

THE ROLES OF TURKISH AND AMERICAN ORPHANAGES IN INFLUENCING ARMENIAN IDENTITIES

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INTRODUCTION¹

The orphan crisis was one of the many tragedies resulting from World War I. A large number of Armenian boys and girls suffered from a similar fate. The Ottoman authorities perceived these children as potential assets for the augmentation of the Turkish race. As a result, some of them were absorbed into Turkish society by means of adoption, conversion, marriage, or slavery. Other groups of abandoned children were housed in state orphanages.² Similarly, the Americans also performed humanitarian orphan relief work that tended to focus on their own interests. In this paper, I will investigate the roles played by the Turkish Antoura (Aintoura) Orphanage and the Near East Relief orphanages of Syria and Lebanon in defining the identity of the orphaned Armenians.

THE TURKISH PRACTICE

To begin with, state orphanages had already operated within the Ottoman territories from the late nineteenth century. They first came into existence during the Crimean War (1853-1856) in order to house homeless and destitute children. These institutions were called reform houses (*islahhanes*). Both Muslims and non-Muslims were placed in them with the hope of preparing future Ottoman nationalists.³

During the WWI period, there was a dramatic increase in the number of these orphanages. They served as melting pots; Armenians and non-Armenians were housed in them. The Antoura orphanage was an example of a Turkish establishment that operated in Lebanon. In his article “‘Are There Any Children for Sale?’: Genocide and the Transfer of Armenian Children (1915-1922),” Keith David Watenpaugh claims that the orphanage at Antoura was used for indoctrinating Armenian and Kurdish children with a Turkish national identity. He states that, first, the Armenians were converted to another religion. Second, they were obliged to communicate in a different language rather than their own. Thus, they were forcibly integrated into a new ethnic group. Although, they were saved from physical annihilation, they nevertheless underwent a cultural genocide.⁴ The Ottomans preferred to maintain the Antoura orphanage in order to convert the Armenians, at the expense of starving Syrian Arabs,

who suffered immensely from the famine. They made this choice in order to implement their plans freely away from nationalist institutions.⁵ However, in addition to these destructive policies, there were a few high ranking Turkish officials who returned orphans to the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople.⁶

A. Djemal Pasha's Conflicting Actions

Halide Edib was the director of the Antoura orphanage. She had assumed her position upon the request of Djemal Pasha, then military governor of Greater Syria. According to her memoir, the orphanage gave refuge to Armenian, Turkish, and Kurdish children. She mentions that they all carried Turkish and Muslim names.⁷ This statement might confirm Watenpaugh's argument; however, she does not mention any of the procedures or methods used to alter the identities of these orphans. The presence of Turkish children in the Antoura orphanage raises more doubts regarding her biased narrative.

Nevertheless, the above-mentioned statement should not be taken at its face value. The issue is far more complex. The words and actions of Djemal Pasha were highly controversial. He performed two opposing actions in two different areas. For instance, he believed that it was his right to convert the Armenian orphans to Islam, taking into account that they were placed within a Muslim institution. Moreover, the Armenian establishments of Damascus lacked the capabilities to support sons of their own race. But, Djemal Pasha's actual aims become blurred by his very question to Edib, "do you believe that by turning a few hundred Armenian boys and girls into Moslem I think I benefit my race?" This suggests that he did not strive to increase the number of Turkish nationalists. Moreover, Edib presents the positive intentions of Djemal Pasha. She mentions that the Pasha believed that these children would eventually return to their families, when the war ended.⁸

Meanwhile, the situation greatly differed in Aleppo. During those difficult war times a certain Armenian Evangelical pastor called Aharon Shiradjian ran an Armenian orphanage there that started during 1915 and lasted till 1919. The institution continued its mission through Djemal Pasha's support in the face of threats posed by other CUP leaders who, it appears, wanted to put an end to the Armenian orphan relief work.⁹ In their turn, American and German diplomats in Aleppo along with Swiss and American missionaries intervened in order to secure the continuity of this institution. As time passed, the orphanage also expanded its space by occupying ten more houses. At times of food shortages caused by the enormous number of destitute waifs, the Armenian relief workers

depended on assistance from Djemal Pasha, who allocated some of his army's provisions to them. Moreover, the Pasha forbade the local powers to intervene in orphanage activities. In addition to learning the Armenian language, the eldest orphans also received vocational education.¹⁰ Thus, Djemal Pasha was playing a dual role; he changed his position towards the Armenians according to political circumstances. Thus, it would be erroneous to accuse Djemal Pasha of performing misdeeds all the time.

B. From Halide Edib's Perspective

It is a difficult task to identify the educational methods used in raising the orphans of Antoura by focusing on Edib's memoir in particular since she does not provide her readers with details about the curriculum. She refrained from presenting a negative image regarding the orphanage. She only stated that before her arrival life there was unbearable. Five hundred out of eight hundred children were suffering from disease or hunger. According to her, the Kurdish children possessed a deep hatred towards their Armenian counterparts. This might serve as evidence that both groups still preserved their identities, despite the attempted conversions.

Edib's memoir suggests that she created a better life at the orphanage, implementing "Montessori" classes, dressing the children properly, imposing discipline, and taking care of general hygiene. Her main concern was to discipline the older boys and engage them in vocational work. Moreover, she gathered the older male orphans in groups of twenty-five and assigned the oldest among them as their leader.

Finally, she surprisingly showed some concern towards the Armenian children at the end of her mission in 1918. She records that contacts were established with Dr. Howard Bliss and Mr. Bayard Dodge to return these orphans to their homeland.¹¹

C. From an Armenian Orphan's Perspective

Karnig Panian, was a five- or six-year-old Armenian orphan, who was sent to the Hama orphanage by his grandparents in order to save him from the misery of the refugee camp. Then, along with a large number of Armenian boys, he was displaced from the Hama Orphanage to Antoura upon the orders of Djemal Pasha. Thus, he and his fellow orphans were completely isolated from their relatives by settling in a new geographical area. In his turn, Panian has retrospectively provided a more detailed account about the educational system of the orphanage, compared to Halide Edib. The latter remained silent. She did not refer to any specific features related to life at the orphanage.

However, Panian also presents a biased account regarding his life at the orphanage. According to him, the main purpose of the orphanage was to “Turkify” its Armenian subjects. He mentions that the approaches that were used in dealing with the orphans indicated Turkish eagerness in spreading Turkish nationalism. From the first day of their life at the institution, the children were forced to speak Turkish. Moreover, he states that they did not know a single word in Turkish. However, this statement seems inaccurate since the Armenian orphans came from Anatolia, and they would have known Turkish. It was not logical that they were encountering the Turkish language for the first time in their lives. Second, they had to salute the Turkish flag on a daily basis through a special ceremony. Third, the personnel working in the orphanage were Turks. In addition to these measures, violence was also used as a means for keeping order. For example, those who disrespected the Muslim religion or the Turkish nation and language were punished through beating.

Meanwhile, the educational curriculum consisted of learning “Turkish language, catechism, and religious history; penmanship, biology and zoology; music and singing; and physical education.”¹² But he does not specify what the catechism and religious history had to do with the Turkification process. Panian adds that they were also obliged to hear lectures about the Muslim faith. But, there was a great resistance on the part of the Armenian children, who preserved their own language. The older boys became role models for the youngsters. Without the former group, the latter would have easily assimilated. Similar to Halide Edib, Panian notes that the names of the Armenians were changed by a certain Fevzi Bey to Turkish ones. But some children showed fierce resistance to this act.

Panian also mentioned a category of boys called *kucuk beys*. It consisted of older Armenian male orphans who, under the harsh circumstances, had started to acquire Turkish characteristics. They kept order both in and outside the classrooms; they were also granted some privileges. These males carried names such as “*Kucuk Enver, Kucuk Talaat, Kucuk Jemal, Kucuk Hasan.*” These were the names of the CUP leaders, who were presented as the heroes of Turkish nationalism. This group of children might match with Edib’s Turkish orphans since it is not acceptable to have destitute Turks in a foreign land.

Finally, Panian noted that, after the Turks left Antoura, these males regained their original Armenian names.¹³ The arrival of the Americans reconverted the Armenians to Christians. Moreover, after these long years Christmas was celebrated.¹⁴ However, the process of being suddenly

converted from a Turk to an Armenian does not take a second. It requires a longer time.

After examining both the director's and orphan's accounts, the complexity of the role played by the Antoura orphanage becomes crystal clear. It is difficult to make a direct and clear-cut judgement regarding the long-term intentions of this establishment. Edib did not clearly mention the actual aims of the Turkish institution. However, one thing that can be inferred is that the Antoura orphanage was used as a failed instrument to partially or completely reshape the identities of the Armenian children.

THE AMERICAN PRACTICE

The Near East Relief (NER) was the main American organization that operated in the region during the WWI period. It passed through various stages of evolution. The NER initially operated under different titles such as the Committee on Armenian Atrocities, American Committee for Armenian Relief, American Committee on Syrian and Armenian Relief, and American Committee for Relief in the Near East. At the beginning, its relief efforts were directed only towards the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire. However, later on it expanded the scope of its humanitarian service. In 1919, it was named NER, after being incorporated by an act of the American Congress. By this time, its main objective was 'to provide relief and to assist in the repatriation, rehabilitation, and reestablishment of suffering and dependent people of the Near East and adjacent areas...'¹⁵

The NER launched its orphanage program after the year 1919, when funds were available. The primary aim behind this arrangement was to prepare the Near Eastern children as future leaders for the "emerging new Near East." Life at the NER orphanages seemed to be better than that in the Turkish Antoura orphanage. Although the children were given numbers, they were called by their original names.¹⁶ However, identity problems still prevailed within these American establishments, due to their attempts to exploit these children for their own projects.

A. Linguistic Problems

To begin with, these institutions were composed of children belonging to a multiplicity of nationalities and religious sects. By September 1921, there were Armenian, Mardin Syrian, and Syrian orphans, who were both Muslims (Sunni, Druze, Mutawali) and Christians (Greek Orthodox, Maronite, Greek Catholic, Syriac, and Protestant) placed in the NER orphanages of Syria. The great majority of them were gathered because of the famine that hit the country.¹⁷ This diversity led to a constant language

problem. But, efforts were made in order to help the children adapt to the new conditions. Thus, they were taught additional languages. For instance, the Armenian boys and girls of Syria were obliged to learn Arabic.¹⁸ In this sense, the NER's approach was quite constructive.

Bayard Dodge, the managing director of NER in Beirut, has stated that the education provided by their orphanages highly impressed the French authorities of Syria. The children were engaged in industrial and agricultural training, learned Armenian, Arabic and French "instead of too much English."¹⁹ It is noteworthy that their aim behind teaching these languages was to make these youngsters serve the Near East in the future. Recruiting native teachers such as Syrians or Armenians²⁰ was another element that highly distinguished the NER orphanages of Syria from the Turkish ones. The NER workers also sometimes learned the language of the orphans. Maria Jacobson was a notable example of a relief worker in Syria who communicated with the Armenian orphans in their own native language. That is why the Armenian version of her name was carved on her grave.

In addition to Syria, a similar trend can also be recognized in Sivas. A Genocide survivor recalled that she had almost completely forgot her mother tongue. The Armenian caregivers of the orphanage taught her an Armenian chant. Moreover, speaking in Turkish was prohibited. The older boys played a major role in applying this policy; they punished the younger ones who used their enemy's language. Armenian nationalists were also invited to deliver lectures to the orphans.²¹ Hence, it was a place that favored the preservation of the Armenian identity. On the other hand, the girls in Sidon Orphanage learned the English language. They were also taught some American songs such as "My Country 'Tis of Thee," and their educators came from American Missionary schools.²²

B. Religious Problems

Religious education was part of the orphanage curriculum. Worship services and Sunday School lessons formed the core of this program. The children were allowed to preserve their own religious faith; however, they were also taught "the best elements of Western civilization."²³ This method led to proselytism, since it tended to instill Western Protestant values. In their turn, the Eastern Church leaders opposed the religious methods applied, because these were reducing their authority.

The children were engaged in Christian practices that were alien to their own traditions. For instance, they read the Protestant edition of the Bible, though in their own languages such as Armenian or Greek.²⁴ According to a certain report, it is clear that the NER officials wanted to

refrain from proselytizing the children, even if most of the funds were provided by the Americans. Moreover, religious officials of different groups were not allowed to perform any services within the orphanages. However, in return the children were allowed to take part in their own religious practices by visiting mosques or churches. Moreover, the leaders believed that "... the children should not become Americanized, due to the fact that they are being supported by American money."²⁵ By taking this information into account, it becomes clear that some policies might have undergone changes during their actual implementation.

After a conference held in New York in 1924, it was decided that the religious education program of the NER orphanages was to be prepared in collaboration with Eastern Church leaders. Thus, an NER Religious Education Committee was formed to achieve this goal. The NER's orphanage at Antilyas serves as a great example of this cooperation. Noting that most of the children belonged to the Armenian Orthodox sect, a certain Armenian priest, Pere Drezian, began to perform Armenian mass services twice per month. He also gave Bible reading and chant singing sessions on certain Sundays. However, still the Protestants had their say within the orphanage. On certain occasions, the mass was still headed by American and Armenian Evangelical ministers.²⁶

Religious holidays were also celebrated within the orphanages in accordance with Near Eastern ways. This can be noticed through correspondence written on December 26, 1920 by Josephine Huse, the director of Sidon Girls Orphanage, to Charles V. Vickrey, the general secretary of NER. She mentions that a Christmas tree was decorated, but not in the typical American way. She used an orange tree rather than an evergreen tree. She also adapted to the Near Eastern setting by writing "Merry Christmas" in Arabic. Moreover, in order to make the orphans feel happy, she gave them a bag of sweets as well as ribbons to tie their hair.²⁷

C. Preparing Leaders for the New Near East

The orphanage officials believed that uniting the children belonging to different races under a single roof would pave the road for an everlasting peace in the future. The children were taught to forgive their persecutors. They were instructed to take Jesus as their role model. Training these youngsters to become experts in various professional fields such as education, industry, agriculture, and religion became one of the main projects of NER in the region.²⁸ Bayard Dodge highlighted the significance of making the children "virtuous, honest, liberal, and skilled..."²⁹ These characteristics indicate that they were expected to acquire certain American values. There were some Armenians, such as a certain doctor

H.M. Hadidian from Beirut, who was once an orphan, who highly welcomed the usage of American techniques for raising the children. He considered that applying the methods of the “noble nations” was the only way to save the Armenian nation.³⁰ Meanwhile, the Armenian leaders perceived the orphans as the building blocks of their nation. Efforts were made to reintegrate these young elements into Armenian society. However, this had to be achieved through eliminating all Turkish traits and creating a pure Armenian character.³¹

With the aim of preparing good leaders for the future, the “self-government” method was implemented at the Juniyeh Girls’ Orphanage. The female orphans were trained to take on responsibility and maintain discipline. Each forty of them were grouped together and had a leader, who wore a special “American” uniform and guided them for six months. These groups of forty were further divided into smaller groups, and elected a person to represent them. This way the girls were trained to solve their issues among themselves. However, in case of difficulties they referred to their leaders. General policies were also adopted during meetings between leaders and advisors.³²

D. Vocational and Industrial Education

The orphans received elementary education until they became twelve years old. After that age, they were engaged in industrial work until the age of fifteen. Children who possessed some extraordinary mental and intellectual abilities, spent their time in full-schooling until the age of fifteen. This way the Americans expected to prepare future teachers and leaders. After the age of fifteen or sixteen, the children usually left the orphanage, and they became assistants to craftsmen and traders. However, if they possessed great abilities, then they continued their professional training.³³ During their years at the orphanage, these destitute boys and girls were trained to become self-supporting individuals. Hence, they received vocational education. The males left the orphanages at age fifteen or sixteen and started working. The females were kept for a longer period of time, after which they were immediately placed in households. The individuals who did not have fathers or other family members remained in the orphanages.³⁴

It is quite interesting that the girls at the Sidon orphanage, which contained Armenians in addition to natives, were trained to master “American” fruit canning methods under the supervision of Mrs. Jessup. The Americans affirmed that they were bringing new innovations to the region, thus leading to modernity.³⁵ The children of the Sidon and Jubeil orphanages were trained to become agricultural workers. The intention

was to make them permanently settle in the region and prevent their migration to other countries.³⁶



Orphans at the Aleppo Orphanage.
Source: *The New Near East*, Nov. 1920



NER Industrial School (Beirut), 1921.
Source: *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide*

E. Extracurricular and Relief Activities

In addition to religious and vocational education, sports also played an essential role in transmitting Western values to the children. These activities served American interests more than the physical well-being of the orphans. For instance, the males had to play “Western games” such as basketball, football, and volleyball on a daily basis. The aim behind these practices was to enhance teamwork and cooperation with each other. Moreover, James L. Barton, the chairman of NER, believed that this way the youngsters were going to experience the taste of victory and defeat, the latter being a non-Eastern characteristic. Furthermore, the orphanages had their own bands, and the children were taught to perform American national songs such as ‘My Country Tis of Thee’ and ‘The Star-Spangled Banner’ when American guests paid a visit to their institutions.³⁷

While the orphans gained Western values, they were also allowed to preserve their own identities. For instance, the Armenians at the Jubeil orphanage were allowed to engage in relief work that aimed to save the lives of their compatriots who had been expelled from Cilicia. These children asked their director to remove meat from their diet while donating the money allocated for it to the Armenian refugees. The orphanage officials allowed them to organize such a campaign, which became an example for the Maronites as well as students of the American University of Beirut, who collected financial resources to maximize the amount of relief funds available.³⁸ Thus, there was a balance between both Armenian and American values. These waifs kept their Armenian identities, but were also given supplementary American values.

F. NER Interests vs. Armenian Education

It seems that the NER, like any other institution, was largely concerned about its own interests. This attitude was obvious from its efforts to

impose American and Western elements on the innocent children. This was also clearly reflected in the year 1920, when the Shiradjian Orphanage at Aleppo was in a chaotic situation. This establishment was managed by the Armenian National Union of Aleppo (ANU), and had survived through the funds of the NER and donations from some benefactors. However, by the end of that year financial burdens threatened its survival. Recognizing the deficiencies of the orphanage, a certain French captain Vidol offered to place it under his auspices, on condition that the children would be given French education. The ANU Committee rejected this offer. It asked the assistance of the Armenian General Benevolent Union of Cairo; however, the latter did not have the necessary funds. In its turn, the NER Administrative Council of Beirut found it challenging to support an additional thirteen hundred children for four to five years. The Council also wanted to hold a neutral position in order to avoid confrontations with the French. Bayard Dodge clearly stated in his letter to Charles Vickrey that “it would seem utterly ridiculous for the N.E.R to expend \$ 16,250 which it would cost to support the orphanage for one month simply to enable a number of Armenian children to receive a nationalistic education rather than a French education...”³⁹

Outdoor Dining Area at NER Antilyas Orphanage, 1923.

Source: http://neareastmuseum.com/archives/?search_query=&tax_collections=orphanage-life



NER Identification Card for Victoria Chadrijian, 1924. Source:

http://neareastmuseum.com/archives/?search_query=&tax_collections=identified-children

CONCLUSION

Both Turkish and American orphanages rescued Armenian children from extermination, but they tended to impose their own values on these boys and girls. In other words, both groups were humanitarians, but according to their own understandings. The different parties perceived the destitute orphans as important assets to achieve certain goals. The Turks wanted to expand their nation on the one hand, while the Americans worked to prepare these children as future leaders for the new Near East.

Meanwhile, the Armenians acknowledged their usefulness for reviving the Armenian nation. One should note that the American way of treating the orphaned individuals was based on more liberal views than the harsher Turkish way. However, without these efforts the Armenians would have been threatened with extinction.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ I would like to thank Prof. Samir Seikaly for his valuable suggestions concerning this paper.
- ² Vahagn N. Dadrian, "Children as Victims of Genocide: The Armenian Case," *Journal of Genocide Research* 5/3, 2003, pp. 422, 435.
- ³ Nazan Maksudyan, *Orphans and Destitute Children in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Syracuse, New York, Syracuse University Press, 2014, pp. 85, 103-104.
- ⁴ Keith David Watenpaugh, "'Are There Any Children for Sale?': Genocide and the Transfer of Armenian Children (1915-1922)," *Journal of Human Rights* 12/3, 2013, pp. 289, 292-293.
- ⁵ Hilmar Kaiser, "The Armenian in Lebanon During the Armenian Genocide," in *Armenians of Lebanon: From Past Princesses and Refugees to Present-Day Community*, Aida Boudjikianian (ed.), Beirut, Haigazian University, 2009, pp. 52, 54.
- ⁶ Dadrian, "Children," p. 435.
- ⁷ Halide Edib Adivar, *Memoirs of Halide Edib*, New York, The Century Co., 1926, p. 428.
- ⁸ Adivar, *Memoirs*, p. 429.
- ⁹ Stanley Kerr, *The Lions of Marash: Personal Experiences with American Near East Relief, 1919-1922*, Albany, N.Y., State University of New York Press, 1973, p. 29.
- ¹⁰ Raymond H. Kevorkian and Vahe Tachjian, eds., *The Armenian General Benevolent Union: One Hundred Years of History, Volume I: 1906-1940*, Cairo-Paris-New York, AGBU Central Board of Directors, 2006, pp. 65-66, 80.
- ¹¹ Adivar, *Memoirs*, pp. 442, 444-445, 447-448, 469.
- ¹² Karnig Panian, *Goodbye, Antoura: A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide*, ed. Aram Goudsouzian and trans. Simon Beugekian, Stanford, New York, Stanford University Press, 2015, pp. 65, 72, 79, 83, 89, 92.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 84-85, 108-109, 119, 149.
- ¹⁴ See the foreword written by Bayard Dodge in Kerr, *Lions of Marash*, xi.
- ¹⁵ Eleanor H. Tejirian, "Faith of Our Fathers Missionaries and NGOs: The Transition," in *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East*, Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon (eds.), New York, Middle East Institute, Columbia University, 2002, pp. 302-303.
- ¹⁶ James L. Barton, *The Story of Near East Relief (1915-1930)/ An Interpretation*, New York, Macmillan, 1930, pp. 209, 221, 223.
- ¹⁷ See "The Near East Relief in Syria," Box 2, File 4, AUB Archives AA.75, 7-8.
- ¹⁸ Barton, *Story of Near East Relief*, 235.
- ¹⁹ See from Bayard Dodge to Charles V. Vickrey, December 31, 1920, Box 2, File 4, AUB Archives AA: 7.5, 4.
- ²⁰ See "The Near East Relief in Syria," Box 2, File 4, AUB Archives AA.75, 10.
- ²¹ Donald E. Miller and Lorna Touryan Miller, *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1993, pp. 126-127, 130.
- ²² "The Place Where the World Began," *The New Near East*, February 1921, 6-7.

- ²³ John R. Voris, "The Problem and the Opportunity of Educating the Near East Orphans," *Religious Education*, February 1, 1924, p. 45.
- ²⁴ John R. Voris, "Problems of Religious Education in Near East Relief Orphanages," *Religious Education*, January 1, 1928, pp. 562-563.
- ²⁵ See "The Near East Relief in Syria," Box 2, File 4, AUB Archives AA.75, 9.
- ²⁶ Voris, "Problems of Religious Education," pp. 563-565.
- ²⁷ See from Josephine Huse to Charles V. Vickrey, December 26, 1920, Box 2, File 4, AUB Archives AA:7.5, 1.
- ²⁸ Clyde F. Armitage, "World-Mindedness Contributions of Near East Relief," *Religious Education*, 21, January 1, 1926, pp. 212-213. In his turn, Vickrey, also stated that they were feeding the orphans, because they were following in the footsteps of Jesus. He also hoped that these individuals would become the leaders of the new Near East (Charles V. Vickrey, "Your Footprints in Bible Lands," *The New Near East*, December 1923, pp. 13-14).
- ²⁹ "Wards of America," *The New Near East*, June 1921, p. 8.
- ³⁰ "An Orphan on Orphans," *The New Near East*, April 1921, pp. 11-12.
- ³¹ Vahe Tachjian, "Gender, Nationalism, Exclusion: The Reintegration Process of Female Survivors of the Armenian Genocide," *Nations and Nationalism*, 15/1, 2009, pp. 66, 68.
- ³² "Self-Government at Juniyeh," *The New Near East*, October 1923, p. 15.
- ³³ "World Understanding-A New Element in the Classroom," *The New Near East*, October 1923, p. 15.
- ³⁴ Barton, *Story of Near East Relief*, pp. 268, 300.
- ³⁵ "Canning in Syria," *The New Near East*, September 1922, pp. 18.
- ³⁶ See "The Near East Relief in Syria," Box 2, File 4, AUB Archives AA.75, 10.
- ³⁷ Barton, *Story of Near East Relief*, pp. 234-235, 254, 261.
- ³⁸ "To Swell the Fund," *The New Near East*, April 1922, pp. 16-17.
- ³⁹ See from Bayard Dodge to Charles V. Vickrey, December 11, 1920, Box 2, File 4, AUB Archives AA:75, pp. 1-3.

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Յուշերու, Նիր Իսթ Րիլիֆի մամուլի, արխիւային նիւթերու եւ այլեայլ կողմնակի տուեալներու լոյսին տակ հեղինակը լուսարձակի տակ կ'առնէ ամերիկեան եւ թրքական (Այնթուրա) որբանոցներու մէջ հայ որբանոցայիններուն ջամբուած ինքնութեան դաստիարակութիւնը:

Շատ հեղինակին, լեզուի, կրօնքի, մարզանքի, երգի եւ երաժշտութեան եւ այլ նիւթերու դասաւանդման դրդապատճառներն ու նպատակները տարբեր ելակէտեր ունին: Հայ որբանոցայիններուն հանդէպ մօտեցումն ալ ըստ տեղի ու ժամանակի եւ տնօրինող կազմակերպութեան՝ կը տարբերէր: Կը պատահէր նաեւ որ որբանոցի մը տնօրինումը ստանձնած մարմինը բարեփոխութեան ենթարկէ իր դաստիարակութեան մօտեցումը եւ ուսումնակրթական ծրագիրը: