup>55</sup> Minister of Education, Ahmed Şükrü Bey, asked questions related to the orphanage and the Armenian children on July 6 by using the same document that Adana Education Director Ahmed Şükrü sent to, and Ahmed Şükrü answered his questions through the same document on July 17.

Is it the orphanage opened for the Armenian children? If it is, are there the Armenian children in it now? ... 22 June

This orphanage is that orphanage, which once opened for the Armenian children. It is completely purified from former Armenian children. Lately, forty-eight students were transferred from Kayseri American Orphanage in the direction of the written command of the Sublime Porte (*emir name-i sâmilere mucebince*), and so far, forty-two of them were converted to Islam (*arz-ı ihtidâ*), and the other six are also being raised according to our national education... 4 July 332 Adana Education Director: Ahmed Şükrü<sup>56</sup>

As seen in Ahmed Şükrü’s statements above, like many state orphanages such as the Armash Orphanage in Izmit, the Samsun Orphanage in Samsun, and the Antoura Orphanage in Aleppo,<sup>57</sup> “Adana Male Orphanage” was used for

55 “... Adana Zükûr Darüleytamının müesses ve banisi ve Bahriye Nazırı ve dördüncü ordu-ı hümayun kumandanı devletlü Cemal Paşa hazretlerinin nam-ı sâmilere izafetle tevsimi hususuna müsaade-i celile-i cenab-ı nezaret penâhileri istirham olunur...” BOA, MFEYT., 2/755, 23.08.1334, June 25, 1916. For the archival document, see Appendix C.

56 Ibid.: “... Ermeni etfaline mahsus olarak açılan darüleytam mıdır? O ise, şimdi içinde Ermeni etfali var mıdır? ... 22 Haziran  
- Bu darüleytam vaktiyle Ermeni etfaline mahsus açılan darüleytamdır. Eski Ermeni etfâlin-den kâmilten tathir edildi. Ahiren Kayseri Amerika Eytamhanesinden emir name-i sâmilere mucebince nakl edilen kırk sekiz şakird bulunuyor ki bunlardan şimdiye kadar kırk ikisi arz-ı ihtidâ eyledi. Diğer altısı da terbiye-i milliyemiz dairesinde yetiştirilmektedirler... Fi 4 Temmuz sene 332 Adana Maarif Müdürü: Ahmed Şükrü” From the third paragraph, written in red pen on top of the document, see Appendix C.

57 Maksudyan, “Agents or Pawns?,” 155-156.

the Islamization and Turkification of many Armenian children in 1916. Although it is unknown how many Armenian children were settled in the orphanage during this period or what kinds of assimilation practices they exposed to, the use of the orphanage to assimilate the Armenian children might be as one of the reasons for Ahmed Şükrü's gratitude to Cemal Pasha and his request to give his name to the orphanage. As understood from the following Ottoman archival documents, on the other hand, Adana Education Director Ahmet Şükrü's request for giving Cemal Pasha's name to the orphanage was not accepted. Before examining the archival documents, at this point, I want to mention the doctoral dissertation of İzzettin As, that is newly published.<sup>58</sup> His doctoral dissertation, which is mostly based on the Ottoman archival documents that gathered from the catalog of Maarif Nezareti Daru'l-Eytam (MFEYT), focuses on state orphanages (*Darüleytams*), that began to be opened in 1915 in many provinces. In this context, İzzettin As has used the archival document, sent from Adana Education Director Ahmet Şükrü to the Minister of Education, by translating it from the Ottoman Turkish into Turkish.<sup>59</sup> Besides, he stated that the founder of Adana Male Orphanage was Cemal Bey and that its previous name was the Ottoman Orphanage. However, in addition to a few important translation mistakes, he neither mentions the importance of this new name in the history of the Ottoman Orphanage nor what the assimilation of the Armenian children means.

One year later, in June 1917, the Directorate of Orphanages (*Darüleytamlar Müdüriyeti*) asked the Ministry of Education to dismiss Osman Efendi due to the fact that "he did not have the knowledge and skill for the directorate of Adana Male Orphanage, where two hundred children were educated and had many industrial classes."<sup>60</sup> In particular, in addition to many vocational classes, there were more students, teachers, officers, and servants at the orphanage

58 İzzettin As, "Bir sosyal hizmet kurumu olarak darüleytam" (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 2020).

59 Ibid., 231.

60 "... Adana Zükûr Darüleytamı müdürü Osman Efendi iki yüz mevcutlu ve birçok sînâi şubatına muhtevi bu darüleytam müdüriyetini ifâya ilmîye ve fikriyesinin müsait bulunmadığı arz edilmiştir..." BOA. MFEYT., 7/947, 13.08.1335, June 4, 1917.; As, 232.

compared to other male orphanages in the province of Adana.<sup>61</sup> In this aspect, Adana Male Orphanage was one of the prominent orphanages in the Ottoman state. Therefore, Mustafa Efendi, who worked as a mathematics teacher at *Eskişehir Darülmualimin* (Eskişehir Teacher Training School for Boys) with sufficient experience and ability, was requested to be appointed as the director of Adana Male Orphanage.<sup>62</sup> The appointment of Mustafa Efendi was approved on June 17.<sup>63</sup>

Two months later, in August 1917, the Directorate of Orphanages also asked the Ministry of Education to move Enver Pasha Orphanage in which ninety students were educated from *Adana Darülmualimin* building to Adana Male Orphanage and to combine them under the name of Enver Pasha Orphanage.<sup>64</sup> This request was not related to political concerns. Rather, in addition to some economic reasons that occurred related to teachers' salaries, daily problems that Enver Pasha Orphanage students faced in the building of *Adana Darülmualimin* were effective in this demand. These daily problems were related to some practices that made the students in Enver Pasha Orphanage feel lonely and sad like giving their meals separately than other students in the school cafeteria.<sup>65</sup> Toward the end of 1917, Adana Male Orphanage was combined with Enver Pasha Orphanage and its name changed to "Enver Pasha Male Orphanage."<sup>66</sup>

In early 1918, due to the financial problems, it was decided to close all orphanages in the provinces and send the students to Istanbul. Many orphanages in different provinces closed because of this decision. On the other hand, Enver Pasha Male Orphanage in which one hundred and one children between

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61 Hakan Aytakin, "1914-1924 Yılları Arasında Korunmaya Muhtaç Çocuklar ve Eğitimleri" (Master's thesis, Marmara University, 2006), 58.

62 BOA. MF.EYT., 7/947, 13.08.1335, June 4, 1917.; BOA. MF.EYT., 7/979, 15.08.1335, June 6, 1917.; BOA. MF.EYT., 8/173, 16.08.1335, June 7, 1917.

63 BOA, MF.EYT., 8/101, 26.08.1335, June 17, 1917.

64 BOA, MF.MKT., 1228/41, 25.10.1335, August 14, 1917.

65 Ibid.

66 BOA, MF.MKT., 1231/128, 23.02.1336, December 8, 1917.

the ages of 8 and 16 were educated continued to serve as the only male orphanage in the center of the Adana province.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, in the summer of 1918, not only Enver Pasha Male Orphanage but also many orphanages in different areas of Adana such as Mersin and Tarsus were still open.<sup>68</sup> At the end of October 1918, an officer was assigned to send students at orphanages in the province of Adana to Istanbul.<sup>69</sup> Thus, it seems reasonable to argue that Enver Pasha Male Orphanage was closed in November before the French military forces began to occupy the region in late 1918.

The rich history of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana, whose foundations laid in 1909 for the Armenian children orphaned due to the Adana massacres of 1909, ended in December 1918 by the name of Enver Pasha Male Orphanage. From 1909 to the end of 1918, this institution was directly affected by ideological, economic, social, and educational policies. Besides, in particular, from 1909 to 1915, the orphanage was an institution, in which political collaborations, disputes, and conflicts occurred amongst different groups such as the Armenian Patriarch, the CUP, local authorities, and the Dashnaks.

Although the history of the Ottoman Orphanage ended at the end of 1918, the history of the orphanage building, which officially opened in the summer of 1911 for the Armenian children and was home to near one thousand orphaned children in total, did not end here. After the French invaded Adana in 1919, the orphanage reopened by the name of “Taw Mim Simtakh Syriac Orphanage” for orphaned Syriac children with the support of Syriacs and the French officials.<sup>70</sup> Taw Mim Simtakh moved to Beirut before the saving of Adana from the French invasion at the end of 1921. In 1922, the orphanage building was still open, and it was in good condition structurally. The founder

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67 BOA, MF.MKT., 1232/113, no.2, 27.05.1336, March 10, 1918.

68 BOA, MF.MKT., 1235/16, 23.10.1336, August 1, 1918.; BOA, MFEYT., 10/46, 28.10.1336, August 6, 1918.

69 BOA, MFEYT., 10/191, 20.01.1337, October 26, 1918.

70 “Adana Cultural Heritage Inventory,” in *Ermeni Kültür Varlıklarıyla Adana: Adana With Its Cultural Heritage*, ed. Vahakn Keshishian, Koray Löker, and Mehmet Polatel (İstanbul: Hrant Dink Vakfı Yayınları, 2018), 28-31.



of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana Cemal Pasha underlines this situation in his memoir as follows:

The big orphanage that I established for the education and training of the Armenian children who became orphans during the incident still exists.<sup>71</sup>

Cemal Pasha's statement above was not just related to the well-physical structure of the orphanage building. Rather, he was displaying the orphanage as an important example of his assistance activities and his efforts making for Armenian children. Furthermore, Cemal Pasha gives many such examples that highlighted his aids for not only the children but also for all Ottoman Armenians. Related to these examples in Cemal Pasha's memoirs, Hülya Adak has highlighted in her study that they were a part of "his hero image" against the charges against him related to the reasons and consequences of the deportation of Ottoman Armenians.<sup>72</sup>

From 1922 to 1927, many orphaned, poor and destitute Muslim children in the Adana province were settled in the orphanage. In 1927, the orphanage became Adana Male Teacher Training School.<sup>73</sup> With this decision, while the orphanage changed into a school, different teacher training schools used the orphanage building for education from this time until the 1980s. In 1987, Adana Science High School began its education in this building. In 1992, the General Director for Protection of Natural Assets accepted the orphanage building as a monument (*anıt eser*). Today, Adana Science High School students continue to use the building for education.

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71 Cemal Paşa, 387.

72 Hülya Adak, "Ötekileştiremediğimiz Kendimizin Keşfi: Yirminci yüzyıl Otobiyografik Anlatıları ve Ermeni Tehciri," in *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no. 5 (Spring 2007): 236-242.

73 Şeref Bağbozan, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Adana Öğretmen Okulları (1923-1975)" (PhD diss., Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam University, 2018), 139.



## Conclusion

In this thesis, I examine the history of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana (1909-1918) founded by Cemal Bey, the governor of Adana of the period, for Armenian boys and girls orphaned due to the Adana massacres of 1909. The limited academic literature of the Ottoman Orphanage has mostly ignored “the agency of the orphaned Armenian children” and have generally argued that this orphanage was founded due to “the humanitarian concerns” towards Armenian orphans. Contrary to popular opinion, I answer the question of how political concerns affected the establishment of the orphanage while emphasizing the neglected historical role of the Armenian orphans during the Second Constitutional Period.

Cemal Bey had two main aims when he decided to found a big government orphanage in August 1909. One of his main aims was to prevent the Armenian orphans from being settled in missionary schools and orphanages. In particular, many Armenian children orphaned because of the Adana massacres of 1909 were placed in missionary institutions and began to be converted into Protestantism or the other religious beliefs. Therefore, he wanted to prevent any change in the Armenian identity of the children. In particular, as shown in the second chapter, this attitude was an important policy that tried to be performed by the government for orphans since the nineteenth century. His other aim was to ensure that these children would receive an education, that

was controlled by the central authority, and they thus would be “a loyal Ottoman citizen.”

As this study pointed, the CUP evaluated the establishment of a government orphanage, which would serve the education and care of Armenian orphans, as an important initiative to restore its damaged political image due to the Adana massacres. For that reason, the CUP encouraged and financially supported Cemal Bey to establish the orphanage. On the other hand, after the declaration of the orphanage project, as seen in Yesayan’s memoirs, especially many Armenian women who lost their husbands because of the massacres saw this orphanage as an institution that would aim to assimilate the Armenian children. In particular, both Cemal Bey’s statement that religious education would not be provided in the orphanage and the debates on the official language of the orphanage between the officials and Armenians in the Adana Orphanage Commission increased the assimilation fears of Armenians towards the orphanage. To reduce these fears, Vahakn Datevian (Vahakn Efendi), a member of the Armenian Dashnak Party, was appointed as the orphanage director. Furthermore, another important aspect of this appointment was that it was a significant example of the close relationship between the CUP and the Dashnak Party.

The Ottoman Orphanage was officially opened in 1911 for the education and care of Armenian orphans, and in a short time, with the placement of many Muslim orphans, it began to serve as a multireligious and multicultural institution in accordance with the Regulation of the Ottoman Orphanage. The study shows how the political partnerships, disputes, and conflicts amongst the CUP, local officials, the orphanage director, the Armenian Patriarch, and the Armenian religious institutions played a role in the administrative and economic issues of the orphanage from 1912 to 1914. In particular, despite many financial problems, the effort to keep open the Ottoman Orphanage was a significant indicator of to what extent different groups attached importance to the orphanage.

While the political and social importance of the orphanage continued in this period, the study discusses the results of the local officials’ request related to the conversion of the orphanage into “*Dârülsınâî*” by merging it with Adana industrial school. This study finds that this decision was taken at the end of

1913. Adana Governor Hakkı Bey attached great importance to this conversion. In May 1914, Hakkı Bey sent different petitions, that accounted for the reasons why the Ottoman Orphanage would be merged with Adana industrial school, to the Ministry of Interior. On the other hand, as this study highlights, the assimilation of the Armenian orphans in the orphanage was amongst the results of this conversion. In July 1914, five photographs including orphanage administration, servants, and the orphans in the orphanage were sent to the Interior Minister Talat Bey. The study states that these photographs, which strongly emphasizes the loyalty of the orphaned children, were sent him to prevent the conversion of the orphanage. Although it is not clear the reason, Hakkı Bey's request was not accepted, and the orphanage was not converted into a *Dârülsımaî*. However, after about one year later, the orphanage and the Armenian orphans were directly affected by the political, social, and humanitarian crisis, that Ottoman Armenians encountered. In this context, the study sheds light on how the decision to deport Ottoman Armenians in 1915 and the implementation of the deportation decision during 1915 and 1916 affected the Ottoman Orphanage.

The Dashnak director of the orphanage, who was arrested in April 1915, was sentenced to death in September 1915. With this death decision, most of the Armenian children who were placed in the orphanage in 1911 left the orphanage since they were told to either become Muslim or leave the orphanage. In this sense, the decision to left the orphanage became an important part of the historical role of the Armenian children who were orphaned due to the Adana massacres of 1909 and were placed in the Ottoman Orphanage. With the left of the Armenian orphans from the orphanage, the multicultural and multireligious character of the orphanage, in which Muslim and Armenian orphans lived and received an education under the same roof, were removed. Furthermore, as this study pointed out, while 14 Armenian children who had to stay in the orphanage began to be converted to Islam, the name of the Ottoman Orphanage was changed as Adana Male Orphanage (*Adana Zükûr Darüleytamı*). Thus, in the light of the consul reports and the Ottoman archival documents, the conversion of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana into “a Turkish orphanage” was completed in the fall of 1915.

In 1916, many orphaned Muslim boys were receiving vocational education in this institution where many workshops were built. On the other hand, the orphanage served also for the assimilation of the Armenian children who transferred from Kayseri American Orphanage in May 1916 with the decision of the Minister of War, Enver Pasha, as the Ottoman archival documents showed. Thus, Cemal Pasha, Talat Pasha, and Enver Pasha, the three leading figures of the Second Constitutional Era, directly and indirectly, became a part of the history of the Ottoman Orphanage that began August of 1909.

The orphanage director Osman Efendi, who told the Armenian children at the Ottoman Orphanage that they should either be Muslim or leave the orphanage in September 1915, was dismissed in June 1916. Mustafa Efendi, a mathematics teacher at Eskişehir Teacher Training School for Boys, was appointed as the director. The study finds that about one year later, Adana Male Orphanage was combined with Enver Pasha Orphanage, and its name was changed into Enver Pasha Male Orphanage. The orphanage was closed toward the end of 1918. Thus, the rich history of the Ottoman Orphanage ended here. However, as this study also finds, the history of the orphanage building did not end here. It was used for the education and care of Syriac children under the name of "Taw Mim Simtakh Syriac Orphanage" from 1919 to 1922. Furthermore, after the moving of Taw Mim Simtakh to Beirut, from 1922 to 1927 destitute and orphaned Muslim children in the Adana province were placed in the orphanage.

## Appendix A The Regulation of the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana (Düştur, Tertib-i Sani, vol. 4, pp. 15-19)

ADANA'DA MÜESSES DÂRÜLEYTÂM-I OSMÂNÎ NIZAMNÂME-I ESASÎSÎ

9 Zilhicce 1329 / 18 Teşrinisani 1327

(Takvim-i Vekayi ile neşr ve ilanı: 17 Muharrem 1330 / 25 Kanunuevvel 1327-  
numero 1017)

Adana Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânîsi evvela Adana vak'a- 1 müessesesi neticesinde yetim kalan etfâlin sâniyen Adana vilayeti dâhilinde ki bi'l-umum etfâl-i yetimenin muhafazasına ve bunların tâlim ve terbiyesine hâdim bir müessesesi hayriyedir.

DÂRÜLEYTÂMİN SÛRET-I IDARESİ

FASL-I EVVEL

DÂRÜLEYTÂM MÜDÜRİYYETİ

- Birinci madde: Dârüleytâm doğrudan doğruya bir müdüriyetin taht-ı idaresindedir.
- İkinci madde: Dârüleytâm müdürü sûret-i teşkil-i âtîde beyan edilecek olan encümen tarafından intihab ve ta'yîn edilir. Hîn-i intihabda meclis-i umumî reisi olanında inzımmam-ı reyî şarttır.
- Üçüncü madde: Müdür dârüleytâmın gerek tedrisatına ve gerek intizâm-ı idaresine müteallik kâffe-i hususatından encümene karşı mesûldür.
- Dördüncü madde: Encümen tarafından bir muhasebeci ile sanduk eminliği vazifesini de îfâ eylemek üzere bir kâtib tayin edilir ve sûret-i hareketlerini mübeyyin birde talimat tanzim kılınır. Dârüleytâmın levazımâtı müdür ile muhasebeci tarafından müştereken mübayaa ve bedeli dahi müdür ile muhasebecinin müştereken imzası üzerine sanduk emini tarafından tesviye kılınır. Müesseseye müteallik hususat için inde'l-icab müdürün taht-ı riyasetinde müdîr-i sânilerden mürekkebi bir heyet-i müdîrân teşekkül eder ve orada istişâre sûretiyle icra-i müzakere edilir.

## ZÜKÜR VE İNÂS ŞUBELERİ MÜDİR-I SÂNİLERİ

- Beşinci madde: Dârüleytâm biri zükûre diğeri inâsa mahsus olmak üzere iki şubeye tefrîk edildiğinden bu iki şube de bilhassa çocukların terbiye ve tadrîsleriyle iştigal etmek üzere biri erkek ve diğeri kadın olarak iki müdür-i sâni ta'yîn edilir.
- Altıncı madde: Müdür-i sâniler encümençe intihab ve ta'yîn olunur.
- Yedinci madde: Zükûr ve inâs kısımlarında bulundurulacak muallim ve muallimelere tadrîsat ve terbiyeye müteallik kâffe-i evâmir ve ta'lîmâtı müdür-i evvel ve sâniler bi'l-istişâre i'tâ ederler.
- Sekizinci madde: Ders programları ve mesâî ve istirahat zamanlarını tanzîm eylemek vazifeleri münhasıran müdür-i sânilere ait olup bunların tanzîm edecekleri cedveller müdür cânîbinden tasdîk edildikten sonra ma'mûl be olur.
- Dokuzuncu madde: Tadrîsat nokta-i nazarından her iki şube iki kısma tefrîk edilecektir. Birinci kısım dört seneden ibaret olarak kısım-ı ibtidâiyi, ikinci kısımda iki seneden ibaret olan kısım-ı rüşdîyî hâvî bulunacaktır.
- Onuncu madde: Kısım-ı ibtidâide tadrîsat yetimin mensup olduğu anasının lisan-ı mahsûsu üzerinden icra kılınacaktır. Mamafih lisan-ı resmi tadrîsatı dahî mecburi olduğundan bu dahi ayrıca icra edilecektir.
- On birinci madde: Kısım-ı rüşdî tadrîsatı Türkçe lisanıyla olacak ve ancak yetimin mensup olduğu anasır lisanının gavamız ve edebiyatı hakkında ki tadrîsata devam edilecektir.
- On ikinci madde: Her iki kısmın tadrîsat programına ve derslerin sûtret-i idaresiyle muallim ve muallimelerin miktarına ve bunların maaşlarına müteallik nizamnâme ve dârüleytâmın nizamnâme-i dahiliyesi bi'l-ahire heyet-i müdürân tarafından tanzim olunarak encümenin tasdîkine arz edilecektir.

## ENCÜMEN

- On üçüncü madde: Encümen Adana vilayeti defterdârı ile meclis-i idare-i vilayetden ve meclis-i belediden birer zatdan ve Adana Ermeni Murahhasalığı meclis-i hasemani reisinden ve meclis idare-i vilayetçe hariçten ve eşraf ve mütehayyızan arasından intihab edilecek iki zatdan ve bir reis ile reis-i sâni den mürekkebirdir. Reis-i evvel Adana vilayeti valisi bulunacak zat olacak-



tır. Reis-i sâniligede dârüleytâmın tesisi için icab eden mebalîgi ianeten tedarik eden ve müessesenin doğrudan doğruya müessisi bulunan Adana vali-i sâbıkı ve Bağdad vali-i lâhıkı Cemal Bey fahrî olarak der uhde edecek ve Bank-ı Osmanînin Adana şubesi müdürü dahî a'zâ-i fahriyeden bulunacaktır. Hîn-i hâcetde encümence bunların mütalaalarına dahi müracaat olunabilecektir.

- On dördüncü madde: Encümen iki ayda bir def'a ictimâ' eder fakat lüzum görüldüğü halde reisin daveti üzerine de fevkalâde olarak ictimâ' eder.
- On beşinci madde: İlk ictimâ'da bir evvelki senenin bütçesine ve sene-i tadrîsiye faaliyetine ait tedkikat ile iştigal ederek bütçenin hesab-ı kat'iyyesini kabul ve tasdik eyleyecek ve teşrinievvel ve teşrinisani ictimâ'ında da gelecek sene bütçesinin tedkik ve tasdikıyla beraber dârüleytâmın temîn-i terakkiyât ve tekemmülatı hakkında ki tedkikat ile iştigal eyleyecektir.
- On altıncı madde: Encümenin her devre-i ictimâ'iyesi iktizasında heyet-i müdirânın mufassal bir raporu karait olunacak ve encümen tedkikatını bu rapora nazaran icra eyleyecektir.

#### DÂRÜLEYTÂMİN VÂRIDÂTI

- On yedinci madde: Adana Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânîsinin menâbi' vâridâtı bervech-i âtîdir:
  - 1 Hükümet-i seniyye cânibinden i'tâ edilecek iki yüz altmış iki bin dört yüz guruş tahsisat-ı seneviyye-i mukannene
  - 2 Erbab-ı fütüvvet ve mürüvvetin i'tâ edecekleri iânât-ı nakdiye
  - 3 Dârüleytâma terk ve teberru' edilecek veyahud encümenin karar ve tensîbiyle tesis olunacak her nev' emlak ve akarın icâreleri
  - 4 Heyet-i müdirân tarafından verilecek balo ve konserler hasılatı velhasıl ve sâit meşrû'a ile tedarik edilecek her nev' varidat.
- On sekizinci madde: Hükümet-i seniyyece muhassas mebâlî' her sene bütçenin tasdikine müteâkib müdür ile muhasebecinin müştereken senedi mukabilinde dârüleytâma tediye olunur.
- On dokuzuncu madde: Dârüleytâmın kâffe-i vâridâtı Bank-ı Osmanî'de hıfz olunur. Dâr-ı mezkûr sandukunda sûret-i dâimedede elli liradan ziyade para bulunmaz.

- Yirminci madde: Her nev' mebâyaât ehemmiyetine göre münakasa veya pazarlık suretiyle icra olunur ve mebayaâta müdür ile muhasebeci nezaret eder.

MEVÂD-I ŞETTÎ

- Yirmi birinci madde: Dârüleytâma kabul edilecek etfâlin şerâit-i kabuliyesi ber-vech-i âtîdir:
  - 1 Ebeveyni Adana vaka'-i müessifesinde maktul düşen yetimlerden sinleri beşden dûn ve ondan efsun olmayanlar
  - 2 Vaka'-i mezkûrede dul kalan bir kadının iki çocuğundan birisi bâlâdaki esnan dahilinde, kadının fevkaâlade fakir olup işe güce de yaramadığı tıbben ta'yîn ettiği takdirde çocukların her ikisi de alınabilir
  - 3 Dârüleytâmda boş yer bulunduğu takdirde her ne sebeple olursa olsun esnan-ı mezkûre dahilinde yetim kalan çocuklar dârüleytâma kabul olunabilir. Dârüleytâm bilâ-tefrîk cins ve mezheb bi'l-umum Osmanlı yetimlerine mahsusdur.
- Yirmi ikinci madde: Dârüleytâma alınacak yetimler evvela bir muâyene-i tibbiyeden geçirilecek ve ma'lûl olanlar belediye hastahanesine sevk olunacaklardır.
- Yirmi üçüncü madde: On altı yaşına vâsıl olanlar velilerine teslim edilir. Dârüleytam bunların mekâtibe meccanen kaydına ve sâir işlere yerleştirilmesine imkân dairesinde yardım eder.
- Yirmi dördüncü madde: Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî doğrudan doğruya vilayete merbuttur.

İş bu nizâmnâmenin nizâmat-ı devlete ilavesini irade ederim.

9 Zilhicce 1329 / 18 Teşrinisani 1327

Mehmed Reşad

Sadrazam  
Said

Dahiliye Nazırı  
Celal

Maliye Nazırı  
Nail

## Appendix B The Photographs taken at the Ottoman Orphanage in Adana



Muhterem dahiliye nazırımız Talat Bey Efendiye / Ey milletin müşfik hâmisî!  
Osmanlı hisleriyle yarına sakladığımız fedakârlığı şimdiden arz eder, sizi  
samimi kalplerimizle selamlarız. Fi 10 Temmuz sene 1330

Adana Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî heyet-i idare ve ta'limiyesiyle talebesi.

[BOA, FTG.f., 1640 (29.08.1332 / July 23, 1914)]



FTG 1641

Muhterem dahiliye nazırımız Talat Bey Efendiye / Ey milletin müşfik hâmisî!  
Osmanlı hisleriyle yarına sakladığımız fedakârlığı şimdiden arz eder, sizi  
samimi kalplerimizle selamlarız. Fi 10 Temmuz sene 1330

Adana Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî talebesi

[BOA, FTG.f., 1641 (29.08.1332 / July 23, 1914)]



FTG\_1642

Muhterem dahiliye nazırımız Talat Bey Efendiye / Bir tuhfe-i mâsumâne! / Fi  
10 Temmuz sene 1330

Adana Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî talebesi

[BOA, FTG.f., 1642 (29.08.1332 / July 23, 1914)]



FTG 1643

Muhterem dahiliye nazırımız Talat Bey Efendiye / Ey milletin müşfik hâmisî!  
Osmanlı hisleriyle yarına sakladığımız fedakârlığı şimdiden arz eder, sizi  
samimi kalplerimizle selamlarız. Fi 10 Temmuz sene 1330

Adana Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî talebesi

[BOA, FTG.f., 1643 (29.08.1332 / July 23, 1914)]

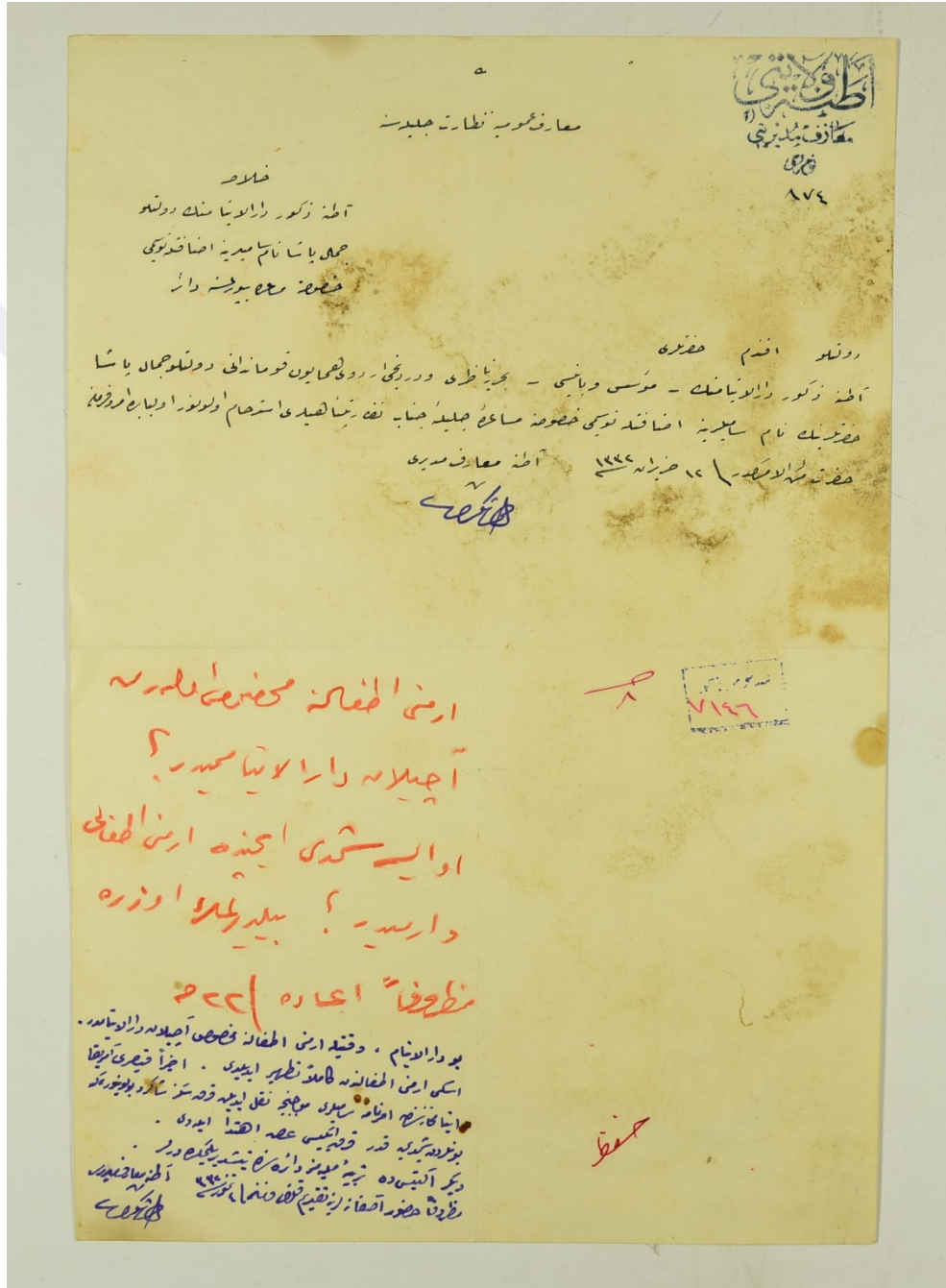


Muhterem dahiliye nazırımız Talat Bey Efendiye / Ey milletin müşfik hâmisî!  
Osmanlı hisleriyle yarına sakladığımız fedakârlığı şimdiden arz eder, sizi  
samimi kalplerimizle selamlarız. Fi 10 Temmuz sene 1330

Adana Dârüleytâm-ı Osmânî talebatı

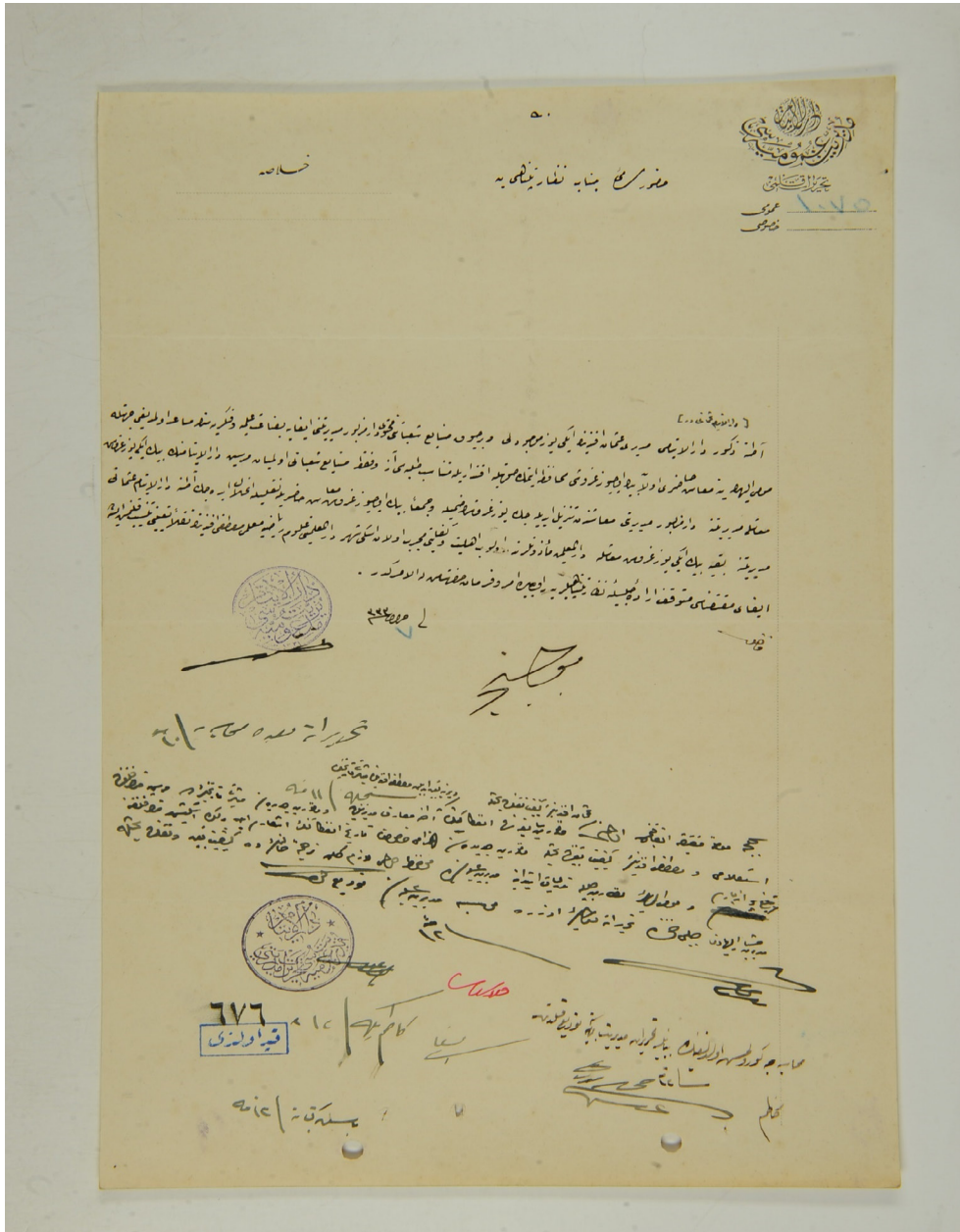
[BOA, FTG.f., 1644 (29.08.1332 / July 23, 1914)]

Appendix C Adana Education Director's Request to Change the Name of the Orphanage [BOA, MF.EYT., 2/755 (23.08.1334 / June 25, 1916)]





Appendix D The Request of the Directorate of Orphanages for the Appointment of a New Director to the Orphanage in 1917 [BOA, MF.EYT., 8/173 (16.08.1335 / June 7, 1917)]





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BEO., 3697/277265	MF.EYT., 2/755
BEO., 3702/277590	MF.EYT., 7/947
BEO., 3822/286630	MF.EYT., 7/979
BEO., 4376/328131	MF.EYT., 8/101
DH.İD., 166/8	MF.EYT., 8/173
DH.MKT., 1180/40	MF.EYT., 10/46
DH.MKT., 1366/142	MF.MKT., 1213/71
DH.MKT., 1858/47	MF.MKT., 1228/41
DH.MKT., 2567/66	MF.MKT., 1231/128
DH.MKT., 2813/65	MF.MKT., 1232/113
DH.MKT., 2914/1	MF.MKT., 1235/16
DH.MUI., 43/1	MV., 134/54
DH.MUI., 53/42	MV., 136/64
DH.MUI., 99/41	MV., 137/105
DH.ŞFR., 63/178	MV., 144/5
DH.ŞFR., 520/75	MV., 226/23
DH.ŞFR., 532/15	ŞD., 31/40
DH.UMVM., 68/46	ŞD., 2026/5
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